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# HISTORY OF FRANCE,

BY

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isatiably eager and curious, and *pressed* strangers, seizing them in the markets and highways, and compelling them to talk.\* They were themselves formidable and indefatigable talkers, highly figurative in their speech, pompous and ludicrously grave with their guttural tones,† and it was quite a business in their assemblies to secure the speaker from interruption; inso-much that it was the office of one man to enforce silence, which he did by proceeding with drawn sword to the party interrupting, and, at the third summons, cutting off a large piece of his dress, so as to render it unfit for further wear.‡

Another race, the Iberians, appear early in the south of Gaul, along with the Gauls, and before them. This people, whose type and language have been preserved in the Basque mountains, were moderately endowed with natural gifts, a laborious, agricultural, mining race, attached to the soil for its products—meals and corn.§ There is nothing to show that they were primitively as warlike as they became when driven into the Pyrenees by the conquerors of the south and of the north, and finding themselves in their own despite guardians of the defiles, they were so repeatedly invaded, bruised, and hardened by war. Once Roman tyranny impelled them to an heroic despair; but generally their courage has been exemplified in resistance,|| as that of the Gauls has been in attack. The Iberians do not seem to have had the same love of distant expeditions and adventurous wars. Some of their tribes, indeed, emigrated, but unwillingly, and driven north by more powerful nations.

The Gauls and the Iberians were a complete contrast: the latter with their rough black garments, and hair-woven boots;¶ the Gauls arrayed in showy stuffs, fond of bright and varied colors, such as compose the plaid of the modern Scottish Gaël,\*\* or else almost naked, but with

their white chests and gigantic limbs laden with massive golden chains.\* The Iberians were divided into petty mountain tribes, which, according to Strabo, seldom contracted alliance, through an excess of confidence in their own strength. The Gauls, on the contrary, readily collected in large hordes, encamping in large villages, in large exposed plains, and talkers, laughers, and haranguers as they were, willingly associated with strangers, and became intimate with new faces, mingling with all and in all, dissolute through levity, and blindly and at random abandoning themselves to infamous pleasures;† (the brutality of drunkenness was rather the failing of the German stock;) in short, theirs were all the qualities and vices that result from quick sympathy. These hilarious comrades were not to be too implicitly confided in. They were early addicted to bantering, (*gaber*, as it was termed in the middle ages.) They passed their word without a thought of its being obligatory, promised, then laughed, and there an end. (*Ridendo fidem frangere*, "they broke faith with a jest."—TIT. LIV.)

The Gauls did not rest contented with driving the Iberians into the Pyrenees; but crossing that natural barrier, settled under their own name, in the south and northwestern angles of the peninsula, whereas in the centre they amalgamated with the conquered, and took the names of Celtiberians and Lusitanians.‡

It was at the same epoch, (s. c. 1600–1500,) or perhaps previously, that the Iberian tribes of the Sicani and the Ligori passed from Spain into Gaul and Italy; in which latter country, as in Spain, the Gauls attacked them, and crossing the Alps (s. c. 1400–1000) under the designation of *Ambra*,|| (the valiant,) confined the Ligures within the mountainous coast from the Rhone to the Arno, while they drove the Sicani as far as Calabria and Sicily.

#### PHENICIAN AND GRECIAN COLONIES.

(B. C. 1200–600.)

In both peninsulas the conquering Celts amalgamated with the inhabitants of the central

colored squares." So Virgil, (*Æneid*. i. viii. 660.) "They glitter in their striped cloaks." Elsewhere I have collected other parallel passages.

\* Diodor. Sic. i. v. "They wear bracelets and armlets, and round their necks thick rings, all of gold, and costly finger-rings, and even golden corsets."

Virgil. *Æneid*. i. viii. 659.

"Fair golden tresses grace the comely train,

And every warrior wears a golden chain.

Embroider'd vests their snowy limbs unfold,

And their rich robes are all adorn'd with gold."

† Diodor. Sic. i. v. ap. Ser. R. Fr. i. 310.—Strabo, i. iv.—Athen. i. xiii. c. 8.—At a later period, traces of the licentiousness which prevailed in ancient Gaul are observable in the Irish and British Celts. Leland, c. i. p. 14, says, that the Irish considered adultery "a pardonable gallantry." O'Halloran, i. 304.—Lanfranc, St. Anselm, and Pope Adrian in his famous bull, addressed to Henry II., upbraid them with incest.—See Usener. *Syl. epist.* 70, 94, 95.—St. Bernard, in Vit. S. Malach. 1938, seq. Girald. Camb. 742, 743.

‡ Diodor. Sic. i. v.—Isidori Originum, i. ix.—Plin. i. iii. c. 2.

§ Iberian highlanders. W. de Humboldt. See Appendix  
|| See An. Thierry, *Hist. des Celtes*, i. 10.

\* Diod. Sic. i. v. p. 306.—Cæsar, Bell. Gall. i. iv. c. 5. *his autem hoc Gallicæ consuetudinis ut et viatores etiam visores consistere cogant . . . et mercatores in oppidis vicibus circumstet, &c.*

† Diodor. Sic. i. iv. *Eiōt kai tais phōnais barōnchoi, kai pōtōis trachēphonois, katà dē tās brūllas brachēlōgoi, kai ligymētois kai tā pollā aistētōntois aneidochēōis; pollā dē lōgontes en hyperbolais. . . .*

‡ Osee d'Xpōntov ποιεῖσαι τὰ λοιπὰ. Strabo, i. iv. ap. Ser. R. Fr. i. 30.—I cannot quit the subject without noticing how much the ancients appear to have been struck with the rhetorical genius and noisy character of the Gauls. Livy terms them, "a people born for vain tumults." The public criers, trumpeters, and advocates were often Gauls. "An Insulrian," says Cicero, (*Fragm. Or. contra Plonem.*) "that is, a salesman and a crier." See, also, the whole of his oration pro Fonteio. Cato says, (*in Charilo*) "I quote from memory," "The Gauls, for the most part, assiduously cultivate two things—valor and oratorical smartness." Diodorus Siculus (i. iv.) calls them "boasters, braggarts, and all of theatrical display."

§ Strabo, i. iv.—Cæsar, Bell. Gall. i. iii. c. 20.

¶ The Iberi must not be confounded with their neighbors, the Cantabri. The distinction between them is clearly established by M. W. de Humboldt in his admirable little work on the Basque language. See Appendix.

|| Τριχίνας εἰσὶν ἀμφίδες. Diodor.

\*\* Diodor. Sic. i. v. "They wear dyed tunics, flowered with colors of every kind, and trousers, and striped cloaks, fastened with a buckle, and divided into numerous many-

plains, while the vanquished Iberians kept their ground at either end, in Liguria and in Sicily, in the Pyrenees and in Bortica. The Italian Gauls, the *Ambra*, occupied the whole valley of the Po, and spread into the peninsula as far as the mouth of the Tiber. They were subsequently subjected by the Rasenæ or Etrusci, whose empire was at a later period hemmed in by new Celtic emigrations between the Macra, the Tiber, and the Apennines.

Such was the aspect of the Gallic world. In Italy and in Spain, its young, soft, floating element was early altered by intermixture with the indigenes; whereas in Gaul it would have been long rolled to and fro by the flux and reflux of barbarism, had not a new element from without infused into it a principle of stability, a social idea.

Two people, the Greeks and the Phœnicians, were the leaders of civilization at this remote period of antiquity. The Tyrian Hercules was at this time sailing through every sea, buying and transporting from each country its most precious products. He did not overlook the fine garnets of the coast of Gaul, or the coral of the Hieros; and inquired into the precious mines which then cropped out upon the surface of the Pyrenees, the Cevennes, and the Alps.\* He came, and returned, and at last settled. Attacked by Albion and Ligor, (both names signify *mountaineeer*,†) the sons of Neptune, he would have been overcome, had not Jupiter reinforced his failing arrows with a shower of stones, which still cover the plain of Crau in Provence. The victorious god founded Nemausus, (Nîmes,) sailed up the Rhône and the Saône, slew in his lair the robber Taurisk, and built Alesia in the territory of the Ædui, (pays d'Autun.) Before leaving, he laid down the highway which crossed the Col de Tende, and led from Italy across Gaul into Spain; and it was upon this foundation that the Romans built the Aurelian and Domitian ways, (viz.)

In this, as in other directions, the Phœnicians did but open a path for the Greeks; being followed by the Dorians of Rhodes, who were themselves supplanted by the Ionians of Phœcia, the founders of Marseilles, (s. c. 600-587.) This city, planted so far from Greece, subsisted by miracle. Landward it was surrounded by powerful Gallic and Ligurian tribes, who did not suffer it to take an inch of ground without a battle. Seaward it had to encounter the huge fleets of the Etruscans and Carthaginians, who had organized so sanguinary a monopoly coastwise, that for a stranger to trade in Sardinia was death by drowning.‡ In every way, success crowned the Massilians. They had the gratification of seeing, without their

drawing the sword, the Etruscan navy destroyed in a single battle by the Syracusans, and then of beholding the annihilation of all the commercial states—of Etruria, Sicily, and Carthage—by Rome. Carthage, in her fall, left an immense field, which Marseilles might well have coveted; but it was not for the humble ally of Rome, for a city without territory, and a people of plain and thrifty character, but more mercantile than political, and who, instead of gaining over and incorporating with themselves the barbarians in their vicinity, were ever at war with them, to aspire to such a part. However, through good conduct and perseverance, the Massilians managed to extend their establishments along the Mediterranean, from the Maritime Alps to Cape St. Martin; that is to say, as far as the early Carthaginian colonies. Monaco, Nice, Antibes, Èaube, St. Gilles, Agde, Ampurias, Denia, and some other towns,\* were founded by them.

While Greece began the civilization of the southern shore, northern Gaul received its own from the Celts themselves. A new Celtic tribe, the Cymry or Cumry, (Cimmeri!†) came to join the Gauls, (s. c. 631-587.) The newcomers, who settled for the most part in the centre of France, on the Seine and the Loire, were, it appears, of more serious and stable character. Less indisposed to restraint, they were governed by a sacerdotal corporation—the Druids. The primitive religion of the Gauls, which yielded to the Cymric Druidism, was a natural religion, gross undoubtedly, and far from having reached that systematic form which it subsequently acquired among the Irish Gael.‡ That of the Cymric Druids, as far as it is discernible through the barren notices of the ancients, and the much-altered traditions of the modern Welsh Cymry, had a far loftier moral tendency: they taught the immortality of the soul. Yet was the genius of the race too material to admit of such doctrines bearing early fruit. The Druids could not transport it out of its clannish life. The material principle, the influence of its military chieftains, co-existed with the government of the priests. Cymric Gaul was only imperfectly, Gallic Gaul not in the least, organized; and escaping the Druids, it flowed over the Rhine and the Alps, to flood the world.

\* See the interesting account of Marseilles in Thierry's History, (t. ii. c. 1,) one of the most remarkable portions of that excellent work. Further on, I endeavour to show how greatly the share the Greek colonies had in civilizing Gaul, has been exaggerated.

† Appian (Illyr. p. 1196, and de Bell. Civil. p. 603) and Hieronymus (l. v. p. 309) say that the Celts were Cimmerians. —Ptolemy (in Mario) agrees with them. —“The Cimmerians,” says Ephorus, (Strabo, v. p. 373.) “inhabit subterranean dwellings, which they call *argillæ*.” In the poetry of the Welsh Cymry, *argel* signifies a subterraneous place. W. Archæol. l. p. 124. The Cymry swore “by the bull.” The arms of Wales are two cows.—However, several German critics deny the identity of the Cimmerians with the Cimbri, and of the latter with the Cymry, referring the Cimbri to the Germanic stock.

‡ See Appendix.

\* Strabo, l. iii. iv.

† *Alps*, in Gaelic, mountain.—*Gor*, in the Basque tongue, elevated. W. de Humboldt.

‡ Strabo, l. xvil. “The Carthaginians drowned all strangers whom they found coasting to Sardinia, or to the Ælides.”

had at first awed them; when one of them, in his barbarian joviality, took it into his head to stroke the beard of one of these haughty senators, who returned the caress with a blow of his stick.\* This was the signal for massacre.

The young men, who had shut themselves up in the Capitol, offered some resistance, but at last paid ransom.† This is the most probable tradition; the Romans preferred the other. Livy asserts that Camillus avenged his country by a victory, and slew the Gauls on the ruins they had made. What is more certain is, that they remained seventeen years in Latium, at Tibur, at the very gate of Rome. Livy calls Tibur, "arcem Gallici belli," (the stronghold of the Gallic war.) It is in this interval that were fought the heroic duels of Valerius Corvus and Manlius Torquatus with Gallic giants. The gods interfered; a sacred raven gave the victory to Valerius, and Manlius tore the collar (*torquis*) from the boaster who had defied the Romans. Hence, for a long time after, a popular image, a *Cimbrian buckler*, with the likeness of a barbarian, inflating his cheeks and thrusting out his tongue,‡ used as a sign for shops.

The city was fated to prevail over the tribe, —Italy over Gaul. Driven from Latium, the Gauls continued to war, but as mercenaries in the service of Etruria. They shared, with the Etruscians and the Samnites, in those dreadful battles of Sentinum and the Vadimonian lake, which secured Rome the sovereignty of Italy, and thence of the world. In these they displayed their fruitless and brute-like audacity; fighting naked with the well-armed; dashing with loud clamor in their war-chariots against the impenetrable masses of the legions; and opposing the terrible *pilum* with wretched sabres that bent at the first stroke.§ It is the common history of all the battles of the Gauls: they never amended. Nevertheless, great efforts and the devotion of Decius were required on the side of the Romans. At length they, in their turn, penetrated to the Gauls, recovered the ransom of the Capitol, and seated a colony in the principal burgh of the Senones, whom they overcame at Sens on the Adriatic—exterminating the whole tribe, so that there should not remain a single descendant of those who could boast of having burnt Rome.||

#### GREAT MIGRATION OF THE GAULS. (B. C. 391-280.)

These reverses of the Italian Gauls may,

\* Tit. Liv. l. v. c. 41. M. Papirius, Gallo barbarum suum, ut tunc omnibus promissa erat, permaconsit, scipione eburneo in caput incussit, tram moxine dicitur.

† According to Polybius and Suetonius. See my Hist. Romaine, vol. i. l. i. c. 3.

‡ Ant. Gell. l. ix. 3.—Tit. Liv. l. vii. c. 10.

§ Tit. Liv. l. xxii. "The Gauls have very long swords, without points."—Polyb. l. ii. ap. Str. B. Fr. l. 167. "By their spirit at the first onset, the whole Gallic race, while fresh, is most fearful. Their swords give one fatal cut, but are then at once blunted, and bend lengthwise and sideways."—A true symbol of the race of the Celt.

|| Flor. l. i. c. 23.

perhaps, be explained, by the supposition that their best warriors had joined the great migration of the Transalpine Gauls, into Greece and Asia. Our Gaul was like that vase of the Welsh mythology, in which life is incessantly boiling and overflowing;\* and received in torrents the barbarism of the North, to pour it out on the nations of the South. After the Druidical invasion of the Cymry, it had to sustain the warlike invasion of the Belgæ, or *Bolg*, (the most impetuous of the Celts, as are their descendants the Irish,†) who had made their way from Belgium through the Gauls and Cymry, as far south as Toulouse, and had seated themselves in Languedoc under the names of *Arecomici* and *Tectosagi*. Hence, they bore on to a new conquest; and Gauls, Cymry, and even Germans, descended with them the valley of the Danube. The cloud burst upon Macedonia. The world of the ancient city, which had grown strong in Italy by the success of Rome, had, since Alexander, been broken up in Greece. Nevertheless, this petty space was so strong by art and nature,—so bristled with cities and mountains,—as to be seldom entered with impunity. Greece is like a trap with three bottoms. You may enter, and find yourself taken, first in Macedonia, next in Thessaly, and then betwixt Thermopylæ and the isthmus.

Thrace and Macedonia were successfully invaded by the barbarians, who committed fearful excesses there, passed even Thermopylæ, and marched to undergo defeat against the sacred rock of Delphi. The god defended his temple. A storm, and the masses of rock hurled down by the besieged, sufficed for the discomfiture of the Gauls. Gorged with meat and wine, they were already conquered by their own excesses. A panic terror seized them in the night. In order to expedite their retreat, their Breen, or chief, counselled them to burn their cars, and to cut the throats of their ten thousand wounded;‡ then drank his fill, and

\* See further on.

† *Monstrosus, promptitudo, and mobility of purpose are equally characteristic of the Belgæ of Ireland, Belgium, and Picardy.* (the *Belloceni, Bolet, Belgæ, Belgæ, Volet, &c.*) and of those of the south of France, notwithstanding the different mixture their races have undergone.

In the old Irish tradition, the Belgæ are designated by the name of *Bel Belg*. *Antiquus* (de clar. urb. Narbo.) asserts the primitive name of the Tectosagi to have been *Belig*—"Tectosagi primæva vocantur Belgæ." *Cæsar* (pro Mas. Pontius, gives them that of *Belgæ*—"Beligerum Allobrogesque bellicosius credere non timetis?" In the manuscripts of *Cæsar*, we find the name indifferently written *Belgæ* or *Volgæ*.—Lastly, *M. Jerome* tells us that "the dialect of the Tectosagi was the same as that of Treves," the capital of Belgæ. *Am. Thierry*, i. 131.

"The Belgæ tribes," says *Lucan*, (l. 331.) "were drunken-hearted Pirætes, from the brig, bag, or leathern bag, in which they carried their arrows, as some maintain." *TRANSLATION*.

‡ His advice was followed, as regarded the wounded, for the new Breen carried ten thousand men, who were unfit to march, to be butchered; but he kept the greater part of the baggage. *Strabo* (lib. xii. 476.)—The Gauls, in this invasion of Greece, wherever they met with infinite slaughter and carnage, or who seemed to have been crushed on better milk, drank their blood, and feasted on their flesh. *Pausanias*, l. i. p. 436.—The Greeks, after battle, buried their dead; but the Cymry-Gauls sent no herald to collect theirs,

stabbed himself. But his followers found it impossible to extricate themselves from so mountainous a country and such difficult passes, alive with a people wild for vengeance.

Another body of Gauls, intermingled with Germans, Tectosages, Trocmi, and Tolisto-boioi, succeeded better beyond the Bosphorus. They threw themselves into the heart of mighty Asia, in the midst of the quarrels of Alexander's successors. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, and the Greek towns which with difficulty bore up against the Seleucids, bought their assistance: as the event proved—an interested and fatal assistance. These terrible guests parcellled out Asia Minor among themselves, for pillage and for ransom.\* The Hellespont fell to the share of the Trocmi; the shores of the Ægean, to the Tolisto-boioi; the Tectosages had the South. Here we see our Gauls restored to the cradle of the Cymry, not far from the Cimmerian Bosphorus—here are they settled on the ruins of Troy, and in the mountains of Asia Minor, where, centuries after, the French will lead the crusades under the banner of Godfrey of Boulogne and of Louis the Young.

While these Gauls gorge and fatten in delicate Asia, others ramble the world over in search of fortune. Whoever wishes to buy headlong courage and blood cheaply, buys Gauls—a prolific and warlike race, sufficing for innumerable armies and wars. They are in the pay of all the successors of Alexander, especially of Pyrrhus—that man of adventures and of blasted triumphs. Carthage also employed them in the first Punic war. She requited them but ill;† and they bore a principal part in the dreadful War of the Mercenaries. One of the leaders of the revolt was the Gaul, Autarites.

Rome availed herself of the troubles of Carthage and of the interval between the two Punic wars, to crush the Ligurians and the Italian Gauls.

"The Ligurians, buried at the foot of the Alps, between the Var and the Macra, in a country bristling with underwood, were more difficult to find than to conquer—an agile and indefatigable‡ people, more given to rapine

regardless whether they were buried or were fond for the wild beasts and vultures. *Pausanias*, l. i. p. 446.—"At *Ægæum* they offered to the winds the ashes of the kings of Macedonia." *Plut. Pyrrh.* lib. 2. Val.—When the Breen had learned from deserters the number of the Greek troops, full of contempt for them, he marched beyond Horcia and attacked the Greeks the next day at sunrise, "without," says an ancient writer, "having consulted with regard to the event of the battle any priest of his nation, or, in default of that, any Greek diviner." *Pausanias*, l. i. p. 446. *Am. Thierry* passes.—At Delphi the Breen said, "that the wealthy gods ought to enrich men, . . . that they needed not riches, bring the donors of wealth to men." *Justin*, xiv. 6.

\* *Tit. Liv.* l. xxxviii. c. 16.—*Strabo*, l. xii. 1.  
† He delivered up five thousand of them to the Romans. See *Strabo*, lib. vi. and *Frontinus*, l. iii. 16.

‡ *Plinus*, ii. 3.—The strength of the Ligurians gave rise to the common saying, "the poorest Ligurian can overcome the strongest Gaul." *Strabo*, lib. v. 20. See also, l. xxi. 2. *Strabo*, iv. It was from them that the Romans borrowed the use of the oblique shield, *scutum Sagittarium*. *Lib.* xlv.

than to war, and trusting in the rapidity of their flight and the remoteness of their lurking-places. All these wild mountain tribes—the Salyi, the Deciates, the Euburiates, the Oxybii, the Ingauni—long escaped the Roman arms. At last, the consul Fulvius burnt their fastnesses, Bæbius forced them into the plain, and Posthumius disarmed them, leaving them scarcely iron wherewith to till their fields.” (a. c. 238–233.)

#### GALLIC INVASION OF ITALY. (B. C. 225.)

For half a century after the extermination of the Senones by Rome, the remembrance of the dreadful event was fresh in the minds of the Gauls; so that when At and Gall,\* two kings of the Boii, (now the Bolognese,) endeavored to rouse that people to seize the Roman colony of Ariminum, and summoned a band of mercenary Gauls from beyond the Alps, the Boii, rather than face a war with Rome, slew them both, and massacred their allies. But Rome, uneasy at their restlessness, irritated the Gauls, by prohibiting all trade with them, especially in arms; and the measure of their discontent was completed by the proposition of the consul Flaminius to colonize and divide among the people the territory taken from the Senones fifty years before. The Boii, whom the colony of Ariminum had taught the cost of having the Romans for neighbors, regretted not having assumed the offensive, and attempted to bring into a common league all the nations of northern Italy. The Veneti, however, a people of Slavonic origin, and inimical to the Gauls, refused to join it: the Ligurians were worn out, the Cenomani secretly sold to the Roman. The Boii and Insubres, (the Bolognese and Milanese,) left to themselves, were obliged to call in from the other side of the Alps a body of Gesates, (*Gaisda*)—men armed with *gais*, or boar-spears,—who gladly took pay with the rich Gallic tribes of Italy; money and promises luring across their leaders, Aneroste and Concolitanus.

The Romans, kept informed of all by the Cenomani, took alarm at the league. The senate ordered that the Sibylline books should be consulted; and read therein with terror that the Gauls were twice to become masters of Rome. They sought to avert the calamity by burying alive two Gauls, a man and a woman, in the cattle market, the centre of the city; by which the Gauls might be said to have taken possession of the soil of Rome, and the oracle be either fulfilled or eluded. The alarm spread

from Rome over all Italy; not a people of which but thought themselves equally in danger of a fearful irruption of barbarians. The Gallic chiefs had taken from their temples the gold-embroidered standards, called the *immoveable*; and had sworn a solemn oath, which they likewise administered to their followers, that they would not unbuckle their baldrics until they had scaled the Capitol. In their march they swept off every thing, as well cattle as even the very furniture of the houses, and they drove the husbandmen before them, chained together, at the tail of the whip. The whole population of central and southern Italy rose as one man, to arrest such a scourge; and seven hundred and seventy thousand soldiers\* held themselves ready, should it be needful, to follow the Roman eagles.

Of three Roman armies, one was to guard the passes of the Apennines leading into Etruria; but the Gauls were already in its heart, and only three days' journey from Rome. Fearful of being hemmed in between the two, the barbarians retraced their steps, slew six thousand of the pursuing army, and would have utterly destroyed it had not the second army come up. They then drew off to secure their booty, and had fallen back as far as cape Telamon, when, by a surprising chance, the third army, which was on its return from Sardinia, landed close to the camp of the Gauls, who then finding themselves between the enemy, at once faced both ways. The Gesates, in bravado, threw off their clothes, and posted themselves naked in the first rank, shield and spear in hand. For a moment, the Romans were intimidated by the strange spectacle, and by the tumultuous array of the barbarian army. “Besides innumerable horns and trumpets which they sounded incessantly, such a din of shouting suddenly arose, that not only men and instruments, but the very earth and surrounding places seemed emulously to join in the loud outcry. There was, too, something terrible in the looks and gestures of those giant frames which appeared in the foremost ranks,—naked but for their arms, and not one of which that was not tricked out in chains, collars, and bracelets of gold.” The inferiority of the weapons of the Gauls gave the Romans the advantage. The Gallic sabre only served for cutting, and was so badly tempered as to bend at the first blow.†

This victory being followed by the submission of the Boii, the legions passed the Po for the first time, and entered the territory of the Insubres, where the fiery Flaminius would have perished, had he not wiled the barbarians into a negotiation until he was reinforced. Being recalled by the senate, with whom he was no favorite, and who pronounced his nomination illegal, he resolved to conquer or die, broke the bridge behind him, and gained a signal victory;

33. Their women, who wrought in the quarries, when taken in labor, used to step aside for a short time, and, after delivery, return to their work. Strabo, iii. Diodor. Sic. iv. The Ligurians adhered strictly to their ancient customs, as, for instance, that of wearing their hair long, whence their surname of *Capillati*.—Cato says, in Bervius, “They have a perfect recollection of their origin, but, illiterate and illiterate, they have no memory for truth.” Nigidius Figulus, a contemporary of Varro's, uses the same terms.

\* Atis and Galatæ, in the Greek and Latin historians. Polyb. ii. See Am. Thierry, Hist. des Gaules, vol. i.

\* See the passage of Polybius in the fifth book of my History of Rome.

† Polyb. i. ii.—Am. Thierry, t. i. p. 244.

after which he opened the letters wherein the senate warned him that his defeat was foredoomed by the gods.

He was succeeded by Marcellus, a valiant soldier, who slew in single combat the breton Viridumar, and consecrated to Jupiter Feretrius the second *spolia opima* (since Romulus.) The Insubrians were completely subdued, (B. C. 222;) and the dominion of Rome was extended over the whole of Italy as far as the Alps.

While Rome is believing the Gauls prostrate under her foot, Hannibal arrives and raises them up. The wily Carthaginian turns them to good account. He places them in the van, and compels them to pass the Tuscan marshes; the Numidians forcing them on from behind with their swords.\* They do not fight the worse for this at Thrasymene or at Cannæ. Hannibal wins those great battles with Gallic blood.† The one time that he is without them, being cut off from them in the south of Italy, he cannot stir a step. So full of life was this Italian Gaul, that after Hannibal's reverses it is up and doing under Hasdrubal, Mago, and under Hamilcar. It took thirty years' warfare (B. C. 201-170) and the treachery of the Cenuani, to consummate the ruin of the Boii and Insubres; and, at the last, the Boii rather emigrated than submitted. The remains of their hundred and twelve tribes rose in a body, and removed to the banks of the Danube, at its confluence with the Save. Rome solemnly declared that *Italy was closed to the Gauls*. This last dreadful struggle occurred while Rome was warring with Philip and Antiochus, and the Greeks flattered themselves that they were the chief thought of Rome, unconscious that it was the least part of her forces she employed against them. Two legions were enough for the discomfiture of Philip and Antiochus; while for many years in succession both consuls were dispatched, with two consular armies, against the obscure hordes of the Boii and Insubres. Rome had to stiffen her sinews against Gaul and Spain. A touch of her finger sufficed for the overthrow of the successors of Alexander.

Before quitting Asia, she struck down the only people capable of renewing the war there against her. The Galatæ, who had been settled for a century in Phrygia, had enriched themselves by levying tribute on all the neighboring tribes, and had amassed the spoils of Asia Minor in their haunts on Mount Olympus. One fact will characterize the wealth and pomp of these barbarians. Public notice was given by one of their chiefs or tetrarchs that he would keep open table for any comer for a year round; and not only did he feast the crowd which flocked from the adjoining towns and districts, but he had travellers stopped and detained to partake of his hospitality.

Although the majority of the Galatæ had refused Antiochus their assistance, the prætor Manlius attacked their three tribes, (the Trocmi, Tolistoboioi, and Tectosagi,) and forced them in their mountains, by attacking them with missile weapons to which the Gauls, accustomed to fight with sabre and lance, could only oppose stones. Manlius compelled them to resign the lands which they had wrested from the allies of Rome, constrained them to renounce their life of pillage, and made them contract an alliance with Eumenes, to act as a check upon them. (B. C. 189-188.)

#### POLITICAL STATE OF GAUL. (B. C. 155.)

The Romans were not contented with subduing the Gauls in their Italian and Asiatic colonies, without penetrating into Gaul, that focus of barbaric invasions. Their allies, the Greeks of Marseilles, always at war with the neighboring Gauls and Ligurians, were the first to summon them thither. It was essential for Rome to be mistress of the western pass into Italy, which, on the side of the sea, was occupied by the Ligurians. Attacking the tribes of whom Marseilles complained, then those of whom she did not complain,\* Rome gave the land to the Massilians, and kept the military posts; amongst others that of Aix, where Sextius founded the colony of Aquæ Sextimæ. Thence she turned her eyes towards Gaul.

Two vast confederations divided the land; on the one hand, the Ædui, a people whom we shall hereafter see united in the strictest bonds with the tribes of the Carnuti, the Parisii, the Senones, &c.; on the other, the Arverni and Allobroges. The former appear to be the lowlanders, the Cymry, living under a hierarchy, the party of civilization; the latter, mountaineers of Auvergne and of the Alps, are the ancient Gauls, formerly forced into the mountains by the Cymric invasion, but restored to their preponderance by their very barbarism and attachment to a clanish life.

The clans of Auvergne were at this time united under a chief or king named Bituit. These mountaineers believed themselves invincible. Bituit sent a solemn embassy to the Roman generals, to claim the liberation of one of their chiefs who had been taken prisoner; and, as part of the train, there came with it his royal kennel, consisting of enormous bull-dogs, brought at great expense from Belgium and Britain. The ambassador, superbly attired, was surrounded by a troop of young horsemen, flaunting in gold and purple; and at his side was a bard, *rotte* in hand, who chanted at intervals the glory of the king, that of the Arverni, and the exploits of the ambassador.†

The Ædui saw with pleasure the Roman invasion. The Massilians offered their media-

\* See my History of Rome, beginning of the second volume.

† Ibid.

\* See Am. Thierry, ii. 164 - Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. ix. - Florus, l. iii. c. 2.

† Am. Thierry, ii. 168. Appian. Juv. Contin.

tion, and obtained for them the title of *allies and friends of the Roman people*. Marseilles had introduced the Romans into the south of Gaul; the Ædui opened Celtic or Central Gaul to them, as, at a later period, the Remi did Belgic Gaul.

The enemies of Rome hurried with Gallic precipitation to meet the invader, and were conquered in detail on the banks of the Rhone. Bituit's silver car and kennel of fighting dogs stood him in little stead. Yet the Arverni alone were two hundred thousand in number; but they were daunted by the elephants of the Romans. Before the battle, Bituit, on seeing the smallness of the Roman army, in close legionary column, had exclaimed, "There are not enough there to serve my dogs for one meal."<sup>a</sup>

Rome laid her hand on the Allobroges, and declared them her subjects; thus securing the gate of the Alps. The proconsul Domitius restored the Phœnician high-road, and named it after himself, (*Via Domitia*.) Succeeding consuls had only to push on towards the west, between Marseilles and the Arverni. (s. c. 120-118.) They made their way towards the Pyrenees, and founded, almost on the threshold of Spain, a powerful colony, *Narbo-Martius*, (Narbonne.) This was the second Roman colony out of Italy; the first had been sent to Carthage. Joined to the sea by works of immense labor, it had, in imitation of the metropolis, its capitol, its senate, its baths, and amphitheatre. It was the Gallic Rome, and the rival of Marseilles. The Romans were desirous that their influence in Gaul should no longer depend on their ancient ally.

They were peaceably establishing themselves in these countries, when an unforeseen event, immense and appalling as a second deluge, nearly swept away all, with Italy herself. That barbarian world which Rome had with such rude hand pent up in the north—existed nevertheless. Those Cymry, whom she had exterminated at Bologna and Sinigaglia, had brothers in Germany. Gauls and Germans, Cymry and Teutons, flying, it is said, before an overflow of the Baltic, turned their steps southward. (s. c. 113-101.) They had ravaged all Illyria, defeated at the gates of Italy a Roman general who had wished to bar their entrance into Noricum, and had turned the Alps by making through Helvetia, whose principal people, Umbrians or Ambrons, Tigurini (Zurich) and Tugheni (Zug) swelled their horde. The whole mass, numbering three hundred thousand fighting men, penetrated into Gaul; their families—old men, women, and children—followed in wagons. In the north of Gaul they recognised some ancient Cimbric tribes, and left, it is said, part of their booty in their charge. But, as they passed, they laid waste, burned, and crea-

ted a famine in Central Gaul. To give the torrent way, the rural population betook themselves to the towns, and were reduced to such extremity of starvation as to be compelled to eat human flesh.\* Arrived on the banks of the Rhone, the barbarians learned that the opposite side of the river was still the Roman empire, whose frontiers they had already met with in Illyria, in Thrace, and Macedonia. Struck with superstitious respect by the immensity of the great empire of the south, they said to the governor of the Province, M. Silanus, with the confiding simplicity of the German race, "that if Rome gave them lands, they would willingly fight for her." Silanus haughtily replied that Rome wanted not their services; crossed the Rhone, and was defeated. P. Cassius, the consul, who then came to the defence of the Province, was slain, Scaurus, his lieutenant, taken, and his army sent under the yoke by the Helvetii, not far from the lake of Geneva. The barbarians, emboldened, were for crossing the Alps; and their only doubt was, whether they should exterminate the Romans or reduce them to slavery. In the heat of their noisy debate, they thought of questioning their prisoner Scaurus; but maddened by his bold replies, one of them ran his sword through his body. Nevertheless, reflection followed; and they deferred crossing the Alps. It may be, the words of Scaurus were the salvation of Italy.

The Gallio Tectosagi, of Tolosa, (Toulouse,) descended from the same fathers as the Cimbri, summoned them to their aid against the Romans, whose yoke they had thrown off. The Cimbri came up too late. The consul, C. Servilius Cæpio, stormed the town, and sacked it. What with the gold and silver formerly carried off by the Tectosagi from the pillage of Delphi, the riches of the Pyrenean mines, and the wealth which was nailed up in one of its temples, or thrown into a neighboring lake in votive offering by the Gauls, Tolosa was the richest city of Gaul. Cæpio collected, it is said, a hundred and ten thousand pounds weight of gold, and fifteen hundred thousand of silver. He ordered this treasure to Marseilles; but had it waylaid and carried off by creatures of his own, who murdered its escort. All who touched this fatal prey died a miserable death, and hence the saying—"He has Tolosan gold," to express the victim of an implacable fatality.

Forthwith, Cæpio, through jealousy of a colleague, his inferior in birth, chooses to encamp and fight apart, and insults the deputies sent by the barbarians to the other consul. Boiling with rage, they solemnly vow to the gods whatsoever shall fall into their hands. Out of eighty thousand soldiers and forty thousand slaves or camp followers, only ten men are said to have escaped; of these, Cæpio was one. The barbarians religiously kept their oath. They slew

\* Paul. Orm. l. v. Fabius . . . adeo cum parvo exercitu occurrit, ut Bituitus paucitatem Romanorum vix ad eorum omnibus, quæ in agmine habebat, sufficere posse jactaret.

\* Cæsar, Bell. Gall. l. vii. c. 77. In oppida compulsi, et inopiâ subacti, eorum corporibus, quæ ante inutiles ad bellum videbantur, vitam toleraverunt.

every living being they found in either camp, collected the arms, and threw gold, silver, and even the horses, into the Rhone.\*

CIMBRIC CAMPAIGN OF MARIUS. (B. C. 103-101.)

This victory, as terrible as that of Cannæ, placed Italy within their grasp. The fortune of Rome stayed them in the Province, and directed them towards the Pyrenees. Thence, the Cimbri dispersed themselves over Spain—the other barbarians waiting for them in Gaul.

While thus losing their time and wearing themselves out in contending with the mountains and the obstinate courage of the Celtiberi, Rome, in her alarm, had recalled Marius from Africa. The man of Arpinum alone, in whom all the Italians recognised one of themselves, could reassure Italy and arm it to a man against the barbarians. This hardy soldier, almost as terrible to his own countrymen as to the enemy, and savage as the Cimbri whom he was about to oppose, was to Rome a saving god. For the four years that the barbarians were looked for, neither the people, nor even the senate, could make up their minds to nominate any other than Marius, consul. No sooner did he reach the Province, than he set about hardening the soldiers by making them undertake works of prodigious labor. He caused them to excavate the *Fossa Mariens*, which facilitated his communications with the sea, and enabled ships to avoid the mouth of the Rhone and its sand bars. At the same time he overpowered the Tectosages, and secured the fidelity of the province before the barbarians put themselves in motion.

At length, the latter turned towards Italy; the only country of the west, which had yet escaped their ravages. They were forced to separate by the difficulty of finding food for so large a multitude. The Cimbri and Tigurini took the road through Helvetia and Noricum. A shorter road was to lead the Ambrons and Teutons over the bodies of Marius' legions, across the Maritime Alps, right into Italy; and they were to rejoin the Cimbri on the banks of the Po.

Secure in the intrenched camp, from which he watched them—at first near Arles, then under the walls of Aquæ Sextus, (Aix,) Marius persisted in declining battle. He wished to accustom his soldiers to the sight of these barbarians, with their enormous stature, savage looks, and strange arms and garments. Their king, Teutobochus, could vault over four or even six horses, placed side by side;† when led in triumph at Rome, he was taller than the trophies. Despairing before the intrenchments, the barbarians defied the Romans with a thousand insults—"Have you no message for your

wives," they cried, "*we shall soon be with them.*" One day, one of these giants of the North came up to the very gates of the camp, to challenge Marius. The general returned him for answer, that if he was weary of life, he could go and hang himself; the Goth insisting, he sent out a gladiator to him. Then he diverted the impatience of his men; while he had information of what passed in the hostile camp through the young Sertorius, who spoke their tongue, and mingled with them under favor of a Gallic dress.

To inspire his soldiers with more eager desire for battle, Marius had pitched his camp upon a hill where there was no water, but which overlooked a river, "You are men," he said to them, "you can have water for blood." A skirmish soon took place on the banks of the river. The Ambrons alone were engaged in this first trial of strength, and the Romans were at first discouraged by their war-cry of "*Ambrons, Ambrons,*" which, shouted in their bucklers, sounded like the roaring of wild beasts; nevertheless, the Romans came off victorious. However, they were repulsed from the enemy's camp by the women of the Ambrons, who, arming themselves in defence of their freedom and their children, struck from the top of their wagons without distinction of friends or enemies. The whole night long the barbarians bewailed their dead with savage howls, that repeated by the echoes of the mountains and of the river struck terror even into the breasts of the victors. Two days afterwards, Marius drew on a second engagement by means of his cavalry. The Ambro-Teutons, carried away by their courage, crossed the river, and were overwhelmed in its bed. A body of three thousand Romans took them in the rear, and decided the fate of the day. According to the most moderate computation, a hundred thousand of the barbarians were killed or taken. The valley, enriched by their blood, became celebrated for its fertility. The inhabitants of the district used nothing else than the bones of the slain to enclose and prop their vines; and the name given to the plain of *Camps putridi* (the putrid fields) is still recalled by that of the village of *Pourrières*. As for the booty, the army resigned it wholly to Marius, who, after a solemn sacrifice, burnt it in honor of the gods. A pyramid was raised to Marius, a temple to Victory; and an annual procession to the church of St. Victoire, built on the site of the temple, subsisted uninterruptedly down to the period of the French Revolution. The pyramid remained to the fifteenth century, and *Pourrières* took as its arms the triumph of Marius, as represented on one of the bas-reliefs with which it was adorned.\*

Meanwhile, the Cimbri had crossed the Noric Alps, and descended into the valley of the Adige. The soldiers of Catulus beheld them

\* Paul. Orat. l. v. c. 18. Aurum argentumque in flumen abiecit . . . equi ipsi gurgitibus immersi.

† Florus, l. 11. Rex Teutobochus, quatuordecim equos transire solitus.

\* Am. Thierry, Hist. des Gaul. vol. II. p. 228.



with terror, sporting, half naked, among the snow-wreaths and ice, and sliding on their bucklers from the tops of the Alps over the precipices.\* Catulus, a mere disciplinarian, thought himself safe behind the Adige, and under the cover of a small fort, which he imagined the barbarians would waste their time in forcing. They threw in rocks, laid a whole forest upon them, and crossed. The Romans fled; and did not stop till they were covered by the Po. The Cimbri thought not of pursuing them. While waiting the arrival of the Teutons, they gave themselves up to the enjoyment of the Italian soil and sky, and suffered themselves to be conquered by the sweets of the soft and beautiful country. The wine, the bread,—all was new to these barbarians,† who melted before the southern sun, and the still more enervating influence of civilization.

Marius had time to join his colleague. He gave audience to the deputies of the Cimbri, whose object was delay—"Give us," they said, "lands for ourselves, and for our brothers, the Teutons."—"Trouble not yourselves about them," answered Marius, "they have lands, which we have given them, and which they will keep forever." And, as the Cimbri threatened him with the arrival of the Teutons—"They are here," he said; "it were not kind should you part without saluting them," and he ordered the captives to be produced. When the Cimbri asked him the place and day that he would meet them "to decide whose should be Italy," he appointed the third day from that, and a plain near Verceil.

#### DESTRUCTION OF THE CIMBRI.—JOY OF ROME.

Marius had so posted himself that the enemy had the wind, dust, and scorching rays of a July sun directly in their faces. The Cimbri had formed their infantry in an enormous square, the front ranks of which were serried together with chains of iron. Their cavalry, fifteen thousand strong, was terrible to behold, with their casques crowned with the muzzles of wild beasts, and their crests—the wings of birds.‡ The ground occupied by the barbarian camp and army was a league long. As the battle began, the wing in which Marius was, fancying the enemy's cavalry had taken flight, spurred on in pursuit, and lost itself in the dust; while the enemy's infantry, like the waves of a vast ocean, rolled on and was broken on the centre, where Catulus and Sylla commanded; and then all was an indistinguishable mass of dust. To the dust and the sun belonged the principal honor of the victory.§

\* Florus, l. iii. c. 3. Hi jam (quis crederet ?) per hiemem, quæ altius Alpes levat, Tridentalis jugis in Italian provocati ruinâ descendunt.—Plutarch, in Mar. c. 23. Τοὶ ὀρεῶς ἡλικίᾳ θεωριδίων τοῖς οὐρανῶν.

† Ibid. In Venetiâ, quo fere tractu Italia mollior est, ipsi soli cunctis elementis robur elanguit. Ad hoc panis ut carnique coctæ et dulcedine viti mitigatæ, &c.

‡ Plutarch, in Mar. c. 37. ὀφθαλμοὺς φοβερῶν χερσῶν . . . ἄλφοις ἀνταρτοῖς.

§ Florus, l. iii.—Plutarch, in Mar. c. 37. Καταπύρξας ἀπὸ

The barbarian camp, with the women and children, was the next object. These, clad in the weeds of wo, sought a promise that their persons should be respected; and that they should live slaves to the Roman priestesses of fire.\* (The Germans worshipped the elements.) Their prayer rejected, they wrought their own deliverance. Marriage with these people was a serious thing. Their symbolical nuptial presents—the yoked oxen, the arms, the charger, sufficiently signified to the virgin that she had become the companion of her husband's dangers—that the same fate awaited them in life as in death, (*sic vivendum, sic perendum*. Tacit.) It was to his wife that the warrior brought his wounds after battle, (*ad matres et conjuges vulnere referunt, nec aut illa numerare aut augere plagas parent*.) She counted and sounded them without a tremor; for death was not to separate them. So, in the Scandinavian poem, Brunhild burns herself on the body of Sigfrid. The first act of the wives of the Cimbri was to set their children at liberty by death; they strangled them, or cast them under the wheels of their wagons. They then heaped themselves; fastening themselves by a running knot to the horns of their oxen, and goading them on so as to ensure their being trampled to pieces. Their dead bodies were defended by the dogs of the horde, which it was found necessary to destroy with arrows.†

So vanished that terrible spectre of the North, which had filled Italy with such alarm. The word *Cymbric* abided as a synonyme of strong and terrible. Rome, however, was unconscious of the heroic deeds of these nations, which were one day to destroy her; she believed in her own eternity. All of the Cimbri who could be taken prisoners were distributed among the towns as public slaves, or devoted to gladiatorial uses.

Marius had the figure of a Gaul, thrusting out his tongue—a popular device at Rome from the days of Torquatus—carved on his buckler. He was hailed by the people as the third founder of Rome, after Romulus and Camillus; and they poured out libations in the name of Mars, as they were wont to do in honor of Bacchus or of Jupiter. He himself, intoxicated with his triumph over the barbarians of the North and of the South, over Germany and the African Indies, would drink thenceforward out of that two-handled cup alone, from which, according to tradition, Bacchus had drunk after his conquest of India.‡

ἑταῖροι δὲ λίμνῃ . . . ἐκκατακλινάμενοι τοῖς Τεταλίοις καὶ οὐκ αὐτοῖς ἤλκον.

\* Paul. Oros. l. v. c. 18. Consultaverunt consultationem, ut si inviolatâ castitate virginibus esset ad illas servandum castitatem sibi reservarent.—Florus, l. iii. c. 3. Quam, simul ad Marium legatione, libertatem ac succedentiam non impetrant.

† Plin. l. viii. c. 40. Canes defunctis, Cimbriis cadis, domus eorum planities impolitas.

‡ Valer. Max. l. viii. c. 15. ex. 7. Sedit, Bell. Jug. of c. 10. "From that time he was reckoned the hope and strength of the state."—Vell. Pat. l. i. l. c. 23. "Cimbri

## CHAPTER II.

## STATE OF GAUL THE CENTURY BEFORE ITS CONQUEST.—DRUIDISM.—CONQUEST BY CÆSAR.

THE great event of the Cymric invasion exercised only a very indirect influence on the destinies of Gaul, which was its principal theatre. The Teutonic Cymry were too barbarous to incorporate themselves with the Gallic tribes, already reclaimed by Druidism from their primitive rudeness.\* Let us take a closer glance at this religion of the Druids, which began the moral culture of Gaul, facilitated the Roman invasion, and cleared the way for Christianity. It must have attained its full development and complete maturity in the century preceding the conquest of Cæsar; or may, perhaps, have touched its decline; at least, the political influence of the Druids had diminished.

The Gauls seem at first to have worshipped material objects, the phenomena and agents of nature; lakes, fountains, stones, trees, winds, and, specially, the terrible *Kirk*.† In time, this rude worship was elevated, and generalized. These beings, these phenomena, had their respective genius assigned them; and so had places and tribes. Hence, the thunder-spirit, *Taran*;‡ *Vosegus*, the apotheosis of the *Vosges*; *Penninus*, of the Alps; *Arduinna*, of Ardennes; hence, the *Genius of the Arverni*; *Bi-bracte*, the goddess and city of the *Ædii*; *Arantia*, among the Helvetii; *Nemausus* (Nismes) among the *Arecomici*, &c.

By a step further in abstraction, the general powers of nature, and those of the human soul and of society were likewise deified. *Taran* became the god of heaven—the ruler and arbiter of the world. The sun, under the name of *Bel* or *Belen*, called into existence healing plants, and presided over medicine; *Heus* or *Hesus*, over war;‡ *Teutates*, over trade and commerce. Even eloquence and poetry had their symbol in *Ogmios*,‡ armed like Hercules with mace and bow, and drawing after him men fastened by the ear to gold and amber chains which issued from his mouth.

verity should have hindered his country from wishing that he had never been born."—*Plorus*, l. iii. c. 2. "The Roman people received the news of the preservation of Italy, and rescue of the empire, as if at the hands of the gods."—*Plut.* in *Marius*, p. 621.

\* The following account of the religion of the Gauls is wholly borrowed from the excellent work of Am. Thierry.

† *Maxim. Tyr. Herm.* 14.—*Senec. Quæst. Nat. l. v. c. 17.*—*Pandion ap. Strab. l. iv.*—*P. Oros. l. v. c. 16.*—*Greg. Turon. de Glor. Confess. c. 3.*

‡ *Tanaisius*, *Lucan.* l. i.—*Vosagus*, *Inscript. Grut. p. 94.*—*Arduinna*, *Inscript. Grut.*—*Genio Arvernorum*, *Reines. append. 5.*—*Bibracte*, *Inscr. ap. Rev. Fr. l. 24.*—*Nemausus*, *Grut. p. 111.*—*Arantia*, *Grut. p. 110.*—*Arantia*, *Amm. Marc. l. ii. Tertull. Apolog. c. 24.*

§ In a bas-relief found at Paris under the church of Notre Dame in 1711, Heus is represented crowned with leaves, half-naked, an axe in his hand, and with his left knee resting on a tree that he is cutting down.

¶ The sacred characters of the Irish were called *tygham*—see *Toland* and *Halloran* (Vallancey), and *Brachet*, in the *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, &c.

The *tygham* characters were represented by twigs of various kinds, and the figures resembled those called *Bonic*.

The analogy of the foregoing with the Olympus of the Greeks and Romans\* is evident. The resemblance became identity when Gaul, subdued by Rome, had undergone but for a few years only the influence of Roman ideas. For then, the Gallic polytheism, honored and favored by the emperors, was finally fused in that of Italy; while Druidism, its mysteries, doctrine, and priesthood, were proscribed with the utmost severity.

## RELIGION OF THE GAULS.—DRUIDISM.

The Druids taught that matter and spirit are eternal; that the substance of the universe subsists unaltered through the perpetual variation of phenomena; that these are under the alternate influence of fire and water;‡ and, finally, the doctrine of the metempsychosis,‡ with which was connected the moral idea of rewards and punishment. They taught that the transmigration of the human soul into animals inferior to man, was a state of trial and of chastisement; and even proclaimed *another world*,‡ a world of happiness, where the soul preserved its identity, its passions, and its habits. At funerals, letters were burnt, which the dead were to read, or to deliver, to those who had gone before them;‡ and, often, money was lent, on condition of repayment in the other world.¶

The combination of these two notions of the metempsychosis and of another life, formed the basis of the system of the Druids. But their knowledge did not end here; they were metaphysicians, natural philosophers, physicians, and above all, astronomers\*\* as well. Their year was composed of lunations, whence the assertion of the Romans that the Gauls measured time by nights and not by days; a custom which they accounted for from the infernal origin of that people, and their descent from Pluto.†† The medicine of the Druids was wholly founded on magic. The *Samolus* (marshwort, or fen berry) was to be gathered fasting, and with the left hand, was to be torn up without looking at it, and so

—*Lucian* gives a minute account of the Gallic Hercules, whose attributes, he states, were thus explained to him by a Druid: "We Gauls do not suppose, as you Greeks, that Mercury is speech or eloquence, but we attribute it to *Har* rules, because he is so far superior in strength. . . . We think his arrows were born reasons, penetrating the souls of men: whence, among yourselves, is the expression, 'winged words.'"—*TRANSLATOR.*

\* *Cæsar*, *Bell. Gall. l. vi. c. 17.*

† *Cæsar*, l. vi. c. 14. *Diodor. Sic. l. v. p. 206.* *Val. Max. l. iii. c. 9.*

‡ *Strabo*, l. iv. p. 197. *Ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἡ γένεσις τῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν ἀποφάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τοῦ σώματος*—*Cæsar*, l. vi. c. 14. *Mela*, l. iii. c. 2. *Amm. Marc. l. xv. c. 8.* *Val. Max. l. ii.*

¶ *Lucan.* l. i. *Mela*, l. iii. c. 2. In the Appendix will be found some particulars respecting the religious traditions of the Welsh and Irish. Recent as these traditions may appear, they yet bear a profoundly indigenous character. The myth of the heaven and of the lake has every appearance of having originated at a period when our western countries were still covered with forests and marshes.

¶ *Diodor. Sic. l. v. p. 206.*

¶ *Mela*, l. iii. c. 2. *Val. Max. l. ii. c. 9.*

\*\* *Cæsar*, l. vi. c. 13. *Mela*, l. iii. c. 2. *Plin.* l. xvi. c. 64.

†† *Cæsar*, l. vi. c. 18.

thrown into the watering-places of the cattle ; against whose diseases it was a preservative.\* The gathering of the selago (hedge-hyssop) required preparation by ablutions, and an offering of bread and wine ; the gatherer went to seek it bare-footed, and arrayed in white ; as soon as he descried the plant he stooped as if accidentally, and slipping his right hand under his left arm, plucked it without ever using the knife, and then wrapped it in a napkin, which was to be used but once.† There was a distinct ceremonial for the gathering of vervain. But the universal remedy, the panacea, as the Druids called it,‡ was the famous *mistletoe*, which they believed to be sown on the oak by a Divine hand ; and they saw in the union of their sacred tree, with the lasting verdure of the parasitic plant, a living symbol of the doctrine of immortality. It was gathered in winter, just as it flowers, when the plant is most readily distinguishable, and when its long green branches and leaves, and yellow tufts of flowers, present the only image of life to be seen where all nature around is dead and sterile.§

The mistletoe was to be cut when the moon was six days old. It was gathered by a Druid in white robes, who mounted the tree, and, with a golden sickle, severed the root of the plant, which was caught by his fellow-Druids in a white cloak, for it was essential that it should not touch the ground.¶ Two white bulls were then sacrificed, which had never borne the yoke.

The Druids foretold the future by the flight of birds, and inspection of the entrails of the beasts sacrificed. They also manufactured talismans ; such as the amber beads, worn by the warriors in battle, and which are often met with in their tombs. But the choicest talisman was *the serpent's egg*.¶ Their notions respecting the egg and serpent, call to mind the cosmogonic egg of oriental mythology, as well as the metempsychosis and the eternal renovation of which the serpent was the emblem.

Female magicians, and prophetesses, were affiliated to the Druidical order, but without partaking its prerogatives. Their rule of life imposed on them fantastical and contradictory

laws. One order of priestesses could unveil the future only to their polluters ; another was devoted to perpetual virginity ; a third, although permitted to marry, was enjoined long periods of celibacy. Sometimes, these females had to assist at nocturnal sacrifices, with their naked bodies dyed black, their hair dishevelled, and abandoning themselves to transports of phrensy.\* The greater number of them dwelt on the wild reefs, which are scattered throughout the Armorican Archipelago. At Sena (Sein) was the celebrated oracle of the nine terrible virgins, called *Senes*, from the name of their island.† The privilege of consulting them was confined to seamen ; and even they must have made the voyage for the express purpose.‡ These virgins knew the future ; cured incurable ailments ; predicted and raised tempests.

The priestesses of Nannettes inhabited an island at the mouth of the Loire. Although married, man was forbidden to approach their dwelling. At certain prescribed periods, they visited their husbands on the continent ; when, leaving their island at night-fall, in small boats which they managed themselves, they passed the night in huts prepared for their reception. As soon as day broke, tearing themselves from the arms of their husbands, they hurried to their skiffs, and rowed back to their solitudes.§ It was their bounden task every year, crowned with ivy and green garlands, to pull down and rebuild the roof of their temple, in the space between sunset and sunset ; when, if one of them chanced to let any of the sacred material fall on the ground, she was lost—her companions rushed upon her with fearful cries, tore her in pieces, and scattered her mangled body to the winds.¶ The Greeks conceived that they recognised in these rites the worship of Bacchus ; and they also likened to the orgies of Samothrace, other Druidical orgies celebrated in an island off the coast of Brittany,¶ whence the sailor heard with fear on the open sea furious cries, and the clashing of barbarian cymbals.

#### DISCIPLINE AND HIERARCHY OF THE DRUIDS.

If the religion of the Druids did not institute, it at least adopted and kept up the practice of human sacrifice. The priests plunged their knives above the diaphragm of the victim, and drew their prognostics from the position in which he fell, the convulsions of his limbs, the abundance and color of his blood. At times they crucified him on stakes within the temples, or shot him to death with darts and arrows.\*\* Frequently they reared a colossus of wicker-work or hay, and, having filled it with living

\* Plin. l. xxiv. c. 11.

† Ibid.

‡ *Omnis sanantem appellantes*. Plin. l. xvi. c. 44.

§ Plin. l. xvi. c. 44.—Virg. *Æn.* l. vi.

¶ Plin. l. xvi. c. 44.

\*\* Plin. l. xxix. c. 44. This pretended egg seems to have been nothing more than an echinite, or petrified sea-urchin.

In summer time, says Pliny, vast numbers of serpents frequent certain caverns of Gaul, where they blend and twine together, and with their saliva, combined with the froth that oozes out of their skin, produce this kind of egg. When it is perfect, they raise it and support it in the air by their hissings. This is the moment to seize it. Some one, placed in watch for the purpose, darts out, catches the egg in a napkin, leaps on a horse which is in readiness, and gallops off at full speed to escape the serpents, who follow him until he puts a river between them. The egg was to be borne away at a certain period of the moon. It was tried by plunging it into water. If it swam, although encircled by a ring of gold, it empowered its possessor to gain law-suits, and secured him a free access to kings. The Druids wore it, richly encased, on their necks, and sold it at extravagant prices.

\* Plin. l. xxi. c. 2. Tacit. *Annal.* l. xiv.

† Galli *Senes* vocant. Melis, l. iii. c. 3.

‡ Ibid.

§ Strabo, l. iv. p. 198.

¶ Ibid.—Dionys. *Perieg.* v. 565, et seqq.

\*\* Fest. Avien. periphr. Dionys. *Perieg.*—Strabo, l. iv. p. 298.

\*\* Strabo, *ibid.*—Diod. l. v. p. 395.

victims, a priest threw into it a lighted torch, and the whole soon disappeared in eddies and smoke.\* Undoubtedly, these offerings were often redeemed by votive casting ingots of gold and silver into it, or nailing them up in the temples.† As to the hierarchy. It comprised distinct orders. The lowest order was the bardis, who handed down orally the songs of the clans, and sang upon the *rotte* oits of the chiefs and the national traditions. Next came the priesthood, properly so consisting of the Ovates (or Eubages) and the Druids. The Ovates had the charge of monuments of worship, and celebrated the festivals. To them belonged especially the profession of the natural sciences to religion, divination, &c. Interpreters of the law, no civil or religious act was complete without their ministration.‡

Druids (*men of the oaks*) were the highest order of the hierarchy. In them power and knowledge. Theology, moral philosophy, the higher acquisitions, were their province.

They were elective. Initiation into the order, which was accompanied by severe ordeals, sometimes lasted twenty years; for they committed to memory all priestly lore, being intrusted to writing, at least in the period that they became acquainted with the Greek characters.¶

Their annual assembly of Druids was held once a year on the territory of the Carnuti, in a sacred grove which was deemed the centre of all Gaul; thither the people flocked from the most remote provinces. The Druids then left their seats, and gave judgment, seated in the midst of the multitude. Here, undoubtedly, was the Archdruid, whose office was to preserve the institution in its integrity; and his action, not unfrequently, gave rise to civil

war, even had Druidism not been weakened by its divisions, the solitary life to which members of the order seem to have been devoted must have rendered it incapable of any action on the people. The case was different from that of Egypt, where the population massed on a narrow base. The Gauls, dispersed over the forests and marshes of a wild country, and were exposed to the ravages of a barbarous and warlike life. Druidism had no firm hold on so scattered and lawless a people; and they early escaped its

influence in Gaul, at the time of Cæsar's invasion,\*\*

seems to have been utterly powerless to organize itself. The old spirit of clanish and warlike feeling of independence which Druidism should have repressed, had gained new vigor; though inequality of strength, indeed, had established a sort of hierarchy among the tribes, some of which were clients of the others, as the Carnuti of the Remi, the Senones of the Ædui, &c. (Now, Chartres, Reims, Sens, Autun.)

Cities had been formed; places of refuge, as it were, in the midst of this life of war. But the tillers of the ground were wholly serfs; so that Cæsar might well say, "There are only two orders in Gaul, the Druids and the Knights (equites)." The Druids were the weakest. It was a Druid of the Ædui who called in the Romans.

#### GALLIC CAMPAIGNS OF CÆSAR. (B. C. 58-49.)

I have elsewhere spoken of Cæsar, and of the motives which decided that marvellous man to abandon Rome so long for Gaul, and exile himself that he might return master. Italy was exhausted; Spain untamable; Gaul was essential to the subjugation of the world. Fain would I have seen that fair and pale countenance,\* prematurely aged by the debaucheries of the capital—fain have seen that delicate and epileptic man,† marching in the rains of Gaul at the head of his legions, and swimming across our rivers; or else, on horseback, between the litters in which his secretaries were carried, dictating even six letters at a time, shaking Rome from the extremity of Belgium, sweeping from his path two millions of men,‡ and subduing in ten years Gaul, the Rhine, and the ocean of the north. (B. C. 58-49.)

This barbarous and bellicose chaos of Gaul, was a superb material for such a genius. The Gallic tribes were on every side calling in the stranger, Druidism was in its decline. It seems to have prevailed in the two Britannies, and in the basins of the Seine and Loire.§ But in

Thierry. Great part of Aquitaine followed the example of Spain, and declared for Perpetua; and from Gaul Lepidus invaded Italy. But Milla's party gained the day. Aquitaine was reduced by Pompey, who founded military colonies at Toulouse, at Nîmes, (Nemausus,) and at Narbonne, (B. C. 75,) and collected all the exiles who frequented the Pyrenees into his new town of Caraca, (a word signifying an assemblage of men from all quarters,) now St. Bertrand de Comminges. The chief agent of the violence of Milla's party in Gaul had been one Fontius, whom Cicero managed to get acquitted. (See *orat. pro Fontio*.) The sufferings of Roman Gaul nearly drove the ambassadors of the Allobroges into Catiline's conspiracy. See my History of Rome.

\* Port. in J. Cæsar. c. 43. Falsus traditor colore candido.

† Id. *ibid.* Conitilli quoque morbo his inter res periculosas corruptis out.

‡ Port. *Plut. pæcon.* Pila. vii. 25. Eleven hundred and ninety-two thousand men before the civil wars. The same writer, speaking of Cæsar, says, "His genius could grasp every subject, even the sublimest, and its quickness was like fire—he could dictate four letters at a time, on important business, to his secretaries, and, if not occupied with any thing else, as many as seven."

§ The Carnutes, (Chartres,) a Druidical tribe, were clients of the Remi, (Reims.) The Senones, (Sens,) who had connections with the Carnutes and Parisii, had been vassals or clients of the Ædui, (Autun,) as perhaps the Stengeni

u. l. vi. c. 16. Strabo, l. iv. p. 198.

† Toulouse. See p. 60.

‡ *ut Lepidus ad Italiam.* Strabo, l. iv. p. 119.

p. 207. Ann. Marc. l. xv. c. 2.

§ (Cymric,) Dora, (Armenian,) Dour, (Gaulic,)—

l. v. p. 208. Strabo, l. iv. p. 197. Ann. Marc.

l. vi. c. 14.

the changes that occurred in the Roman provinces, derived between Marius and Cæsar, consult Ann.

the south the Arverni and all the Iberian settlers of Aquitaine had, for the most part, remained faithful to their hereditary chiefs. In Celtic Gaul even, the Druids had been able to resist the old spirit of clanship only by favoring the establishment of a free population in the towns, whose chiefs or patrons were at least elective, like the Druids. Thus two factions divided the whole of the Gallic states; the hereditary, or that of the chiefs of clans; the elective, or that of the Druids and temporary chiefs of the inhabitants of the towns.\* At the head of the latter were the Ædui; the leaders of the first were the Arverni and Sequani; and here began the enmity between Burgundy (the Ædui) and Franche-Comté, (the Sequani.) The Sequani, oppressed by the Ædui, who blocked up the navigation of the Saône, and interrupted their lucrative traffic in swine,† summoned from Germany tribes, to whom Druidism was unknown, and who went under the common name of Suevi. These barbarians asked no better. They crossed the Rhine, led by an Ariovist, defeated the Ædui, and imposed a tribute on them. They treated their inviters, the Sequani, worse; depriving them of the third of their lands, according to the custom of German conquerors, and ill-treating them all the same. Reconciled by misfortune, the Ædui and Sequani then sought the aid of other foreigners. Two brothers were all-powerful among the Ædui. Dumnorix, enriched by the taxes and tolls, the monopoly of which he had secured either forcibly or in gift, had acquired popularity among the poorer inhabitants of the towns, and aspired to the sovereignty. Leaguings himself with the Helvetian Gauls, he married one of their countrywomen, and enticed that people to leave their sterile valleys for the rich plains of Gaul. The other brother, who was a Druid—a title in all probability identical with that of Divitiacus, which Cæsar gives as his proper name—sought less barbarous liberators for his country. He repaired to Rome, and implored the assistance of the senate,‡ which had called the Ædui *kindred and friends of the Roman people*. But the chief of the Suevi also appealed to the same quarter, and managed to get himself as well styled the friend of Rome. Influenced, probably, by the impending invasion of the Helvetii, the senate contracted alliance with Ariovistus.

(Berry) had also been. Cæsar, Bell. Gall. l. vi. c. 4, and *passim*.

\* Cæsar, l. i. c. 16. "The *Fergobretus*. (Ver-go-breith, Gaelic, 'man for judgment') who is chosen annually, and has the power of life and death over his countrymen."—L. vii. c. 33. "By the laws of the Ædui, their chief magistrates could not leave the country. The law also forbade the choosing two living members of the same family magistrates, or even that two should sit at the same time in the senate."—L. v. c. 27. "Their polity was so constituted, that the multitude had not less power over their chief than he over them." And *passim*.

† Strabo, l. vi. p. 172. "Hence the Roman market has its finest supply of salted swine."

‡ Cic. de Divia. l.

For three years these mountaineers had made preparations which clearly showed that they wished to render return impossible. They had burnt their twelve towns and four hundred villages, and destroyed the moveables and provisions which they could not carry along with them. The rumor ran that they intended to traverse the whole breadth of Gaul, and establish themselves in the west, in the country of the Santones, (Saintes.) Beyond doubt, they hoped to enjoy a more tranquil life on the shores of the great ocean than in their rude Helvetia, which formed the central battle-field of all the people of the ancient world, Gauls, Cimbri, Teutons, Suevi, and Romans. Including women and children, they numbered three hundred and seventy-eight thousand souls; and it was the difficulty of transporting so vast a multitude, which made them prefer the road through the Roman province. They found the way barred at the very beginning by Cæsar, who was posted near Geneva, and who kept them in play long enough to gain time to throw up between the lake and Mount Jura a wall sixteen feet high, and nearly six miles long. They were thus compelled to plunge into the rugged valleys of the Jura, traverse the country of the Sequani, and to ascend the Saône. Coming up with them as they were crossing this river, Cæsar fell on the Tigurini while they were cut off from the main body, and exterminated the whole tribe. His provisions failing, owing to the ill-will of Dumnorix and of the party who had called in the Helvetii, he was constrained to retire on Bibracte, (Autun.) The Helvetii, construing this retrograde movement into a flight, pursued him in their turn. Placed thus between enemies and disaffected allies, Cæsar extricated himself from the dilemma by a bloody victory. Once more overtaking the Helvetii, in their flight to the Rhine, he forced them to surrender their arms, and to pledge themselves to return to their own country. Six thousand of them who had fled in the night, in order to escape this disgrace, were brought back by the Roman cavalry, and, to use Cæsar's own language, *treated as enemies*.\*

#### GERMAN MIGRATIONS INTO GAUL.

To have repulsed the Helvetii was nothing if the Suevi invaded Gaul. Their migrations were constant, and had already carried there a hundred and twenty thousand fighting men. *Gaul was about to become Germany*. Cæsar affected to yield to the prayers of the Ædui and Sequani, oppressed by barbarians. The same Druid who had solicited the assistance of Rome, undertook to explore the road and to guide Cæsar to Ariovistus. The chief of the Suevi, who had obtained the title of ally of the Roman people from Cæsar himself, while con-

\* Cæsar, l. i. c. 28. Cæsar . . . *reductus in hostium numero habuit*.

was amazed at being attacked by him. "said the barbarian, "is my Gaul,—my you have yours,—if you leave me in , you will be the gainers, for I will fight war wars, without your incurring trouble or Are you ignorant what manner of men the uns are ! It is now more than fourteen since we have slept under a roof." These told but too deeply on the Roman army. at had been reported of the stature and ity of these northern giants terrified the or race of the south :† and nothing was seen in the camp but men making their Caesar shamed them by saying, " If you t me, I shall still go on : the tenth legion ough for me." Then leading them to Be- , he masters the city, pushes on to the of the barbarians, which was not far the Rhine, forces them to give battle, alth they were desirous of deferring it, till ew moon, and destroys them in a desperate gement, almost all the fugitives perishing a river.

the Belgæ, and other Gauls of the north, ag, and not without probability, that if the Romans had expelled the Suevi, it was only to reduce them as masters of the land, formed a coalition; of which Cæsar took advantage to conquer Belgium. He had with him, as guide and interpreter, the Divitiac of the *Ædui*, *Divitiac*; and was called in by the *Seduci*, ancient vassals of the *Ædui*, and by the *Belgæ*, successors of the Druidical territory of *Armeni*. It is probable that these tribes, devoted to Druidism—or at least to the popular religion—hailed with pleasure the arrival of the *Legion* of the Druids, and relied on opposing to the northern Belgæ, their ferocious invasions; just as, five centuries afterwards, the Catholic clergy of Gaul favored the invasion of the Arian Visigoths and Burgundians by *Frank*.

war in the boggy plains and virgin forests of the Seine and the Meuse would have been more and discouraging prospect to any general daring than Caesar. Like the conqueror of America, he was often obliged to clear a road with the hatchet, to throw bridges over marshes, and to advance with his legions upon terra firma, sometimes by fording, sometimes by swimming. Besides, the Belgæ interlarded the trees of their forests together, as the Indians of America are naturally interlarded by the

creeping plants. But, with their superiority of arms, the Pizarros and Cortes waged a certain war; and what were the Peruvians compared with the hardy and choleric Bellovaci and Nervii, (Picardy, Hainault, Flanders,) who marched on Cæsar hundred thousand at a time! Through the mediation of the Divitiæ of the Ædui,\* the Bellovaci and Suessiones were brought over; but the Nervii, supported by the Atrebrates and Veromandui, surprised the Roman army on its march along the Sambre, in the depth of their forests, and fancied themselves sure of its destruction. Cæsar was obliged to seize a standard and lead his men on; and the gallant Nervii were exterminated. Their allies, the Cimbri, alarmed by the works with which the Roman general was surrounding their town, feigned to surrender, threw down part of their arms from the walls, and then made a sortie with the rest. Cæsar sold fifty-three thousand of them into slavery.

No longer concealing his design of subduing Gaul, he undertook the reduction of all the coast tribes. He penetrated the forests and marshes of the Menapii and Morini, (Zealand and Gueldera, Ghent, Bruges, Boulogne :) while one of his lieutenants subdued the Unelli, Eburones, and Lexovii, (Coutances, Evreux, Lisieux :) and another, the young Crassus, conquered Aquitaine, although the barbarians had summoned to their aid from Spain the old brothers-in-arms of Sertorius.† Cræsar himself attacked the Veneti, and other tribes of our Brittany. This amphibious race inhabited neither the land nor the water. Their forts, erected on peninsulas alternately inundated and deserted by the tide, could be besieged neither by the one nor the other. The Veneti maintained a constant communication with the other Britain, and was supplied from it. To reduce them, it was necessary to be master of the sea. Nothing checked Cræsar. He built vessels, formed sailors, and taught them to secure the Breton ships by using grappling irons, and cutting their ropes. He treated hardly this hard people ; but the lesser Britain could only be conquered through the greater. Cræsar made up his mind to invade it.

This barbarian world of the west which he had undertaken to tame, was threefold. Gaul lay between Britain and Germany, and was in communication with both. The Cimbri were in all three countries; the Helvi and Boni, in Germany and Gaul; the Parisii and Galli Atrebatres were found in Britain as well. In the

ans, l. i. c. 35. Quam vellet, congregaretur, intellexit quid invicti Germani, exercituum in armis, qui minus vir belum non subitorem, virtute puerum - sustinere confidence to his soldiers is 40, by remind- ing, that in the war with Pyrrhus, they had already of the Germans

... At the siege of Genabum, the Gauls  
 "How can men of such pigmy stature hope to raise  
 by a tower?"

was this Division who had explored the road when previously marched against the Murvi L. I. c. 41.--  
"Germans have no Drakhs," says (near, "neither do we for sacrifice." L. vi c. 21. Apparently, they were

members of the anti-British party in Congress. L. H. C. 2 and the beginning of L. VI.

\* We find the *Inviter of the Edui* accompanying the Romans everywhere, up to the point of the invasion of Britain—a circumstance calculated to induce the belief that Caesar was about to re-establish in Belgium the influence of the *Saluti*, that is, of the Druidical and popular party—*I. ii. c. 14. Quod si fecerit, Salutorum auctoritatem apud omnes Belgas amplifacieturum quorum auxilio atque opibus, atque bello incidenti, eundemque committit*

I (cont. 1 m. c. 21. "They chose for their leaders the veterans who had served with distinction in all his campaigns, and who were supposed to be masters of military science."

differences which divided Gaul, the Britons seem to have been for the Druidical party, as the Germans were for that of the chiefs of the clans. Caesar struck both parties, both internally and externally; he crossed the ocean and the Rhine.

Two great German tribes, Usipii and Tencteri, worn out in the north by the incursions of the Suevi as the Helvetii had been in the south, like them had just emigrated into Gaul. (a. c. 55.) Caesar stopped them; and, under the pretence that he had been attacked by their young men, during parley, he fell unexpectedly upon them, and massacred them to a man. To strike the greater terror into the Germans he went in search of those terrible Suevi, whose neighbors no nation dared to be. In ten days, he threw a bridge over the Rhine not far from Cologne, despite the width and impetuosity of that immense river. After having ransacked in vain the forests of the Suevi, he repassed the Rhine, traversed the whole of Gaul, and in the same year embarked for Britain. When these prodigious marches, more astonishing than victories even, were reported at Rome, such audacity and fearful rapidity provoked one universal burst of admiration. The senate decreed a lectisternium of twenty days in thanksgiving to the gods. "Compared with Caesar's exploits," exclaimed Cicero, "what did Marius!"<sup>\*</sup>

#### CÆSAR'S DESCENT ON BRITAIN. (a. c. 55.)

When Caesar desired to cross into Great Britain, he could obtain no information from the Gauls respecting that sacred island. Dumnorix, the Æduan, declared that religion forbade his following Caesar,<sup>†</sup> and sought to escape by flight; but the Roman, aware of his restless disposition, ordered that he should be brought back alive or dead, and he was slain while defending himself.

The ill-will of the Gauls had nearly proved fatal to Caesar in this expedition. From the first, they kept him ignorant of the difficulties of landing. The tall ships used on the ocean drew a great depth of water, and could not approach the shore; so that the soldiery were obliged to cast themselves into the deep sea, and form in line in the midst of the waves. This gave considerable advantage to the barbarians, who crowded the strand; but the machines used in sieges were brought into play, and the shore was cleared by a shower of stones and darts. The equinox, however, was nigh; and it was the full of the moon, when the tides are at the highest. In one night the Roman fleet was dashed in pieces, or rendered unfit for service. The barbarians who, in the first moment of astonishment, had given hostages to Caesar, attempted to surprise his camp;

when repulsed with vigor, they again tendered their submission, and were ordered by Caesar to provide twice the number of hostages. But, having refitted his vessels, he set sail the same night without waiting their answer. A few days more, and the winter season would have interdicted his return.

The year following, we find him almost at one and the same time in Illyria, at Treves, and in Britain: there are only the spirits of our old legends who have journeyed after this fashion. On this occasion, he was led into Britain by a fugitive chief of the country who had implored his assistance; and he did not return until he had routed the Britons, after laying siege to their king Caswallawn in the marshy precinct in which he had collected his men and his cattle. He wrote to Rome that he had imposed a tribute on Britain; and sent thither a large quantity of pearls of small value collected on its coasts.<sup>\*</sup>

After this invasion of the sacred isle, Caesar could count upon no more friends among the Gauls. The necessity of purchasing Rome at the expense of Gaul, and of satisfying the numerous adherents who had managed to prolong his command for five years, had driven the conqueror to the most violent measures. According to one historian, he plundered the sacred places, and gave up towns to pillage without a shadow of excuse.<sup>†</sup> In every direction he established chiefs devoted to the Romans, and overturned the popular government. Gaul paid dearly for the union, quiet, and cultivation bestowed upon it by the Roman conquest.

A scarcity compelling Caesar to disperse his troops, the whole country is up in arms. The Eburones massacre one legion, and besiege another, to relieve which, Caesar, with eight thousand men, cut his way through sixty thousand Gauls. The following year, he assembles the states of Gaul at Lutetia; but the Nervii and Treviri, the Senones and Carnuti not attending, he attacks and crushes them singly. He crosses the Rhine a second time, in order to intimidate the Germans, who were about proceeding to their succor. Then, he strikes at once both the parties which divided Gaul. He awes the Senones, the Druidical and popular party (!) by the solemn trial and execution of their chief, Acco; and overwhelms the Eburones, the barbarian party and friendly to the Germans, by chasing their intrepid Ambiorix through the forest of Ardennes, and delivering them up to the mercy of the Gallic tribes acquainted with their retreats in the woods and marshes, who with cowardly avidity joined in hunting this quarry. The legions blockaded this unfortunate people on every side, and prevented all possibility of escape.

<sup>\*</sup> *Cicero, de Provine. Consulibus.* "Marius himself did not force his way to their cities and dwellings."

<sup>†</sup> *Caesar, l. v. c. 6.* *Quid religiosius esse dicere impud.*

<sup>\*</sup> *Strabo, in J. Caesar, c. 47.* "It was reported by many that he had gone to Britain for the sake of the pearls there."

<sup>†</sup>

*Strabo, lib. c. 24.*

GENERAL REVOLT OF GAUL. (B. C. 52.)

These barbarities united Gaul to a man against Cæsar, (B. C. 52.) and, for the first time, the Druids and chiefs of the clans found themselves agreed. The Ædui even were, at last secretly, arrayed against their ancient enemy. The signal was given from Genabum; borne by shouts across the country from village to village,\* it reached the Arverni (formerly hostile to the Druidical and popular party, but now its friends) that very evening, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles. The Vereingetorix (general-in-chief) of the confederation was of this nation; young, brave, and ardent. His father, who had been in his time the most potent chieftain of Gaul, had been burnt as guilty of aspiring to royalty. Inheriting his vast clientship, the youth invariably declined the advances of Cæsar; and, in their assemblies, and at their religious festivals, incessantly animated his countrymen against the Romans. He summoned to arms even the chiefs who cultivated the soil. He threatened the cowardly with death; less serious offences were to be visited with the loss of ears or of eyes.†

The Gallic general's plan was to attack at once the Province in the south, and in the north the quarters of the legions. Cæsar, who was in Italy, divined all, anticipated all. He crossed the Alps, secured the safety of the Province, crossed the Cévennes with the snows feet deep, and appeared suddenly among the Arverni. The Gallic chief, who had set out for the north, was compelled to return, as his countrymen thought most of defending their own homes. This was to meet Cæsar's designs. He leaves his army, under pretence of using horses among the Allobroges, ascends, without discovery, the Rhone and the Saône to the frontiers of the Ædui, and by his arrival cheers and rallies his legions. While the Vereingetorix thinks to draw him to an engagement, by laying siege to the Ædunan town of Gergovia, (Moulins,) Cæsar puts every living thing to the sword in Genabum. The Gauls hurry to meet their foe, but it is to witness the taking of Noviodunum.

The Vereingetorix then forewarns his countrymen, that their only hope of safety is to drive out the Roman army; and that they can only accomplish this by burning down their own towns. They execute this cruel resolve with the utmost heroism. The Bituriges burnt down twenty of their own towns; but when they were about to set fire to the great Avaricum, (Bourges,) the inhabitants fell at the feet of the Vereingetorix, and implored him not to

ruin the finest city of Gaul.\* Their precaution proved their ruin, for their city was destroyed all the same, but by Cæsar, who took it after severe fighting.

Meanwhile, the Ædui had declared against him. Their defection depriving him of cavalry, he was obliged to send for Germans in their stead; and he failed in the siege of Gergovia, the capital of the Arverni, while Labienus, his lieutenant, would have been overpowered in the north, but for a victory. (The battle was fought between Paris and Melun.) So bad was the aspect of affairs, that he fell back upon the Roman province. The army of the Gauls pursued and overtook him. They had sworn that they would never behold house, family, wives, or children, until they had twice broken through the enemy's lines.† The contest was terrible. Cæsar was forced to run the utmost personal risk, was nearly taken, and his sword remained in the hands of the enemy. However, a charge of his German cavalry struck a panic-terror into the Gauls, and decided the victory.

This impressionable race then sank into such a state of discouragement, that their chief could only reassure them by taking post, strongly intrenched, under the walls of Alesia; a town situated on the summit of a mountain, (Auxois.) Here he was soon attacked by Cæsar; when, dismissing his horsemen, he charged them to spread throughout all Gaul the intelligence, that his provisions would fail in thirty days, and to bring to his succor every one capable of bearing arms. Cæsar, indeed, did not hesitate to besiege this large army. He circumvallated the town and the Gallic camp with vast works; consisting of three ditches, each fifteen or twenty feet wide, and as many deep, a rampart twelve feet high, eight smaller fosses, with their bottom bristling with stakes, covered over with branches and leaves, and palisades of five rows of trees with their boughs interlaced. The counterpart of these works was erected at some distance from the town and camp, so as to enclose a circuit of fifteen miles; and the whole was finished in less than five weeks, and by fewer than sixty thousand men.

FINAL REDUCTION OF GAUL. (B. C. 51.)

Gaul, to a man, dashed itself vainly against these fortifications. The desperate efforts of the besiegers, suffering from extremity of famine, and those of two hundred and fifty thousand Gauls, who attacked the Romans on the other side, alike failed. The utter defeat of these, their allies, by Cæsar's horse, and consequent flight and dispersion, filled the besieged with dismay. The Vereingetorix, alone preserving his firmness of mind in the midst of the

\* Cæsar. l. vii. c. 2. Nam, ubi magis . . . invidit res, clamor per agrum regulæque significat. hunc alii deinceps repetunt et protinus tradunt.

† Cæsar. l. vii. c. 4. Igni . . . morat; leviores de castris, citius dimectit, defunctis oculis, domum remittit.

\* Cæsar. l. vii. c. 15. Pulcherrimam populi totius Gallie urbem, quæ et presidio et ornameto sit civitati.

† Cæsar. l. vii. c. 66. Ne ad liberos, ne ad parentes, ne ad uxorem reditum habeat, qui non his per hostium agmen persequantur.



general despair, markedly delivered himself up as the sole mover of the war. Clad in his rich armor he mounted his charger, and, wheeling round the tribunal of Cæsar, cast his sword, casque, and javelin at the foot of the Roman, without uttering a word.\*

The year following, all the tribes of Gaul essayed by a partial and desultory resistance, to wear out the strength of their unconquerable enemy. Uxellodunum (Cap-de-Nac, in Quercy!) alone detained Cæsar a considerable period. The example was dangerous, for he had no time to lose in Gaul. Civil war might break out at any moment in Italy; and he was lost if he had to waste whole months before each petty fort. Therefore, to strike terror into the Gauls, he committed an atrocious act, of which, indeed, the Romans had but too frequently set the example—he ordered every prisoner's right hand to be cut off.

From this moment he changed his policy towards the Gauls, caused them to be treated with extreme lenity, and so favored them in the matters of tribute, as to excite the jealousy of the Province; disguising even its very name under the honorable name of *military pay*.† He allured their best warriors into his legions by high bounties; and even formed an entire Gallic legion, the soldiers of which bore the figure of a lark on their helmets, and which was thence named the *Alauda*.‡ Under this perfectly national emblem of early vigilance and lively gayety, these hardy soldiers sang as they crossed the Alps, and pursued as far as Pharsalia, with their clamorous shouts of defiance, the taciturn legions of Pompey. Led by the Roman eagle, the Gallic lark took Rome for the second time, and was a sharer in the triumphs of the civil war. Gaul retained the sword which Cæsar had lost, as some consolation for her vanished liberty. The Roman soldiers had wished to tear it from the temple, where it had been hung up by the Gauls—"Let it alone," said Cæsar, with a smile; "it is sacred."§

trymen.\* Such men have no country; they belong to the world.

Cæsar had not destroyed liberty, (it had long been dead;) rather, he had compromised Roman nationality. The Romans had witnessed with shame and anguish a Gallic army under the eagles; Gallic senators sitting between Cicero and Brutus. In reality, it was the conquered who profited by the victory.† If Cæsar had lived, it is probable that all the barbarian nations would have found their way into the army and the senate. He had already taken a Spanish guard; and the Spaniard, Balbus, was one of his principal counsellors.‡

Antony attempted to copy Cæsar. He undertook to transfer the seat of the empire to Alexandria, and adopted the dress and manners of the conquered. Octavius overcame him, only by professing himself the patriot and the avenger of the insulted nationality of Italy. He expelled the Gauls from the senate, and increased the tribute of Gaul;§ where he founded a Rome—*Valentia*, (one of the mysterious names of the eternal city,) and planted many military colonies, as at Orange, Fréjus, Carpentras, Aix, Apt, Vienne, &c. A number of towns became, from name and privileges, *Augustan*, as several in Cæsar's time had become *Julian*.|| Finally, in contempt of the ancient and illustrious cities of the land, he appointed the recently built town of Lyons—a colony of Vienne, and from the beginning hostile to its parent city—the seat of government. This city, so favorably situated at the confluence of the Saône and of the Rhone, almost resting on the Alps, near the Loire, and brought near the sea by the impetuosity of its current, which sweeps one there at once, surveyed Narbonne and Celtic Gaul, and seemed like an eye of Italy open upon all the Gauls.

ἡγεμον, ἐπιδότω, καὶ τῷ φθίον καθέλειν κλεινόντα, οὐκ εὐκλειαν, ἡδὲ τιμωρίαν.

\* Even supposing that Alexander was not poisoned, it cannot be denied, at least, that his death was little regretted by the Macedonians. A few years saw the extinction of his whole family.

† "The only injury done by the Romans to the nations they subdued," says St. Augustine, (*De Civit. Dei*, l. v. c. 16.) "is the blood they shed of theirs. The Roman lived obedient to the laws which he imposed upon others. All the subjects of the empire became citizens; and the poorer people, who had no land, were supported at the public expense. Vain-glory apart, what benefit have they derived from so many wars? Do not their lands pay tribute? Have they any privilege of learning what others may not learn? Nay, are there not in other countries senators who have not even seen Rome?"

‡ It was he who advised Cæsar to receive the senate, when it waited upon him in a body, seated. See my *Roman History*. (See, also, *Suet.* c. 78.)

§ He caused customs to be levied at the Straits, on ivory, amber, and glass.

|| Cæsar settled veterans of the tenth legion at Narbonne, which then took the surname of *Julia*, *Julia Paterna*, *Colonia Decurionum*. Inscript. ap. Fr. de l'Hist. de Langue-doc.—Aries, *Julia Paterna Arelata*.—Béziers, *Julia Bithynia*. *Suet.* c. 135. Bithynia, *Julia Bithynia*, &c.—Under Augustus, Nemausus took in addition the name of *Augusta*, and assumed the title of Roman colony; as did *Alba Augusta*, a town of the Helvi, and *Augusta*, a town of the Tricastini. *Augusto-Nemausus* became the capital of the Arverni.—Noviodunum took the name of *Augusta*; Bithynia, that of *Augustodunum*, &c. *Am. Thierry*, II. 321.

### CHAPTER III.

#### GAUL UNDER THE EMPIRE.—DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE.—CHRISTIAN GAUL.

ALEXANDER and Cæsar have had this in common: to be loved and wept by the conquered, and to perish by the hands of their own coun-

\* *Plut.* in *Cæs.* Dio, l. xi. ap. *Socr.* E. Fr. l. 513. *Εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς, ὡς αὐτὸς δι' ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ . . .*

† *Sueton.* in *C. J. Cæs.* c. 25. In singulos annos stipendii nomen imposuit.

‡ *Id.* *ibid.* c. 94. Unam ex transalpinis conscriptam (legionem) vocabulo quoque Gallico, (*alanda* enim appellabatur.) &c. Cæsar afterwards made the soldiers of this legion Roman citizens.

§ *Plutarch.* in *Cæs.* *ἡγεμον . . . ὁ καθέλειν αὐτῶν;*

At Lyons, and at Aisnay, at the angle of the Saône and Rhone, sixty Gallic cities reared altars to Augustus, under the eyes of his son-in-law, Drusus. Augustus took his place among the divinities of the country. Other altars were raised to him at Saintes, at Arles, at Narbonne, &c. The old Gallic religion readily blended with the Roman paganism. Augustus had built a temple to the god, Kirk\*—the personification of the violent wind which blows in the Narbonne; and on the same altar might be read in a two-fold inscription the names of the Gallic and the Roman divinities,—Mars-Camul, Diana-Arduinna, Belen-Apollo. Rome placed Hesus and Nehalania on the list of her indigene gods.

Nevertheless, Druidism long resisted Roman influence, and was the sanctuary of the nationality of Gaul. Augustus endeavored to moderate at the least this sanguinary religion—prohibiting human sacrifices, and only tolerating slight libations of blood.†

## INSURRECTION OF GAUL. (A. D. 21.)

Druidism must have had a share in the insurrection of Gaul under Tiberius; although history ascribes it to the weight of taxes, augmented by usury. The leader of the revolt, Julius Sacrovir, was probably an Æduan; the Ædus being, as I have said, a Druidical tribe, and the name, Sacrovir, perhaps, but a translation of Druid. The Belgæ were likewise drawn into it by Julius Florus.‡

"In the course of the same year a rebellion broke out among the cities of Gaul, occasioned by the load of debt that oppressed the common people. The principal leaders of the revolt were Julius Florus and Julius Sacrovir; the former a man of weight among the Treviri, and the latter among the Æduans. They were both of illustrious birth. Their ancestors had deserved well of the Romans, and, for their services, received the freedom of the city, at the time when that privilege was rare, and the reward of merit only. By these incendiaries secret meetings were held; the fierce and daring were drawn into the league, together with such as languished in poverty; or, being conscious of their crimes, had nothing left but to grow desperate in guilt. Florus undertook to kindle the flame of rebellion in Belgia; and Sacrovir to rouse the neighboring Gauls. . . . A general spirit of revolt prevailed in every part of Gaul. Scarce a city was free from

commotion. The flame blazed out among the Andecavians and the people of Tours; but by the diligence of Acilius Aviola, who marched from Lyons at the head of a cohort, the insurgents in the former province were reduced to obedience. The same commander, with a legionary force, detached by Vissellius Varro, from the lower Germany, marched into the territory of Tours, and quelled the insurrection. In this expedition some of the principal chiefs in Gaul joined the Roman army, not with zeal for the cause, but pretending friendship, in order, with surer effect, to be traitors in the end. Even Sacrovir fought with the Romans: he was seen in the heat of the action with his head uncovered, in order, as he gave out, to signalize his courage and fidelity; but in truth, as was afterwards collected from the prisoners, to avoid being aimed at by the darts of his countrymen. An account of these disturbances was transmitted to Tiberius. He doubted the intelligence, and by his indecision prolonged the war.

"Julius Florus, in the mean time, continued to exert his most vigorous efforts. A regiment of horse, raised formerly among the Treviri, but trained to the Roman discipline, happened to be quartered at Trèves. He tampered with those troops, in hopes of beginning the war by a general massacre of the Roman merchants. A small number listened to his advice, but the rest continued in their duty. Florus was followed by a rabble of debtors and a number of his own dependents. He marched towards the forest of Arden, but was intercepted by the legions detached by Vissellius and Caius Silius from the two armies on the Rhine. A party of those troops was ordered forward under the command of Julius Indus, a native of Trèves, who was then at variance with Florus, and, for that reason, burned with impatience to encounter his enemy. He gave battle to the rebels, and over an ill-appointed and undisciplined multitude gained a complete victory. Florus lay for some time concealed in lurking places; but at length, finding himself unable to elude the search of the Roman soldiers, and seeing the defiles and passes guarded on every side, he died by his own sword. The people of Trèves, after this event, returned to their duty.

"The Æduan commotions were not so easily quelled. The state was rich and powerful, and the force necessary to subdue the insurrection lay at a considerable distance. Sacrovir strained every nerve to support his cause. He seized the city of Augustodunum, (Autun,) the capital of the Æduans, and took into his custody the flower of the young nobility, who resorted thither from all parts of Gaul, as to a school of science and liberal education. By detaining those pledges, he hoped to attach to his interest their parents and relations. He supplied the young men with arms, which had been prepared with secrecy by his directions. His numbers amounted to less than forty thousand

\* *Senec. Quæst. Natur.* l. v. c. 17. *Aulus Gellius*, l. ii. c. 22.—In the Month of M. Gall. *Æt.* R. Fr. v. 122; *Cæsar* is synonymous with *Rome*.

† Most writers on Celtic antiquities are agreed that *Kirk* was the N. N. W. — TRANSLATION.

‡ *Mela* l. iii. c. 2. *U' ab ultimis cordibus temperant, im sublimibus ubi decessit altioribus admittitur, delibant.*

§ *Tacit. Annal.* l. iii. c. 40. The author borrows the passages from Tacitus which he has incorporated into his text, from the extended translation of his countryman, M. Boscwell. The translation given above is from Murphy's no less excellent version.

a fifth part of which were armed after the manner of the legions: the rest carried hunting-poles, knives, and other instruments of the chase. He had, besides, pressed into his service a body of slaves reared up to the trade of gladiators, and, according to the custom of the country, clad with an entire plate of iron. In the language of Gaul they were called CAUPELARIANS. Their armor was impenetrable to the stroke of the enemy, but at the same time rendered the men too unwieldy for the attack. The adjoining provinces had not taken up arms; but a number of individuals caught the infection, and joined the rebel army. Sacrovir gained a further advantage from the jealousies subsisting between the Roman generals. Each claimed to himself the conduct of the war; and the dispute continued till Varro, finding himself impaired by age, gave up the point to Silius, who was then in the vigor of his days. . . .

"Silius, in the mean time, having sent before him a body of auxiliaries, marched at the head of two legions into the territory of the Sequanians, (Franche-Comté,) a people at the extremity of Gaul, bordering on the Æduans, and confederates in the war. He laid waste the country, and proceeded, by rapid marches, to Augustodunum. . . . At the distance of twelve miles from Augustodunum, Sacrovir appeared in force. His line of battle was formed on the open plain. The gladiators, in complete armor, were stationed in his centre, his cohorts in the two wings, and his half-armed multitude in the rear. . . . The rebels were soon hemmed in by the cavalry: the front of their line gave way at the first onset of the infantry, and the wings were put to flight. The men in iron armor still kept their ranks. No impression could be made by swords and javelins. The Romans had recourse to their hatchets and pickaxes. With these, as if battering a wall, they fell upon the enormous load, and crushed both men and armor. Some attacked with clubs and pitchforks. The unwieldy and defenceless enemy lay on the ground, an inanimate mass, without an effort to rise. Sacrovir threw himself into the town of Augustodunum, but in a short time, fearing to be given up a prisoner, withdrew, with his most faithful adherents, to a villa in the neighborhood, where he put an end to his life. His followers, having first set fire to the place, turned their swords against themselves, and perished in one general carnage."

#### FAVOR SHOWN TO THE PROVINCIALS.

Augustus and Tiberius, severe rulers, and true Romans, had to some extent drawn closer the unity of the empire, compromised by Cæsar, by withholding from the provincials and barbarians all share in the government. Their successors, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, adopted quite an opposite line of conduct. Descendants of Antony, the friend of the barbarians,

they followed the example of their grandfather; which Germanicus,\* Caligula's father, had, indeed, affected to follow. Caligula, born, according to Pliny, at Trèves, and reared in the bosom of the armies of Germany and Syria, manifested an incredible contempt for Rome; a fact which serves to explain part of the follies with which the Romans reproached him, his violent and furious reign being a mockery of, and parody upon, all that had been held in reverence. Like the oriental monarchs, he married his sisters, and did not wait for death in order to be worshipped, but made himself a god in his lifetime. Alexander, his hero, had been satisfied with being the son of a god; but he tore the diadem from the statue of the Capitoline Jupiter and placed it on his own head.† He tricked out his horse in conular ornaments. He sold piecemeal at Lyons all the heirlooms of his family, thus renouncing his ancestors and prostituting their memories, acting himself as auctioneer, puffing every article, and raising them far beyond their value—"This vase was my grandfather Antony's; Augustus won it at the battle of Actium."‡ He also instituted burlesque and terrible sports§ at the altar of Augustus; such as contests of eloquence, in which the vanquished was to efface his writings with his tongue, or suffer himself to be thrown into the Rhone. There can be no doubt that those games were revived after some ancient custom. We know that the Gauls and Germans used to sacrifice their prisoners by casting them, man and horse, into rivers, and divine the future from the manner in which they went whirling round. The conquering Cimbri treated in this wise whatever they found in the camps of Cæpio and Manlius; and, even to this day, tradition points out the bridge over the Rhone, whence the bullocks were precipitated.

Caligula's companions were the most illustrious Gauls, as Valerius Asiaticus and Domitius Afer. Claudius was himself a Gaul. Born at Lyons,|| and kept an utter stranger to public life by Augustus and Tiberius, who mistrusted his singular absence of mind, he had grown old

\* "It is even said, that barbarous nations, both such as were at variance among themselves, and those that were at war with us, all agreed to a cessation of arms, as if they had been all in mourning for some very near and common friend; that some petty kings shaved their beards upon it, and their wives' heads, in token of their extreme sorrow; and that the king of kings (the king of Parthia) forbore his exercise of hunting and feasting with his nobles, which, among the Parthians, is equivalent to a cessation of all business in a time of public mourning with us." *Suet. in Calig. c. 5.*

† One day Caligula asked of a Gaul, who was already staring at him, "What do you see in me?" "A gaudy dard," (says *rapallapapa*,) was the reply. The emperor did not punish him; he was only a showman. *Ide. Calig. l. xlix. ap. Str. l. vii. c. 324.*

‡ *Ide. Caligula, l. vii. c. 68.*

§ He signalized his journey to Gaul in a more honorable manner, by building a Mythos for the navigation between Gaul and Britain, traces of which have been supposed discernible.

|| *Sueton. in Claud. c. 2. Strabo. de Monte Chabli, ap. Str. l. vi. l. 687.*

n solitude and the cultivation of letters, when, against his will, the soldiery proclaimed him king. Never did prince more shock the Romans, or show himself more foreign from their tastes and habits. His uncouth stuttering, his preference of the Greek language, his constant quoting of Homer, every thing he did provoked their laughter; so that he left the freedmen by whom he was surrounded to govern. It might very well be—whatever Tacitus may say to the contrary—that these slaves, who were so carefully educated in the palaces of the Roman nobles, were worthier to rule than their masters. The reign of Claudius was a kind of reaction of slavery, since slaves governed in their turn, and public affairs were not a whit the worse for it. Cæsar's plans were followed out: the port of Ostia was deepened, the circumference of Rome enlarged, the draining of Lake Fucinus undertaken, the aqueduct of Caligula continued, the Britons subdued in sixteen days, and their king pardoned; † while in contrast with the tyrannical authority of the Roman nobles who ruled the provinces as prætors or proconsuls, stood the procurators of the prince, men of no family, but whose responsibility was therefore the more certain, and whose excesses could be the more easily repressed.

Such was the government in the hands of freedmen under Claudius; by so much the less national as it was the more human. He himself made no secret of his predilection for the provincials. He wrote the history of the conquered races, of the Etruscians, of Tyre, and of Carthage; ‡ thus repairing the long injustice of Rome; and founded a chair in the Museum of Alexandria for the annual reading of these works of his. Unable to save those nations, he endeavored to preserve their memory. His own deserved better treatment. Whatever may have been his carelessness, his weakness, or even his brutishness in his latter years, history will pardon much to him who declared himself the protector of the slave, forbade his master to kill him, and endeavored to hinder his being exposed to die of famine, when worn out by years of disease, on the island of the Tiber. §

According to Suetonius, had his life been prolonged, Claudius would have admitted the whole of the west to the privilege of Roman citizenship—Greeks, Spaniards, Britains, Gauls, and first of all the Ædui; which latter people he readmitted into the senate, after the example of Cæsar. The oration which he pronounced on this occasion, (A. D. 48.) and which is still preserved at Lyons on tablets of bronze, is the

first authentic monument of our national history, the patent of our admission into this vast initiation of the world.\*

At the same time, he strove to suppress the sanguinary worship of the Druids, who, proscribed in Gaul, had been compelled to take refuge in Britain. He went in person to pursue them in this latter asylum. His lieutenants erected the countries which form the basin of the Thames into a Roman province, and left in the West a strong military colony, at Camulodunum, (Colchester.) The march of the legions was constantly to the west. They overthrew the altars, destroyed the antique forests; until, in Nero's time, Druidism was shut up within the little island of Mona, † (Anglesey.) Thither it was tracked by Suetonius Paulinus. In vain the sacred virgins hurried to the shore like furies, in mourning habits, with dishevelled hair, and brandishing torches. ‡ He forced the passage, slaughtered every living being that fell into his hands—Druids, priestesses, and warriors, and burst his way through those forests, so often the witnesses of bloody sacrifice. (A. D. 61.)

Meanwhile, the Britons rose in the rear of the Roman army, headed by their queen, the famous Boadicea, whom intolerable outrages animated to vengeance. They had exterminated the veterans of Camulodunum, and the entire infantry of a legion. Suetonius retraced his steps, and coolly got together his forces, abandoning the defence of the towns, and giving up the allies of Rome to the blind rage of the barbarians, who massacred seventy thousand souls; but he crushed them in a pitched battle, slaying to the very horses. After him, Cerealis and Frontinus followed up the conquest of the north; and, under Domitian, Agricola, the father-in-law of Tacitus, completed the reduction, and began the civilization of Britain. (A. D. 84.)

Nero was favorable to Gaul, and projected the junction of the Mediterranean with the Atlantic by a canal, which was to unite the Moselle with the Saône. § He relieved Lyons, which was ravaged by fire in his reign; and which, in the civil wars preceding his fall, remained faithful to him. The prime mover of this revolution was the Aquitanian, Vindex; at the time, prætor of Gaul. This man, "full of daring for every thing great," † excited Galba to revolt in Spain, and gained over Vitellius, commander of the German legions. But the two armies engaging in a murderous battle before they could be apprized of this agreement, Vindex slew himself in despair. Gaul sided with Vitellius; the German legions with which he conquered Otho and took Rome, mainly con-

\* Sueton in Claud. c. 20.

† Tacit. Annal. l. iii. c. 27. Dio l. li.

‡ Græci scripti historici, Terribemum signum, Carthæ barbarorum &c. Sueton in Claud. c. 42.

§ It being the custom of some to expose their sick slaves, when they despaired of their recovery, on the island of Ægædia, he ordered that all who should be so exposed, and should recover, should be considered free; and that whoever put a slave to death, as preferable on this account to exposing him, should be held guilty of murder. Sueton. in Claud. c. 23.

\* See Tacit. Annal. l. i. c. 24. and my History of Rome.

† Tacit. Annal. l. iii. c. 29.

‡ Tacit. Annal. l. iii. c. 30. Interuentibus feminis, in medium furarum, quæ veste ferat, crinibus dejectis, furas præferant. Druidique circum, proceres diuina, sublati ad celum manibus, tendentes &c.

§ Tacit. Annal. l. iii. c. 33.

|| Dio Cass. l. lxxv. 24. Ἰππὸς οὐδὲ ἑπὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι.

sisted of Germans, Batavians, and Gauls.\* no wonder, then, that she saw with pain the triumph of Vespasian. A Batavian chief, named Civilis, one-eyed like Hannibal and Sertorius, like them too a hater of Rome, and who had sworn, in consequence of some outrage by the Romans, that he would not cut his beard or his hair until revenged, seized the opportunity. He cut in pieces the soldiers of Vitellius, and in an instant the Batavians and Belgæ declared for him. He was encouraged by the famous Velleda, whom all the Germans revered as inspired by the gods, or rather as if she were indeed a divinity. To her were sent all prisoners, and the Romans besought her to arbitrate between them and Civilis. The Druids of Gaul, too, so long victims of persecution, issued from their retreats, and showed themselves to the people. A report having reached them that the Capitol had been burnt in the civil war, they proclaimed that with this pledge of eternity the Roman empire had perished, and was to be succeeded by that of Gaul.†

## RECIPROCAL ACTION OF GAUL AND ROME.

Such, however, was the force of the bond which united these nations with Rome, that the enemy of the Romans thought it safest at first to attack the troops of Vitellius in the name of Vespasian. Julius Sabinus, the chief of the Gauls, gave himself out to be the son of the conqueror of Gaul, and styled himself Cæsar. Thus, far from requiring a Roman army to destroy a party so inconsistent with itself, the Gauls who had remained faithful were sufficient. The old jealousy of the Sequani revived against the Ædui, and they defied Sabinus. All know the devotion of his wife, the virtuous Eponina. She buried herself with him in the cave where he had taken refuge. Children were born to, and reared by them there. After ten years' concealment, they were finally discovered; and she knelt to Vespasian, surrounded by the hapless beings who then first saw the open light of day.‡ The cruel policy of the emperor was inexorable.

In Belgium and Batavia the war was more serious, but the first soon submitted; the last held out in its marshes. Cerealis, the Roman general, twice surprised, and twice conqueror, concluded the war by gaining over Velleda and Civilis; who pretended that he had not taken up arms against Rome originally, but only against Vitellius and for Vespasian.

The result of this war was to show how Roman, Gaul had already become. No province, indeed, had received impressions from the con-

queror\* with more promptitude or readiness. At first sight, the two countries, the two people, had seemed less to become acquainted than to renew their knowledge of each other. The Romans frequented the school of Marseilles; that petty Greece,† more sober and more modest than its prototype,‡ and which lay at their door. The Gauls crossed the Alps in crowds; not only with Cæsar, under the eagles of the legions, but as physicians§ and rhetoricians. Here we already descry the genius of the school of Montpellier, of Bordeaux, Aix, Toulouse, &c., with its positive and practical tendency: the philosophers were few. These Gauls of the south, (it is too early to speak of those of the north,) bustling and intriguing, just as we see them at the present day, could not fail to succeed both as fine speakers and pantomimists: the Roman Roscius was a Southern Gaul. Nevertheless, they were not unsuccessful in more serious branches. It was a Gaul, Trogius Pompeianus, who wrote the first Universal History; and romance is the creation of another Gaul, Petronius Arbiter.¶ Rivals, too, rose among them to Rome's greatest poets: witness Varro Atacinus, from the neighborhood of Carcassonne,\*\* and Cornelius Gallus, Virgil's friend,†† a native of Fréjus. At the same time burst forth the true genius of France, the oratorical. From its

\* Strabo, l. iv. "Rome subdued the Gauls with much more ease than the Spaniards."—See the speech of Claudius ap. Tacit. Annal. li. c. 14. "Review all our wars, you will find none more quickly ended than that of Gaul; hence, constant and firm peace."—Hirtius ad Cæs. l. vii. c. 49. "Cæsar easily kept Gaul, won over by so many defeats, tranquil and docile."—Dio Cæs. l. xl. ap. Str. l. vi. c. 339. "Augustus forbade the senators to leave Italy without receiving permission from him—a custom still kept up, no senator can travel, except into Sicily or the North-seas."

† Strabo, l. iv. ap. Str. l. vi. c. 1. §. "This town had made the Gauls such Philhellènes, that they even drew up their contracts in Greek, (ὁρῶντες καὶ τὰ συμβόλαια ἑλληνιστὶ γράφειν), and even now it attracts the Romans thither in preference to Athens."—"The towns paid sophists and physicians out of the public revenue; thus Juvenal says, 'Thule now talks of hiring a rhetorician.'—Martial (l. vi. epigr. 87) congratulates himself on his poetry being read by even the women and children of Vienne.—The most celebrated schools were those of Marseilles, Autun, Toulon, Lyons, and Bordeaux: Greek continued to be taught in the latter longer than in any of the rest."

‡ Strabo, *ibid.* "Among the inhabitants of Marseilles, no dowry exceeds a hundred pieces of gold; no more than five pieces are allowed to be spent upon a dress, and the same for jewellery—not the slightest proof of the simplicity and prudence of the Massiliens."—Tacit. Vit. Agricola. c. 4. "His own ingenious disposition guarded him against the seductions of pleasure; and this happy temperament was assisted by the advantages which he had enjoyed of pursuing his studies at Marseilles, that seat of learning, where the sediments of Greece were happily blended with the sober manners of provincial economy."—A proverb occurs in Athenæus, l. xii. c. 5, which appears contradictory of these authorities—"Fall to Marseilles!"

§ Pliny mentions three, of great celebrity, in the first century. One of them gave a million towards the repair of the fortifications of his native place.

¶ Justin. l. xliii. c. 5. "Trogius says that his ancestors sprung from the Vocontii."

¶ Born near Marseilles. *Sidon. Apollinar. Carmen xxi.*

\*\* The following remarkable epigram is from the pen of this Varro:—

Marmoræ Licinus tumulo jacet, at Cato parvo,  
Pompeius nullis. Crediturus esse deus?  
(Licinus has a marble tomb, Cato a poor one, Pompey none is there a God?)

†† Vag. Eclog. 30.

\* Tacit. Hist. l. i. c. 57, 61; l. ii. c. 60.

† Tacit. Hist. l. iv. c. 54. *Fatali punc igne signum ceteris ire datum, et possessionem rerum humanarum Transalpinis gentibus portendi, superstitione vana Druidæ canebant.*

‡ Her words were, "Thee, O Cæsar, have I brought forth and nursed in a tomb, that there might be more of us to supplicate you." Dio Cæs. l. lvi.

From its origin the ancients recognised the tendency of Gallic art to the impetuous, exaggerated, and tragic; a tendency especially observable in its first essays. The Gaul, Zenodorus, who delighted in carving small figures and vases with the most minute delicacy, erected a colossal figure of the Gallic Mercury in the city of the Arverni. Nero, who loved the vast and prodigious, summoned him to Rome, to execute a statue of him a hundred and twenty feet high, which was placed at the foot of the Capitol, and was visible from the

In the first century of the empire, Gaul had made emperors, in the second, she had sup-

\* Martin in Novena, c. 31 - *When I, 1231 v. 67*  
 \* Hurt to Villi c. 13 - *When a boy he had the name of*  
*Reyn, which signifies a cock's bill" - (Red American).*  
 \* See *Linnic fish tale* - *Am Theory* 1.1. 417  
 \* At least their families were originally from Spain  
 \* See the correspondence of Hadrian with his master,  
 \* Fronto  
 \* Philostratus, in Apollon Thyan 1 v c 4 - *Illa Chm.*  
 \* 1.1. 11  
 \* \* - *Born at Lyons* - Aurell Victor, *Epitome*, c. 31 -  
*Illa Chm. concerning ad. cm. J. C. 69.*

plied emperors herself; in the third, she aimed at separating herself from the empire, then crumbling to pieces, and at forming a Gallo-Roman monarchy. The generals who in the time of Gallienus assumed the purple in Gaul, and governed with glory, appear to have been almost all superior men. Posthumus, the first of these, was surnamed the restorer of Gaul.\* He had formed his army in great part of Gallic and Frankish troops,† and was slain by his soldiers for refusing them the plunder of Mentz, which had revolted against him.‡ Elsewhere I give the history of his successors: of Victorinus and Victoria, the Mother of Legions; of the armorer, Marius; and, finally, of Tetricus, whom Aurelian had the glory of dragging behind his triumphal car, together with the queen of Palmyra.§ Although Gaul was the theatre of these events, they belong less to the history of the country than to that of the armies which occupied it.

Most of these provincial emperors—tyrants, as they were called—were great men. Their successors, who re-established the unity of the empire—the Aurelians and Probuses—were greater still. Yet the empire mouldered away in their hands. This is not attributable to the barbarians; the invasion of the Cimbri under the Republic had been more formidable than those under the Empire. Neither are the vices of the princes to be blamed for it: the most guilty of them as men, were not the most odious as rulers. Often did the provinces breathe freely under those cruel princes, who shed in seas the blood of the great of Rome. The government of Tiberius was prudent and economical;‖ that of Claudius, mild and indulgent.

\* Zostm. l. i.—P. Oros. l. vii. "He assumed the purple to the great advantage of the republic."—Treb. Pollio, ad ann. 290. "Posthumus freed Gaul with a strong hand from all the surrounding barbarians. . . . He was intensely beloved in Gaul, from his having driven out the German hordes, and restored the Roman empire to its pristine security. Being willingly proclaimed emperor by the army, and by the Gauls generally, he managed in seven years' time to rehabilitate Gaul."—On a medal of his appears the words, RESTITUTORI GALLIÆ. Rer. R. Fr. l. 536.

† Aurel. Victor, c. 33.—Treb. Pollio, ad ann. 290. Quam multis auxiliis Posthumus iuvaretur Celtis ac Franciis.

‡ Eutrop. l. ix.—P. Oros. l. vii.—Aurel. Victor, c. 43.

§ See my article, *Zénobie*, in Michaud's *Biographie Universelle*.

‖ In the affair of M. Sereus, Tiberius, contrary to his usual practice (*contra morem suum*) countenanced the informers. Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 30.—"Amidst these acts of violence, the informers, in their turn, were abandoned to their fate." Id. l. vi. c. 30.—"When, through a general enforcement of the payment of debts, whole families had been ruined, their credit destroyed, and every prospect of hope had vanished, Tiberius interposed with seasonable relief. He opened a fund of one hundred thousand great sesterties, as a public loan, for three years, free from interest, on condition that the borrower, for the security of the state, should mortgage lands of double the value. By this salutary aid public credit was revived." Id. l. vi. c. 17.—"To some governors of provinces, who advised him to load them with taxes, he answered, 'It is the part of a good shepherd to shear, not to fly his sheep.'" Sueton. in Tiber. c. 32.—"By degrees he assumed the exercise of the sovereignty, but for a long time with great variety of conduct, though generally with a due regard to the public good. At first, he only interposed to prevent ill-management. . . . If a rumor prevailed, that any person under prosecution was likely by his interest to be acquitted, he would suddenly make his appearance in court, and from the ground-benches,

Nero himself was regretted by the people; and his tomb was long kept constantly crowned with fresh flowers.\* While Vespasian was on the throne, a pretender, who assumed the name of Nero, met with enthusiastic support in Greece and Asia; and the recommendation of Heliogabalus to the purple, was his being believed the grandson of Septimius Severus, and son of Caracalla.

The provinces were not subjected under the emperors, as under the republic, to a yearly change of governor: an innovation ascribed by Dion to Augustus, and attributed by Suetonius to the negligence of Tiberius, though Josephus expressly asserts his motive to have been "the relief of the people." And, in truth, by continuing in a province, a governor not only acquired a knowledge of its wants, but at length contracted ties of affection and of humanity there, to the amelioration of tyranny. No longer, as in the days of the republic, did contractors flock thither, eager to fill their purses in order to return to the pleasures of the capital. It was the difference intimated in the fable of the fox who declines the offer of the hedge-hog to free him from his tormentors, the flies: "others will come famished," said he, "these are gorged and glutted."

The procurators—men of low birth, the creatures of the prince and responsible to him—had his vigilance to fear: to enrich themselves was to tempt the cruelty of a master, whose avarice only required an excuse for severity.

This master judged both great and little: for the emperors administered justice themselves.

or the pretor's seat, would remain the judges of the laws, their oath, and the nature of the charge brought before them. He likewise took upon him the correction of the public manners, where any abuse had been countenanced, either by neglect of duty in the magistrates, or the prevalence of custom." Id. *ibid.* c. 33.—"He reduced the expense of public sports and diversions for the entertainment of the people, by diminishing the allowance to stage-players for their service, and abridging the number of gladiators on those occasions. . . . He moved in the senate, that a new sumptuary law should be enacted, and that the markets should be subjected to such regulations as should appear proper to the house. . . . And, to encourage frugality in the public by his own example, he would often, at his entertainments on solemn occasions, have at his table victims which had been served up the day before, and were half eaten, and the half of a boar, declaring, 'It has all the same good bits that the whole had.'" Id. *ibid.* c. 34.—"Nor did he ever entertain the people with public sports and diversions." Id. *ibid.* c. 47.—"Above all things, he was careful to secure the public quiet against the attempts of home-breakers, robbers, and such as were disaffected to the government." . . . "He abolished everywhere the privileges of all places of refuge." Id. *ibid.* c. 37.

\* "There were, however, some, who for a long time decked his tomb with spring and summer flowers. They likewise one while placed his image upon the Rostra, dressed up in state robes; another while published proclamations in his name, as if he was yet alive, and would shortly come to Rome again, with a vengeance to all his enemies. Vollogesus, king of the Parthians, when he sent ambassadors to the senate to renew the alliance betwixt that nation and the Romans, earnestly requested that due honor should be paid to the memory of Nero; and to conclude, when, twenty years after, at which time I was a young man, some person of obscure birth gave himself out for Nero, he met with so favorable a reception from the Parthians, that he was powerfully supported by that nation, and it was with much difficulty that they surrounded him." Suet. in Nerone, c. 57.

In Tacitus we read of an accused person who, fearing popular prejudices, demands to be tried by Tiberius, as superior to prepossessions of the kind; he was influenced, too, by the notion that one judge can discern the truth better than many.\* Both under Tiberius and under Claudius, we find the convicted escaping by appeal to the emperor.† Claudius, anxious to terminate a business in which his own interest was compromised, declares that he will himself officiate as judge, in order that he may show by his sentence, in his own cause, how uprightly he would act in that of another:‡ undoubtedly, no one would have dared to give judgment to the detriment of the emperor.

Domitian administered justice assiduously and intelligently, and often reversed the sentences of the centumviri, who were supposed to be obnoxious to intrigue.§ Hadrian was in the habit of consulting on cases submitted to his judgment, not his friends, but the juriconsults.|| Even that rude soldier, Septimius Severus, did not conceive himself exempt from this duty; but in the quiet of his villa, gave sentence, and willingly descended into the minutest details of the matters submitted to him. The assiduousness of Julian in discharging his judicial functions has also been noticed.¶ This zeal of the emperors for civil justice greatly counterbalanced the evils of the empire, by inspiring oppressive magistrates with a salutary terror, and remedying in detail a mass of general abuses.

Even under the worst emperors, the civil law was steadily extended and improved. The ju-

risconsult Nerva, grandfather of the emperor of that name, (a disciple of the republican La-beo—the friend of Brutus, and the founder of the Stoic school of jurisprudence,) was the adviser of Tiberius.\* Papinian and Ulpian flourished in the times of Caracalla and of Helio-gabalus; just as Dumoulin, l'Hopital, and Brisson did, in those of Henri II., Charles IX., and Henri III. By affixing more and more with natural equity, and consequently with the common sense of nations, the civil law became the strongest bond of the empire, and the compensation of political tyranny.

#### SLAVERY; THE CANCER OF THE EMPIRE.

Tyranny, the tyranny of the princes, and the tyranny of the magistrates—different in kind and far more burdensome—was not the principal cause of the ruin of the empire. The real evil which undermined it proceeded neither from the government nor the administration. Had it been simply of an administrative nature, so many good and great emperors would have found a remedy for it. But it was a social evil; and its source was not to be dried up by less than an entire renovation of the social system. Slavery was this evil. The other ills of the empire—most of them at least, as the all-devouring taxation and constantly increasing demands of the military government—were only, as we shall see, a consequence: a direct or indirect effect. Nor was slavery a result of the imperial government. It appears everywhere among the people of antiquity. We read of it as existing in Gaul before the Roman conquest; and if it strikes us as being more terrible and disastrous under the empire, it is because we are better acquainted with the Roman than with previous epochs. And the ancient system being founded on war, on the conquest of man, (industry is the conquest of nature,) the system necessarily went on from war to war, from proscription to proscription, and from servitude to servitude, till it ended in a fearful diminution of the population. There were people of antiquity which, like the savage tribe of America, might boast of having eaten up fifty nations.

In my Roman history I have already shown how the class of small cultivators, having gradually disappeared, the large proprietors who succeeded them supplied their place with slaves, who quickly perished through the rigorous labor exacted of them, and disappeared in their turn. Draughted for the most part out of the civilized nations of antiquity, Greeks, Syrians, and Carthaginians, they had cultivated the arts for the behoof of their masters. The new slaves by whom they were replaced†—Thra-

\* In the case of Pico, accused of having poisoned Germanicus, Tacitus states that "application was made to the emperor, that the cause might be heard before himself. The request was perfectly agreeable to the accused party, who was not to learn that the senate and the people were prejudiced against him. Tiberius, he knew, was firm enough to resist popular clamor. . . . Besides this, the truth, he thought, would be better investigated before a single judge, than in a mixed assembly, where intrigue and party violence too often prevailed. . . . Tiberius consented to hear, in the presence of a few select friends, the heads of the charge, with the answers of the defendant, and then referred the whole to the consideration of the senate." *Annal.* lib. i. c. 10.

† "The first men in Rome willingly came forward against him (Messalinus Gotta). He knew how to baffle his enemies. He removed the cause by appeal to the emperor." *Tacit. Annal.* l. vi. c. 3.—Valentinus Tullianus and Marcellus, orators, and Calpurnius, a Roman knight, by appealing to the emperor, avoided instant condemnation." *Ibid.* l. xii. c. 24.—"Two influential informers, Themitus Afer and Publius Iulabellus, having combined to ruin Quintilius Varus, the senate stopped the progress of the mischief by ordering the cause to stand over till the emperor's return, procrastination being the only refuge of the unhappy." *Ibid.* l. iv. c. 68.

‡ *Post. in Claud.* c. xv. *Alum* interpellatum ab adversariis de propria lite, negotiorumque cognitio rem, et de discretis juris eorum agere causam conatum apud se coegit, propriis negotiis documentum daturum quibus aquas iudex in alieno negotio futurus esset.

§ "In the administration of justice he was diligent and assiduous, and frequently sat in the Forum out of course, to cancel the judgments of the centumviral court, which had been procured through favor or interest." *Post. in Dom.* c. 2.

|| *Quam* iudicaret, Adrianus, in consilio habuit non solum iurum, sed etiam et jurisconsultos. *Spartian.*

\* *Ann. Marcellin.* l. xii. c. 10.—*Libanus, Orat. Pausan.* c. 29. 91.—*S. Greg. de Naz. Orat.* iv.

\* *Tacit. Annal.* l. vi. c. 24. "Cereetus Nerva was the constant companion of the prince, a man distinguished by his knowledge of laws, both human and divine."

† The following inscription was found at Antium:—



cians, Germans, and Scythians—could at the most only rudely imitate the models left by their predecessors. Objects, the fabrication of which required any industry, soon becoming imitations of imitations, grew ruder and ruder; and as the workmen who could achieve them became fewer and fewer, their price was constantly on the rise. The salaries of those dependent on the state ought to have been raised in the same proportion; and what marvel that the poor soldier who had to pay fifty sous\* of our money for the pound of meat, and twenty-two francs for the commonest shoes manufactured, was bent on seeking any alleviation of his wretchedness, and ready to make revolutions in order to attain it. There has been much denunciation of the violence and rapacity of the soldiers who, for increase of pay, made and unmade emperors; and the cruel exactions of Severus and Caracalla, and the princes who drained the country to maintain the soldiery, have been severely blamed. But has attention been directed to the excessive price of the necessities which the soldier had to provide out of very moderate pay! The insurgent legionaries say in Tacitus—"Our blood and our lives are valued at ten asses a day. Out of this we must pay for our dress, our arms, our tents; must pay for our furloughs, and buy off the tyranny of the centurion."†

It was worse still when Diocletian created another army—that of civil functionaries! Till his time there existed a military power and a judicial power, which have been too often confounded. He created, or at least completed, the administrative power. This highly necessary institution was, nevertheless, at the beginning, an intolerable charge on the already ruined empire. Ancient society, very different from ours, was not incessantly reproducing riches by industrial means. Always consuming, but, since the destruction of the industrious

D. M.  
PUERI SEPTENTRI  
ORIS ANNOR XIII QUI  
ANTIPOLI IN THEATRO  
BIDUO SALTAVIT ET PLA  
CUIT.

"To the manes of the boy Septentri, aged 12, who appeared twice on the stage of Antibes, danced, and pleased." This poor child was evidently one of those slaves who were educated with a view to their fetching high terms from managers, and who fell victims to the severity of their training. I know nothing more tragic than the brevity of this inscription, or which makes one more sensible of the hardness of the Roman world. "Appeared twice on the stage of Antibes, danced, and pleased."—Not a regret. Is not this a well-fulfilled fate! No mention of parents; the slave had no family. It is singular that he should have had a monument. The Romans, indeed, often raised them to their broken playthings. Nero built a monument "to the manes of a crystal vase."

\* See Moreau de Jonès, *Tableau du prix moyen des Denrées d'après l'édit de Dioclétien retrouvé à Stratonice*.—A pair of *caligæ* (the commonest kind of covering for the foot) cost 92fr. 50c.; beef and mutton were 9fr. 50c. a pound; pork, 3fr. 60c. the pound; wine of the poorest quality, 1fr. 80c. the litre; a fat goose, 45fr.; a hare, 33fr.; a fowl, 13fr.; a hundred of oysters, 23fr. &c.

† Tacit. *Annal.* i. 17. The emperors were at last obliged to clothe and feed their troops. See Lamprid. in *Alex. Sev.* 331.

classes by slavery, no longer producing, the land was constantly required to yield more, while its cultivators daily dwindled in numbers and in skill.

A more terrible picture has never been drawn than that left us by Lactantius, of this murderous strife between the hungry treasury, and the worn-out people, who could suffer and die, but not pay: "So numerous were the receivers, in comparison with the payers, and so enormous the weight of taxation, that the laborer broke down, the plains became deserts, and woods grew where the plough had been. . . . It were impossible to number the officials who were rained upon every province and town—*Magistri, Rationales*, clerks to the prefecture. Condemnations, proscriptions, and exactions were all they knew; exactions, not frequent, but perpetual, and accompanied by intolerable outrages. . . . But the public distress, the universal mourning was when the scourge of the census came, and its takers, scattering themselves in every direction, produced a general confusion, that I can only liken to the misery of a hostile invasion, or of a town abandoned to the soldiery. The fields were measured to the very clods; the trees counted; each vine-plant numbered. Cattle were registered as well as men. The crack of the lash, and cry of the tortured filled the air. The faithful slave was tortured for evidence against his master, the wife to depose against her husband, the son against his sire. For lack of evidence, the torture was applied to extort one's own witness against one's self, and when nature gave way, they wrote down what one had never uttered. Neither old age nor sickness was exempted; the sick and the infirm were alike summoned. In taking ages, they added to the years of children, and subtracted from those of the elderly. Grief and consternation filled the land. Not satisfied with the returns of the first enumerators, they then sent a succession of others, who each swelled the valuation—as a proof of service done; and so the imposts went on increasing. Yet the number of cattle fell off, and the people died. Nevertheless, the survivors had to pay the taxes of the dead."\*

Who suffered for these numerous insults and vexations, endured by freemen!—the slaves, the dependent colonists or laborers, whose condition daily became more akin to slavery. On them the proprietors heaped all the insults and exactions with which they were overwhelmed by the imperial agents; and they had been wrought to the highest pitch of misery and de-

\* Lactant. de M. Persecut. c. 7, 23. Adeo major onus comparat numerus accipientium quàm dantium. . . . Filii advenus parentes suspendebantur, &c.—A sort of warfare was established between the treasury and the people, between torture and the obstinacy of silence. Ammian. Marc. says, (in *Comment. Cod. Theod.* l. xi. tit. 7. leg. 3<sup>a</sup>.) "that man among them would blush for himself, who could not show the marks of stripes received for eluding the payment of taxes."

(Modern travellers state exactly the same thing of the Egyptian *fellahs*.)—TRANSLATOR.

spair at the time Lactantius traced the foregoing picture. Then all the serfs of Gaul flew to arms, under the name of *Bagaude*.<sup>\*</sup> They at once became masters of all the rural districts, burnt several towns, and committed more ravages than the barbarians could have done. There is a tradition that the two leaders whom they had elected, Elianus and Amandus, were Christians; and there is no improbability in supposing that this struggle for the natural rights of man, was in some degree instigated by the doctrine of Christian equality. These undisciplined multitudes were overwhelmed by the emperor Maximian, whose victory seems to have been commemorated by the column of Cussy, in Burgundy.† But the *Bagaude* are mentioned long afterwards by Eumenius in one of his Panegyrics;‡ and Ildatius speaks in several places of the *Bagaude* of Spain.§ Their misfortunes are particularly deplored by Salvian: "Stripped of their all by bloody judges, they had lost the rights of Roman freedom, have lost the name of Romans. We upbraid them with their misfortune, and reproach them with the name that we have forced upon them. How have they become *Bagaude* save through our tyranny, the perversity of the judges, and their proscriptions and rapine!"¶

There can be no doubt that the Menapian, Carausius, (born in the neighborhood of Antwerp,) was supported by the fugitive remnant of the *Bagaude*, in his usurpation of Britain. He had been commissioned to intercept at sea the Frank pirates, who were constantly crossing over into Britain; and he did so, but it was on their return voyage, for the sake of their booty. On this being discovered by Maximian, he reared his standard in Britain, declared himself independent, and was for seven years master of the province and of the straits.¶

The accession of Constantine (A. D. 306, July 25th) and of Christianity, was an era of joy and hope. Constantine Chlorus,\* born, like his father, in Britain, was the child and nursing of Britain and of Gaul. At his father's death, he reduced the numbers obnoxious to the poll-tax in the latter country, from five-and-twenty to eighteen thousand;† and the army with which he subdued Maxentius must have been for the most part levied there.

The laws of Constantine are those of a party chief, who offers himself to the empire as a liberator and savior. "Far, far from the people," he exclaims, "be the rapacious hands of the tax-gatherer.‡ All who have suffered from their extortions, should apprise thereof the presidents of the provinces. And, if these screen the wretches, we permit all to lay their complaints before the counts of the provinces, or before the prætorian prefect, if he is in the neighborhood, in order that, duly informed of such robberies, we may punish the perpetrators as they deserve."

This language reanimated the empire. The sight of the triumphant cross alone was already balm to the heart. Vague and immense hopes sprang up at this sign of universal equality; and all believed that the end of their woes had come.

However, Christianity could do nothing for the material sufferings of society; which were as feebly remedied by the Christian emperors as by their predecessors. The result of every attempt at amelioration was but to show the certain powerlessness of the law, which could only revolve in the same fruitless circle. At one time, alarmed at the rapid depopulation of the country, it would attempt to ameliorate the fate of the laborer, and protect him against the proprietor;§ and then the latter protested that

\* Prosper Aquit in Chronie: "Almost all the slaves of Gaul entered into the Bagaudæ conspiracy."—Ducange, v. Bagaudæ, Bagatæ. Et Paul. Oros. l. viii. c. 15. Eutrop. l. 9. Hieronymus in Chronico Euseb. "Theoretian shared the imperial dignity with Heracles Maximian, who, having crushed the rural population that rose up under the name of *Bagaude*, had purified Gaul."—Vulgar. Scot. "A band of robbers and robbers, whom the inhabitants call *Bagaude*, having risen up in Gaul," &c.—Pacatus, the Greek translator of Eutropius, says, "The hosts of Gaul having revolted, the conspirators took the name of *Bagaude*, signifying masters of the country."—Giles interprets *Bagaudæ* to wander, but says, "Since Aurel. Victor states it to be a Gaulish word, may it not derive from *bagat*, or *bagad*, which, with the Armenians and Welsh, and therefore with the ancient Gauls, signifies a troop and assembly of men?"—Catholæum Armenicum: "*Bagat*, assembly, a crowd, a flock." The first edition of Salustianus 1538 has it "*Bagaude* or *Bagaudæ*." We find *Bagaudæ* in the Liber de Castro Ambianensi num. 8.—*Haracteres* Ildatius in Chronico in Iordani. "Some porting call the Parisians *Bagaude* as if they were descendants of the *Bagaude*." Turner says *Bagach*, in Irish, is warlike in *Erse*, is fighting. *Bagad*, in Welsh, is multitude.—St. Mer des Eves near Paris, was called the Chateau of the *Bagaude* See V. l. 8. Rebolent.

\* Millin, Voyage dans le Midi de la France, t. i.

† Eumenius de Schol. inscript.

‡ In the reigns of Rechis and Theodoric.

§ Salustian: "The very just of providit it. Impitimus nomen quod ipse fecimus. Quibus enim rebus alius Bagaudæ facti sunt, nisi iniquitatibus nostris &c."

¶ Hist. Aurel. Victor, in Caesar. ap. Scr. R. Fr. l. 308.—Eutrop. l. ix. th. 378.

\* Schæpflin thinks not. See his Dissertation, Constantinus Magnus non fuit Britannus. Bile. 1741, in 4to.

† Eumenius Panegyric. ap. Scr. R. Fr. l. 720. Great part of Autus was uncultivated.

‡ Cæment jam nunc rapaces officialium manus. . . . Lex Constantini in Cod. Theod. l. i. tit. 7. leg. 19.—"Whoever, of any place, order, or degree, has good proof of injustice done by any of my judges, counts, friends, or palatines, let him come boldly and securely to me. I will hear whatever he has to say; and, if he substantiate his accusation, I will punish the wretch who has heretofore deceived me into belief of his integrity, and will honor and reward his courage and constancy." Et Lex Constantini in Cod. Theod. l. i. tit. 1. leg. 4.—"If wards, widows, or other unprotected persons, shall breach a hearing from our severity, especially if they dread any person in power, the defendants against them must submit the case to us." Et Lex Constantini l. i. tit. 1. leg. 3.—"We remit all arrears from the sixth assessment to the eleventh just made, as well to the extent as to the actual holder of the property assessed, so that we remit to all, under the name of arrears, whatever has remained unpaid during the last twenty years, whether due in kind or in money, of these twenty years, the public granary, the chest of the most honorable prætorian, nay, both our treasures, must expect nothing." Constantinus in Cod. Theod. l. i. tit. 3. leg. 16.—"You have remitted us the arrears of five years," says Eumenius to Constantine. See Ammianus Mar. in Cæsar. Cod. Theod. l. i. tit. 38. leg. 1.

§ "If any tenant has a greater rent exacted of him by his lord than he has been in the habit of paying, or than has been formerly paid, let him appeal to the judge, and bring his proof, so that he who is convicted of having demanded more than he has been accustomed to receive,

he could not pay his taxes. At another, it would abandon the laborer, deliver him up to the proprietor, sink him in slavery,\* try to root him to the soil: but the wretch died or fled, and the land was a desert. As early as the time of Augustus, the magnitude of the evil had called forth laws by which every thing, even morality,† was sacrificed in order to keep up the population. Pertinax exempted from taxes for ten years all who should occupy deserted lands in Italy, in the provinces, or in allied kingdoms,‡ as well as securing them the right of property therein. He was followed in this policy by Aurelian. Probus was forced to transport from Germany men and cattle for the cultivation of Gaul;§ and ordered the replanting of the vineyards destroyed by Domitian.|| Maximian and Constantine Chlorus transported Franks and other Germans into the solitudes of Hainault, Picardy, and of the district of Langres;¶ and yet the population fell off both in town and country. Some citizens ceased to pay taxes; which, therefore, were squeezed out of the rest, for the famished and pitiless treasury held the curiales and the municipal magistrates accountable for any deficiency.

To have the spectacle of a whole people in mortal agony, that fearful code must be read

by which the empire essays to retain the citizen in the city, that crushes him while crumbling under his feet. The unfortunate curiales, the last who in the general poverty possessed a patrimony,\* are declared the slaves, the serfs of the commonweal. They have the honor of governing the city, and of apportioning its assessment at their own risk and peril; having to make good all deficiency.† They have the honor of supplying the emperor with his *aurum coronarium*, (coronary gold.)‡ They are the most noble senate of the city, the very illustrious order of the curia.§ However, so insensible are they to their happiness, that they are constantly seeking to escape from it. Daily is the legislator obliged to have recourse to new precautions, in order to close and barricade the curia—a strange magistracy which the law is constrained to keep constantly in sight, and bind to their curule chair. It prohibits their absenting themselves,|| their living in the country,¶ becoming soldiers,\*\* or priests; and they can only enter orders on condition of making over their property to some one who will be curial in their stead. The law treats transgressors in the latter respect with little ceremony—“Whereas certain worthless and idle persons have deserted their duties as citizens, &c., we shall not hold them free until they shall despise their patrimony. Is it fitting that souls intent on divine contemplation, should retain attachment for their worldly goods!”††

The wretched curial has not even the hope of escaping servitude by death. The law pursues his sons. His office is hereditary. The

may be prevented from repeating such offence. The latter must also refund what he is proved to have exacted more than his due.” Constant. in Cod. Justinian. l. xi. tit. 49.

\* “Whoever is found harboring another’s tenant, must restore him to his rightful owner. . . . Tenants attempting flight may be put in irons like slaves, and compelled to do the labor that befits freemen, as slaves.” Ex Lege Constantini, in Cod. Theod. l. v. leg. 9. l. i. —“If any tenant, born on the estate, or transferred to it, shall have left it for thirty years, nor have been claimed for that period, no charge lies either against him or his immediate owner.” Ex Lege Hon. et Theod. in Cod. Theod. l. v. tit. 10. leg. 1s. —“We refuse access and deny hearing to men of this class in civil cases against their lords or patrons, (those cases of extreme hardship excepted, in which princes have formerly given them a right of appeal.)” Arc. et Hon. in Cod. Justin. l. xi. tit. 49. —“Whoever harbors or detains another’s tenant, must pay two pounds’ weight of gold to him whose lands have been left untilled through the flight of their cultivator, and shall restore the runaway with all his goods and chattels.” Theod. et Valent. in Cod. Just. l. xi. tit. 51. leg. 1s.

These fluctuations in the law terminate by its identifying the tenant with the slave. “The tenant is transferable with the land.” Valent. Theod. et Arc. in Cod. Justin. l. xi. tit. 49. leg. 9. —“The tenant follows the law of his birth: although, in point of condition, apparently free-born, he is the slave of the soil on which he is born.” Cod. Justin. tit. 51. —“A tenant secreting himself, or seeking to desert from his patron’s estate, is to be held in the light of a fugitive slave.” Cod. Justin. tit. 37. See, also, the *Cours de Guizot*, t. iv.—Savigny conceives their condition to have been, in one respect, worse than that of slaves, since he holds that the tenant could not be enfranchised.

† By the Julian law, no unmarried man can inherit of a stranger, or, indeed, of the majority of his kindred, except he have “a concubine, for the sake of a family.”

‡ See Herodian.

§ Probi Epist. ad senatum, in Vopisc. Arantur Gallicane rura barbaris bobus, et juga Germanica captiva prebent nostris colla cultoribus.

¶ Aurel. Vict. in Cesar.—Vopisc. ad ann. 261.—Eutrop. l. ix.—Euseb. Chronic.—Sueton. in Domit. c. 7.

\*\* Eumen. Panegyrr. Constant. “As at thy nod, august Maximian, the Frank, restored by remitter to all his rights as a subject, joyfully tills the neglected lands of the Nervii and Treviri; so now, by thy victories, unconquered Constantius Cesar, the desert lands of the Ambiani, Bellovacii, Tricassini, and Lingones, smile under the labors of their barbarian cultivators.”

\* At the least, twenty-seven *jugera*.

† Neither could they dispose of their property without a warrant. (“He must apply to the judge and explain, *seriatim*, the causes of his involvement.” Cod. Theodos. l. x. tit. 33.) A curial, without family, could only will away the fourth part of his property; the remainder went to the curia.

‡ (Crowns of gold were anciently presented to victorious Roman generals by the allies whom their victories had served. The Italian cities imitated the custom. These crowns were suspended in the temple of Jupiter. Cesar, who had no fewer than two thousand eight hundred and twenty-two of these costly offerings, set the example of melting them down. At length, a present of money became the substitute; and what was at first a free-will gift, was rigidly exacted on every conceivable occasion of public rejoicing.)—TRANSLATOR.

§ However, the law is good and generous, for it closes the curia neither against Jews nor bastards. “This is no slur on the order, which must always be kept filled up.” Cod. Theod. l. xii. tit. 1.—Spurio, &c. L. Generaliter 3, § 2. D. l. l. tit. 2.

|| Cod. Theod. l. x. t. 31. “He must not absent himself without having insinuated his wish to the judge (*insinuato judici desiderio*) and obtained his leave.”

¶ Ibid. l. xii. t. 18. “All curiales are to be severely admonished not to quit or desert the towns for the country; well knowing that their town property is amenable to the treasury, and that they have nothing to do with the country, for the sake of which they have acted *impiously* in voiding their native place.”

\*\* L. Si cokerialis 30, Cod. Theod. l. viii. t. 4. “Whoever has dared to turn soldier is to be forced back to his primitive condition.”—This provision disarmed all the proprietors.

†† Quidam ignavie sectatores, desertis civitatibus muneribus, captant solitudines ac secreta. . . . L. quidam 63. Cod. Theod. l. xii. t. 1.—Nec enim eos aliter, nisi contempta patrimonii, liberamus. Quippe animos divinas observationes devinctos non decet patrimoniorum desideris occupari. L. curiales, 104. Ibid.

law requires him to marry, and to beget and rear victims for it. Dejection took possession of men's souls; and a deadly inertia seized the whole social body. The people lay down on the ground in weariness and despair, as the beast of burden lies down under blows, and refuses to rise. Vainly did the emperors endeavor by offers of immunities and exemptions to recall the laborer to his abandoned field.\* Nothing could do that; and the desert increased daily. At the beginning of the fifth century, there were in Campagna the *Happy*, the most fertile province of the whole empire, three hundred and thirty thousand acres lying untilled.†

In their panic at the sight of this desolation, the emperors had recourse to a desperate experiment. They ventured to pronounce the word, liberty. Gratian exhorted the provinces to form assemblies.‡ Honorius endeavored to organize those of Gaul;§ and besought, prayed, menaced, fined those who would not attend them. All was in vain; there was no arousing a people grown torpid under the weight of their ills. They had fixed their views elsewhere; and cared not for an emperor as powerless for good as for evil. They desired but death; or at least social death and the invasion of the barbarians.¶ "They call for the enemy,"

say the authors of the time, "and long for captivity. . . . Our countrymen who happen to be among the barbarians, so far from wishing to return, would rather leave us to join them. The wonder is, that all the poor do not the same. They are only hindered by the impossibility of carrying their little huts with them."

#### THE OLD AND THE NEW ERAS.

The barbarians arrive. The ancient social system is condemned. The long work of conquest, slavery, and depopulation touches its term. Must we conclude, then, that all this has been wrought in vain, and that devouring Rome leaves nothing in this land of Gaul, which she is about to evacuate? What remains of her, is every thing. She leaves them organization, government. She has founded *the city*; before her, Gaul had only villages, or, at the most, towns. These theatres, circuses, aqueducts, roads, which we still admire, are the lasting symbol of civilization established by the Romans, the justification of their conquest of Gaul. And such is the power of the organization so introduced, that even when life shall appear to desert it, and its destruction by the barbarians inevitable, they will submit to its yoke. Despite themselves, they must dwell under the everlasting roofs which mock their efforts at destruction: they will bow the head, and, victors as they are, receive laws from vanquished Rome. The great name of empire—the idea of equality under a monarch—so opposed to the aristocratical principle of Germany, has been bequeathed by Rome to this our country. The barbarian kings will take advantage of it. Cultivated by the Church, and received into the popular mind, it will move onward with Charlemagne and St. Louis, until it will gradually lead us to the annihilation of aristocracy, and to the equality and equity of modern times.

Such is the work of civil order. But by its side was planted another conservator of peace, by which it was harbored and saved during the tempest of barbarian invasion. By the side of the Roman magistracy, which is about to be overshadowed and to leave society in danger, religion everywhere stations another protector which shall not fail it. The Roman title of *defensor civitatis* is everywhere devolved on the bishops. The ecclesiastical dioceses are divided on the model of the imperial. The imperial universality is destroyed, but there appears the catholic universality. Dumbly and uncertainly, the day of Roman primacy and of St. Peter begins to dawn.\* The world will be maintain-

\* "Deserted farms are to be made over to the decuriones of the neighborhood, free of taxes for three years." Constantin. in Cod. Justin. l. xi. t. 54. lex 1.

† "By the indulgence of Honorius, we have remitted the taxes for a certain portion of Campania, as being waste land. . . . We order allowance to be made for three hundred and thirty thousand and forty two acres, which, from the accounts of the surveyors and from ancient records, are known to be lying waste in Campania, and the records to be burnt, as out of date." Arc. et Honor. in Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 24. l. 2.

‡ By a law passed a. d. 392, it was enacted that, "Whether the provinces hold one general assembly, or each province holds its own, no magistrate whatever is to interfere with or interrupt the discussions required by the public interest." L. *Acce integræ*, 9. Cod. Theod. l. xii. t. 12. See Raynouard, *Histoire du Droit Municipal en France*, t. 1. 192.

§ The principal provisions of the law of 414 are as follow: I. The assembly is to be held yearly. II. It is to meet on the Ides of August. III. It is to consist of the honorables, the proprietors, and the magistrates of each province. IV. If the magistrates of Novempopulania and Aquitaine are detained by their duties, those distant provinces may, as heretofore, send deputies. V. Absent magistrates are to be fined five pounds of gold: absent honorables and curiales, three. VI. The duty of the assembly is to take prudent counsel with regard to the public interests. Ibid. p. 199.

¶ Memorien in Faustus Juliani. "Lands, safe by distance from the barbarians, were seized by shameless robbers under the plea of judgment in their favor. Freemen were subjected to shocking cruelties, and no one was safe from injury, so that the barbarians were longed for, and the wretched people coveted captivity."—P. Oron. "There are Romans who prefer poverty with freedom among the barbarians to the slavery of taxation at home."—Mabius, de Privilegiis. "They had rather nominal captivity with freedom than nominal liberty with captivity. The name of Roman citizen, once highly prized, is now repudiated. They live as captives under the yoke of the enemy, bearing the punishment of their existence of necessity, not of will, pining for freedom, but suffering under the extreme of servitude. They fear the enemy less than the tax-gatherer: the proof is, that they fly to the first to avoid the last. Hence, the one unanimous wish of the Roman populace, that it was their lot to live with the barbarian. Not only do our brethren decline to fly from them to us, but they fly from us to them. And, indeed, their marvel would be, that all our impoverished tributaries do not follow their example, were it not for being aware that they are detained by the impossibility of removing their families and small dwell-

ings. Some who leave their wife and home, under the pressure of taxation, fly to the hands of those who are richer than they, and become their laborers."—Also, also, in Faustus, the story of a Greek who sought refuge with Attila.

\* At the beginning of the fifth century, Innocent I. advances some timid propositions, appealing to custom and the decisions of a synod of Egypt? "When important causes occur, they should be referred, after the bishop has delivered judgment, to the apostolic see, as authorized by a synod,

ed and regulated by the Church; her nascent hierarchy is the frame by which every thing is ranged or modelled. To her are owing external order and the economy of social life; the latter, in particular, the work of the monks. The rule of St. Benedict sets the first example to the ancient world of labor by the hands of freemen.\* For the first time the citizen, humbled by the ruin of the city, lowers his looks to the earth which he had despised. He bethinks himself of the labor, ordained in the beginning of the world, by the sentence pronounced on Adam. This great innovation of free and voluntary labor is to be the basis of modern existence.

The idea of free personality, faintly perceptible in the warlike barbarism of the Gallic clans, but more clearly seen in the Druidical doctrine of the immortality of the soul, expands into the full light of day in the fifth century. Pelagius the Briton,† lays down the law of the Celtic philosophy, the law followed by the Irish Erigenes, the Breton Abelard, and the Breton Descartes. The steps which led to this great event can only be explained by tracing the history of Gallic Christianity.

When Gaul, introduced by Rome into the great community of nations, took her part in the general life of the world, it might be feared

that she would forget herself and become wholly Greek or Italian; and, in fact, Gaul would have been vainly looked for in her towns. With those Greek temples and Roman basilicæ, how could her individuality subsist? However, out of the towns, and, especially, towards the north, in those vast countries in which towns became more infrequent, nationality was still to be found. Druidism, proscribed, had taken refuge in the country and with the people. To please the Gauls, Pescennius Niger is said to have revived ancient mysterious rites; which, undoubtedly, were those of Druidism.\* It was a Druidess who promised the empire to Diocletian.† Another, when Alexander Severus was preparing again to attack the Druidical island, Britain, threw herself in his way, and called to him in the Gallic tongue—"Go, but hope not victory, nor trust in thy soldiers."‡ Thus the national language and religion had not perished; but slumbered under Roman culture until the advent of Christianity.

When the latter appeared in the world, and substituted the God-man for the God-nature, and replaced the poor sensual enthusiasm with which the ancient worship had wearied humanity by the serious joys of the soul and transports of martyrdom, the new belief was received by each nation according to the bent of its own peculiar genius. Gaul embraced it as something once prized, and now recovered. The influence of Druidism still fermented the land, and belief in the immortality of the soul was no novelty in Gaul. The Druids appear, too, to have inculcated the notion of a mediator. So that the Gallic nations rushed into the arms of Christianity, and in no country did martyrs more abound. The Asiatic Greek, St. Pothinus, (ποθινος, the desired) the disciple of the most mystical of the apostles, founded the mystical church of Lyons, the religious metropolis of the Gauls;§ and the catacombs, and the height

and required by holy use and wont."—Epiat. 29. "The fathers have decreed, not prompted by themselves, but by God, that no business should be esteemed settled, even as regards distant and widely remote provinces, until it shall have been submitted to this see."—"The meaning of the celebrated text, *Petrus es, &c.*, was much disputed. Neither St. Augustin nor St. Jerome interpreted it in favor of the bishopric of Rome. Augustin, de Divers. Sermon. 108. Id. in Evang. Joan. tract. 124.—Hieronym. in Amos vi. 12. Id. adv. Jovin. l. 1. But St. Hilary, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom, &c., recognise the rights of St. Peter and his successors. In proportion as we advance into the fifth century, we see the opposition disappear, and the popes and their partisans speak in a loftier tone. Concil. Ephes. ann. 431, actio iii. "To no one is it doubtful that Peter is the chief and head of the apostles, the pillar of faith, the foundation-stone of the catholic church; who to this time, and forever, lives and gives judgment in the person of his successors."—Leonis I. Epist. 10. "The Lord has provided for the maintenance of his holy religion by sending forth the truth, for the salvation of all, through the apostolic trumpet; and has chiefly assigned that duty to the blessed Peter."—See, also, Epist. 12.—At last Leo the Great assumed the title of *Head of the Church Universal*. Leonis I. Epist. 103, 97.

\* Regula S. Bened. c. 48. Otiositas inimica est animæ, &c. "Idleness is the enemy of the soul: therefore, the brethren must occupy themselves at certain hours in manual labor, at others in holy reading." After specifying the hours of work, it continues: "And if the poverty of the spot, necessity, or harvesting the produce, keep the brethren constantly occupied, let them not be afflicted therewith, since they are veritably monks if they live by the labor of their hands, as our fathers and the apostles did."

Thus, to the Ascetics of the East, offering up their solitary prayers from the heart of the Thebaid, to the Stylites, alone on their columns, and to the wandering Egyptian, who rejected the law, and abandoned themselves to all the vagaries of an unbounded mysticism, there succeeded in the West wise communities, attached to the soil by labor. The independence of the Asiatic cenobites was replaced by a regular and invariable organization: the rule of which was no longer a string of admonitions, but a code. Liberty had been lost in the East in the quietude of mysticism: in the West she disciplined herself, and, to redeem herself, submitted to rule, to law, to obedience, and to labor.

† Born, according to some, in our Brittany, but according to others, in Great Britain. This, however, does not affect the question. It is enough that he was of Celtic origin.

\* Eilanus Spartianus, in Pescenn. Nigro. "Pescennius authorized, with general approval, the celebration of certain sacred rites which, in Gaul, are held in honor of the most chaste."

† Vopisc. in Numeriano. "While among the Tungri in Gaul, abiding in a hostelry, and contracting with a Druidess for his daily meals, she said to him, 'Diocletian, thou art too close, too miserly;' to which, the tale goes, Diocletian answered, 'I will be liberal when I shall be emperor;' to which her rejoinder is said to have been, 'Jest not, Diocletian, for emperor thou wilt be, when thou shalt have slain a wild boar.'" (Aper.)—Id. in Diocletiano. "Diocletian related that Aurelian once consulted some Druidesses, to know whether his descendants would enjoy the empire, and that the answer was, that no name would be more illustrious in the republic than theirs."

‡ Ad. Lamprid. in Alex. Sever. Muller Druias eunti exclamavit Gallico sermone, "Vadas, nec victoriam speras, nec milidi tuo credas."

§ It is to this period, about A. D. 177, and in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, that writers assign the earliest conversions and martyrdoms which took place in Gaul. Sulpic. Sever. Hist. Sacra, ap. Scr. R. Fr. l. 573. "Under Aurelius, the fifth persecution took place, and martyrdom was then first witnessed in Gaul."—Forty-six martyrs died along with St. Pothinus. Gregor. Turonens. de Glor. Martyr. l. i. c. 40.—Under Severus (A. D. 202) St. Irenæus, at first bishop of Vienne, and then successor of St. Pothinus, suffered martyrdom together with nine thousand (others say eighteen thousand) of each sex and all ages. Half a century after him, St. Saturninus and his companions had founded seven

to which the blood of the eighteen thousand martyrs rose therein, are still shown there. Of these martyrs, the most celebrated was a woman, a slave, St. Blandina.

Christianity made slower progress in the north, especially in the rural districts. Even in the fourth century, St. Martin found whole populations there to be converted, and temples to be overthrown.\* This ardent missionary became as a god to the people; and the Spaniard Maximus, who had conquered Gaul with an army of Britons, thought himself insecure until he had won him over. The empress waited upon him at table; and, in her veneration for the holy man, picked up and ate the crumbs that he let fall. Virgins, whose convent he had visited, kissed and licked the spots which his hands had touched. Miracles marked every step of his progress. But what will forever preserve his memory in honor, is his unsparing efforts to save the heretics whom Maximus was willing to sacrifice to the sanguinary zeal of the bishops.† For this, he hesitated at no pious fraud, but lied, cheated, and even compromised his reputation for sanctity: an heroic charity which is the sign by which we moderns know him for a saint.

With St. Martin we must rank the archbishop of Milan, St. Ambrose, born at Treves, and whom we may therefore account a Gaul. The haughtiness with which this intrepid priest closed the church to Theodosius, after the massacre of Thessalonica, is well known.

The Gallic church was not less distinguished by knowledge than by zeal and charity; and she carried into religious controversy the same ardor with which she shed her blood for Christianity. Greece and the East, whence Christianity went forth, endeavored to bring it back to themselves, if I may so speak, and to induce it to return to their own bosom. On one hand, the Gnostics and Manicheans tried to amalgamate it with Paganism; claiming a share in the government of the world for Ahuman or Satan, and seeking to make Christ compound with the principle of evil. On the other, the Platonists

proclaimed the world to be the work of an inferior god; and their disciples, the Arians, saw in the Son a being dependent on the Father. The Manicheans would have made Christianity altogether an eastern religion: the Arians, pure philosophy; and both were equally attacked by the fathers of the Gallic church. In the third century, St. Irenæus wrote his work against the Gnostics, entitled *On the Unity of the Government of the World*. In the fourth, St. Hilary of Poitiers heroically defended the consubstantiality of the Son and the Father, was exiled as Athanasius was, and languished many years in Phrygia; while Athanasius took refuge at Treves with St. Maximin, bishop of that city, and native of Poitiers likewise. St. Jerome wants terms in which to express his admiration of St. Hilary. He finds in him Hellenic grace, and "the loftiness of the Gallic buskin." He calls him "the Rhone of Latinity." Elsewhere, he says, "The Christian Church has grown up and flourished under the shadow of two trees, St. Hilary and St. Cyprian." (Gaul and Africa.)

Up to this period, the Gallic follows the movement of the Universal Church, and is part thereof. The question raised by Manicheism is that of God and the world; Arianism concerns Christ, the Man-God. Polemics have yet to treat of man himself; and then Gaul will speak in her own name. At the very time that she gives Rome the emperor Avitus, a native of Auvergne, and that Auvergne under the Ferreols and Apollinarii,\* seems desirous of forming an independent power between the Goths, already established in the south, and the Franks, who are about to precipitate themselves from the north—at this very time Gaul claims an independent existence in the sphere of thought. By the mouth of Pelagius she adjuces the great name of human Liberty, which the West is no more to forget.

Why is there evil in the world?—with this question begins the controversy.† Eastern Manicheism replies, *Evil is a god*; that is to say, an unknown principle. This is no answer: it is advancing one's own ignorance as an explanation. Christianity replies, *Evil arises out of human liberty*: not by the fault of men, but of one man, Adam, whom God punishes in his posterity.

This solution only partially satisfied the logicians of the Alexandrian school, and was the cause of much suffering to the great Origen; who, seeing no means of escaping from the innate corruption of humanity, went through a kind of voluntary martyrdom by self-mutilation. To mutilate the flesh is easier than to extir-

other bishops. Pascal B. Marten ap. Greg. Tur. l. i. c. 28. "In the time of Ibas there were sent as bishops to preach in Gaul, Gaius to Tours, Trophimus to Arles, Paulus to Narbonne, Martinus to Toulouse, Domnus to the Parisi, Symonius to the Avernus. Martial bishop elect, to the Lemovices."—Euseb. Zozimus claims the primacy for Arles. Epist. i. ad Euseb. Gall.

\* What temples? I incline to think that temples devoted to the national religion, and to local superstitions, are here meant. The Romans who penetrated into the north could not in so short a time have inspired the natives with much attachment to their gods. Hulp. Rev. vita S. Martini. See Appendix.

† I did read ap. Mer. R. Pt. i. 573. See also Greg. de Tours, l. i. c. 31. St. Ambrose, who happened to be at Treves at the same time, gave him his support. Ambrose, epist. 24, 25.—St. Martin had founded a convent at Milan, of which city Ambrose shortly after became bishop. The difficulty which the Milanese had to prevail upon him to accept the see, is well known. It was the same with St. Martin, with whom strategem and almost violence had to be used to induce him to accept the bishopric of Tours. Hulp. Rev. loc. citatis.—These coincidences in the fate of two men equally distinguished by their ardent and courageous charity, are curious.

\* See Appendix.

† Euseb. Hist. Eccl. v. 27, ap. Gieseler's Kirchengeschichte v. 129. "The question, 'Whence is evil?' is much discussed by the heretics." Tertullian de Prescript. Heret. c. 7. ibid. "The same subjects are revolved by heretics and philosophers, the same complexities bandied to and fro. 'Whence comes evil, and why comes it? and whence is man, and how produced?'"

pate the passions. Shrinking from the belief that they who have not committed are answerable for the sin—unwilling to accuse God, fearing to find Him the author of evil, and thus to lapse into Manicheism—he preferred the supposition that souls had sinned in a previous state of existence, and that men were fallen angels.\* If each man were responsible for himself, and the author of his own fall, it would follow that he must be his own expiation, his own redeemer, and soar up to God through virtue. "Let Christ have become God," said the disciple of Origen, the audacious Theodore of Mopsuesta, "I envy him not: what he has become, I also can become by the strength of my nature."†

This doctrine, impressed as it is with Greek heroism and stoical energy, was readily accepted by the West, where, undoubtedly, it would in time have arisen of itself. The Celtic genius, which is that of individuality, is closely affined to the Greek. Both the Church of Lyons and that of Ireland were founded by Greeks; and the Scotch and Irish clergy long spoke no other tongue. John Scotus, or Hibernicus, revived the doctrines of the school of Alexandria in the time of Charles the Bald; but the history of the Celtic Church will be pursued in another place.

The man who, in the name of that Church, proclaimed the independence of human morality, is only known to us by his Greek name of Pelagios, (the Armenian—that is, the man from the sea-shore.)‡ Whether he were layman or monk is uncertain; but the irreproachableness of his life is uncontested. His opponent, St. Jerome, in drawing the portrait of this champion of liberty, represents him as a giant: giving him the stature, strength, and shoulders of Milo of Crotona.§ He spoke with labor, and yet with power.¶ Compelled by the in-

vasion of the barbarians to take refuge in the East, he promulgated his doctrines there, and was attacked by his former friends, St. Jerome and St. Augustin; and, in point of fact, Pelagius, by denying original sin,\* argued against the necessity for redemption, and struck at the root of Christianity.† So that St. Augustin, who, till then, had his whole life supported liberty against Manichean fatalism, devoted the remainder of his years to subjecting the pride of human liberty to Divine grace so vehemently as to run the risk of crushing it altogether; and, in his writings against Pelagius, the African doctor founded that mystic fatalism so often revived in the middle ages, especially in Germany, where it was proclaimed by Götterchalk, Tauler, and numerous others, until it finally prevailed through Luther.

It was not without reason that the great bishop of Hippo, the head of the Christian Church, opposed Pelagius with such violence. To reduce Christianity to philosophy was to strip it of the future, and to strike it dead. What would the dry rationalism of the Pelagians have availed, at the approach of the Germanic invasion? It was not with this fierce theory of liberty that the conquerors of the empire were to be humanized; but by preaching to them the dependence of man and the all-powerfulness of God. The whole power, both of the religion and poetry of Christianity, was not more than was required to subdue and soften these unbridled barbarians; and the Roman world instinctively felt that its place of refuge would be the ample bosom of religion—its hope, and sole asylum, when the empire, which had boasted itself eternal, became in its turn a conquered nation.

Thus Pelagianism, at first favorably received, even by the pope of Rome, soon gave way to the doctrine of grace. Vainly did it make concessions, and assume in Provence the softened form of semi-Pelagianism, and endeavor to reconcile human liberty with Divine grace.‡

\* St. Hieronym. ad Pamphilum. "He says in his treatise, *Περὶ ἀρχῶν*, that souls are confined in this body, as in a dungeon, and that they dwell among rational creatures in the heavens, before man was made in Paradise." St. Jerome then reproaches him "with so allegorizing Paradise as totally to deprive it of historical truth, understanding by trees, angels, by rivers, celestial virtues, and destroying the whole keeping and character of Paradise by a figurative interpretation." Thus, by giving another explanation of the origin of evil, Origen renders the doctrine of original sin useless, and subverts its history. He denies its necessity first, then its reality. He also held that the demons—angels who had fallen like men—would repent and amend, and be happy with the saints, (et cum sanctis ultimo tempore regnaturi.) Thus this doctrine, thoroughly stoical in character, endeavored to establish an exact proportion between the sin and the punishment; but the terrible question returned in its entirety, for it still remained to be explained how evil had begun in a former life.

† Augustin. t. xii. *Mss. de Primis Auct. Hær. Pelagianæ.* He was also called Morgan, (môr, sea, in the Celtic tongues.) He was a disciple of the Origenist Rufinus, who translated Origen into Latin, (Anastasi Epist. ad Gisler, l. 37,) and published in his defence a vehement invective against St. Jerome. Thus Pelagius reaps the inheritance of Origen.

§ St. Hieronym. *Præf. l. ii. in Jerem.* Tu qui Milonis humeris intumesceas. "The dumb Rufinus howls through the dog of Albion, (Pelagius), large and bulky, who does more by kicking than by biting."

¶ St. Augustin. t. xii. *disc. 1. De Primis Auct. Hær. Pelag.*

\* There can be no hereditary sin, argued Pelagius, for it is will alone that constitutes sin.—"Quærendum est, peccatum voluntatis an necessitatis est? Si necessitatis est peccatum, non est; si voluntatis, vitari potest." (Augustin. *De Pecc. Origin.* 14.) Therefore, he continues, man can be without sin; just like Theodore of Mopsuesta.—"It is asked whether man should be without sin? Undoubtedly he should. If he should, he can. If it is commanded, he can." (Id. *De Perfectione Justitiæ Homini.*) Origen, likewise, only asked for perfection—"liberty, aided by the law and doctrine." Ibid. xii. 47.

† Origen, who also had denied original sin, conceived the incarnation to be mere allegory; at least, he was reproached with it. (Id. *ibid.* 49. V. Pamphilus in *Apol. pro Origen.*) St. Augustin saw clearly the necessity of this consequence. See the treatise, *De Naturâ et Gratiâ*, t. x. p. 124.

‡ The first who attempted this difficult reconciliation was the monk John Cassian, a disciple of St. Chrysostom, and who pleaded with the pope to recall the latter from exile. He asserted that the first movement towards good sprang from free-will, and that grace then came to enlighten and support it. He did not, with St. Augustin, believe grace to be free and preventing, but only efficacious. (Collat. xlii. c. 3. Qui (Deus) cum in nobis ortum quendam bonæ voluntatis inasperxit, illuminat eam confestim atque confortat, et incitat ad salutem? And he cites the text of the Apostle, "for to will is present with me, but does to perform that which is good I find not.") He dedicated one of

Despite the sanctity of the Breton Faustus,\* despite the renown of the bishops of Arles, and the glory of that illustrious monastery of Lerins,† which gave the Church a dozen arch-bishops, twelve bishops, and more than a hundred martyrs, mysticism triumphed. The approach of the barbarians hushed all disputes; the philosophic chairs were deserted, and the schoolmen silent. Faith, simplicity, and patience were what the world then needed: but the seed was sown—to ripen in its season.

#### CHAPTER IV.

RECAPITULATION.—DIFFERENT SYSTEMS.—INFLUENCE OF THE NATIVE AND OF FOREIGN RACES.—CELTIC AND LATIN SOURCES OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE.—DESTINY OF THE CELTIC RACE.

THE religious philosophy of Pelagius is the type of the Hellenic-Celtic genius; the distinctive characteristic of which is formalized in the independent *I*, the free personality, of later philosophical writers. The German element, very different in its nature, will be seen struggling with it, and so constraining it to justify and develop itself, and bring out all that is within it. The middle ages are the struggle; modern times, the victory.

his books to St. Honoratus, who, as well as he, had visited Greece, (Gallia Christ.) and who founded Lerins, from which monastery went forth the most illustrious defenders of semi-Pelagianism. The struggle soon began. St. Prpper of Aquitaine had denounced Cassian's writings to St. Augustin, and they combined to combat his doctrines. Servus opposed Vincent to them, and then Faustus who maintained against Marcellinus (Tudian the materiality of the soul, and who wrote, like Cassian, against Nestorius, &c. Arles and Marseilles inclined to semi-Pelagianism; and the first expelled its bishop, St. Herve, who was hostile to Pelagius, and chose in his stead St. Honoratus, who was succeeded by his relative, St. Hilary—like him, a supporter of the opinions of Cassian. Both were buried at Lerins. In the ninth century, the history of semi-Pelagianism was written by Gennadius.—Consult on this controversy the excellent *Lectures* of M. Guizot, nowhere has the question been more clearly stated.

\* Euseb. Apollin. epist. ad Basil. "Sacratissimum pontificum, Leonis, Fausti," &c. In 447, St. Hilary of Arles forces him to sit down, although simply a priest, between two holy bishops, those of Frjus and of Riez. Hist. Littéraire de France, t. 340.

† Gallia Christ. iii. 114. Lerins was founded by St. Honoratus, in the diocese of Antibes, at the close of the fourth century. St. Hilary of Arles, St. Ceasarius, Rudinus of Clermont, Ennodius of Turin, Honoratus of Marseilles, and Faustus of Riez, call Lerins the blessed Isle, the land of miracles, the Isle of saints, this name was also given to Ireland; the shade of those who live in Christ, &c. See, also Eucher ad Hil., Euseb. Apoll. in Eucharist., Ceasarius in Hom. ix. Innocent referred this monastery. It was annexed to Cluny, then to St. Victor of Marseilles, in 1206, and, finally, in 1516, to Monte Cassino. "At this time," (1725; say the authors of Gallia Christiana, "it contains only six monks, of whom three are septuagenarians"—Lerins was intimately connected with St. Victor of Marseilles, which was founded by Cassian, about the year 410. According to a contemporary, the rules of the Egyptian monks were followed at St. Victor, (Gall. Christ. ii.) and Ennodius says of Lerins, de Laude Eusebii ad Hil., "There are now in Lertans religious old men, who live in separate cells, and represent in Gaul the fathers of Egypt," &c. The two monasteries were a nursery of Boethianism.

But, before bringing the Germans on the soil of Gaul, and assisting at this new interfusion of race, I must retrace my steps in order to estimate with precision, how far the different races previously settled there may have modified the primitive genius of the country, and inquire what share these races had in producing the collective result, what was the position of each in the community, and ascertain how much there remained of the indigenous element in the midst of so many foreign ones.

The *origines* of France have been explained on different systems.

Some deny foreign influence; and will not have France owe any thing to the language, literature, or laws of the conquerors. What do I say!—why, if it depended upon them, all mankind would find their originals in ours. Le Brigant, and his disciple, Latour d'Auvergne, the first grenadier of the republic, derive every language from the Bas-Breton. Intrepid and patriotic critics, the liberation of France does not content them, unless they subject to it the whole of the rest of the world. Historians and legists are less daring. Nevertheless, the abbé Dubos will not allow the conquest of Clovis to have been a conquest; and Grosley affirms our common law to be anterior to Cæsar.

Others, less chimerical, perhaps, but as exclusive and attached to a system, deduce every thing from tradition, and the different importations of commerce or of conquest. In their opinion, our French tongue is a corruption of the Latin; our law, a corruption of the Roman or German law, and our traditions, a simple echo of the foreigner's. They give one half of France to Germany, the other to the Romans, and leave her nothing to claim in her own right. Apparently, those great Celtic nations, so much bruited by antiquity, were of so abandoned a cast as to be disinherited by nature, and to have disappeared without leaving a trace. Gaul, which armed five hundred thousand men against Cæsar, and which, under the empire, appears still so populous, has wholly disappeared, dissolved by intermixture with some Roman legions, or the bands of Clovis. All our northern French are the offspring of the Germans, although their language contains so little German; and Gaul has perished utterly, like the Atlantides. All the Celts are gone; and if any remain, they will not escape the arrows of modern criticism. Pinkerton does not suffer them to rest in the tomb, but fastens furiously upon them like a true Saxon, as England does on Ireland. He contends that they had nothing of their own, not a particle of original genius; that all the *gentlemen* are descended from the Goths, (or Saxons, or Scythians, it is all the same to him;) and, in his whimsical furor, desires the establishment of professorships of Celtic, "to teach us to laugh at the Celts."

The time is gone by for choosing between the two systems, and for declaring one's self the



exclusive partisan of native genius or of external influences. History and good sense are repugnant to both. That the French are no longer Gauls, is obvious: vain would be the search among us for those large, white, soft frames, those infant giants, who burnt Rome as a pastime. On the other hand, the French is widely distinct from both the Roman and German genius; neither of which serve to throw any light upon it.

We have no wish to reject incontestable facts. It is indisputable that our country is largely indebted to foreign influence. All the races of the world have contributed to dower this Pandora of ours.

The original basis\*—where all has entered and all been received—is the race of the Gaël, young, soft, mobile, clamorous, sensual, and fickle, prompt to learn, quick to reject, and greedy of novelty. Here we have the primitive, and the perfectible element.

Such children require stern preceptors, and they will have them both from the South and the North. Their mobility will be fixed, their softness become hardened and strengthened, reason will be added to their instinct, and reflection to their impulsiveness.

In the South, appear the Iberians of Liguria and the Pyrenees, with all the harshness and craft of the mountaineer character; then, the Phœnician colonies; and after a long interval, the Saracens. The mercantile genius of the Semitic nations strikes root early in the south of France. In the middle ages, the Jews are altogether domiciled there;† and at the epoch of the Albigenses, Eastern doctrines had easily obtained a footing.

From the North, sweep down in good time the obstinate Cymry, the ancestors of our Bretons and of the Welsh. They have no mind to pass over the earth and be forgotten. Their progress must be marked by monuments. They rear the needles of Loc Maria Ker, and trace the lines of Carnac: rude and mute memorials, futile attempts to hand down traditions which

posterity will be unable to understand. Their Druidism points to immortality, but is incapable of establishing order even in the present life. It only reveals the germ of morality which exists in savage man, as the mistletoe, shining through the snow, testifies to the life that lies dormant in winter's embrace. The genius of war is still in the ascendant. The Belg descend from the North, and the whirlwind sweeps over Gaul, Germany, Greece, and Asia Minor. The Gauls follow, and Gaul overflows the world. It is the exuberant sap of life running out in every direction. The Gallo-Belge have the warlike temperament and prolific power of the modern Belg of Belgium and of Ireland; but in their history the social powerlessness of the latter countries is already visible. Gaul is as weak to acquire as to organize. The natural and warlike society of clanship, prevails over the elective and sacerdotal society of Druidism. Founded on the principle of a true or a fictitious relationship, the clan is the rudest of associations, its bond flesh and blood: clanship centres in a chief, a man.\*

But there is need of a society in which man shall no longer devote himself to man, but to an idea; and, firstly, to the idea of civil order. The Roman *agrimensores* will follow the legions to measure, survey, and lay out according to the true cardinal points as prescribed by their antique rites, the colonies of Aix, of Narbonne, and of Lyons. The city enters into Gaul; Gaul enters into the city. The great Cæsar, after having disarmed Gaul by fifty battles and the death of some millions of men, opens to it the ranks of the legions, and, throwing down every barrier, introduces it into Rome and the senate. Then, our Gallo-Romans become orators, rhetoricians, jurists; and may be seen surpassing their masters, and teaching Latin to Rome herself. There, they learn in their turn, civil equality under a military chief—learn the lesson already taught them by their levelling genius. Fear not their ever forgetting it.

However, Gaul will not know herself until the Greek spirit shall have aroused her. Antoninus the Pious, is from Nîmes. Rome has said—the city. Stoic Greece says, through the Antonines—the city of the world. Christian Greece says, likewise, but better still, through Saints Pothinus and Irénæus, who, from Smyrna and Patmos, bear to Lyons the word of Christ; mystic word, word of love,

\* (Dr. Prichard (*On the Celtic Nations*) has satisfactorily demonstrated the oriental origin of the native Celt, as well from etymological proofs as from similarity of physical conformation and strong resemblance of superstitions, manners, customs, and observances. The connection of the Melanopolitan, German, and Pelagian races with the ancient Asiatic nations, may be established by historical testimony; and the relation between the languages of those races and the Celtic, is such as to identify them as branches of the same original stock.

Logan conjectures that the Greek *Galaictoi* (milky-white men) was first used to distinguish the white generally from the negro races, as the native Americans style themselves the red men in contradistinction to the Anglo-Americans; and that when the most ancient Celtic had become unknown, it was given as the origin of the name, *Celtæ*, having been derived from the primitive language of the first settlers of the country. He adds, "It is worthy of observation, that 'Gaelic' has been by good antiquaries translated the language of white men. *Gael* signifies whitened, and comes from *Geal*, white. The similarity of this word to the term *Celtæ* is striking; from it, in all probability, came the Roman *Gallus*."—TRANSLATOR.

† 'Tis true, they were often ill-treated there, but less so than elsewhere. They were allowed schools in Montpellier, and in many other towns of Languedoc and Provence.

\* Independently of this common bond, we shall find men devoting themselves to this man who supports them, and whom they love. In this feeling originated the "Devotion" of the Gauls and Aquitanians. Cæsar, *Bell. Gall. l. iii. c. 22*. "*Devoti*, whom they call *soldarii*. . . nor has there ever been an instance of any one refusing to die when he, to whose friendship he had devoted himself, was slain."—Athenæus, *l. vi. c. 13*. "They say that the king of the Boianoi (a Celtic race) has a guard of six hundred picked men, who are called *soldarii* by the Gauls, or, as we should say in Greek, *εὐχέλαιστοι*, (men who have vowed to live and die with their lords)." *Zeldi*, or *Seldi*, signifies a home in the Basque tongue.

which offers worn-out man rest and sleep in God, as Christ himself, at his last supper, rested his head on the bosom of the disciple whom He loved. But in the Cymric genius, in our hard west, there is a feeling repugnant to mysticism, and which hardens itself against the mild and winning word, refusing to lose itself in the bosom of the moral God, presented it by Christianity, just as it rejected the dominion of the God Nature of the ancient religions. The organ of this stubborn protest of the *I*, is Pelagius, heir to the Greek Origen.

If these reasoners triumphed, they would found liberty before society was settled. Religion and the Church, which have to remodel the world, require more docile auxiliaries. The Germans are needed. Whatever miseries their invasion may inflict, they will soon aid the Church. From the second generation, they are hers; a touch, and they are overcome, and will remain in their state of enchantment a thousand years. "*Bow the head, mild Scamander,*"\* the stubborn Celt would not have bowed it. These barbarians, who seemed instruments for universal destruction, become, whether wittingly or not, the docile instruments of the Church, who will employ their young arms in forging the band of steel which is to unite modern society. The German hammer of Thor and Charles Martel will ring upon, subdue, and discipline the rebellious genius of the West.

Such has been the accumulation of races in our Gaul—race upon race, people upon people, Gauls, Cymry, Belg—from one quarter, Iberians; from other quarters again, Greeks, and Romans: the catalogue is closed by the Germans. This said, have we said—France? rather, all remains to be said. France has formed herself out of these elements, while any other union might have been the result. Oil and sugar consist of the same chemical elements. But the elements given, all is not given: there remains the mystery of a special and peculiar nature to be accounted for. And how much the more ought this fact to be insisted upon, when the question is of a living and active union, such as a nation, a union, susceptible of internal development and self-modification? Now, this development and these successive modifications, through which our country is undergoing constant change, are the subject matter of French history.

Let us not give too much importance either to the primitive element of the Celtic genius, or to the additions from without. The Celts have contributed to the result, there can be no doubt; so have Rome, Greece, and the Germans. But who has united, fused, converted these elements; who has transmuted, transformed, and made a single body of them; who has eliminated out of them our France? France herself, by that internal travail and mysterious

\* *Middle English.* See the following chapter.

production, compounded of necessity and of liberty, which it is the province of history to explain. The primitive acorn is poor compared with the gigantic oak which springs from it: let then the living oak which has cultivated, made, and is making itself, lift its head with pride.

And first; are we to refer the primitive civilization of Gaul to the Greeks? The influence of Marseilles has plainly been exaggerated. It might enrich the Celtic tongue with some Greek words;† the Gauls, having no letters of their own, might borrow the Greek characters for important matters.‡ But the Hellenic genius had too much contempt for the barbarians, to gain real influence over them. Few in number, traversing the country with distrust, and only for commercial purposes, the Greeks differed too widely from the Gauls both in race and language, and were too superior to them for fellowship. They stood in the same relation to them that the Anglo-Americans do to their savage neighbors, who are driven further into the wild, and are gradually disappearing, without sharing the benefits of a state of civilization so far beyond their capacity, but into which it was sought to have initiated them all at once.

It was late when Greece, through philosophy and religion, exerted an influence upon Gaul. She aided Pelagius; but only in giving a logical expression to a feeling already existent in the national genius. Then came the barbarians; and it took ages for resuscitated Gaul to remember Greece.

The influence of Rome is more direct; and has left stronger traces in manners, law, and language. It is still popularly believed that our language is wholly Latin; yet, is not this a strange exaggeration?

To believe the Romans, their language prevailed in Gaul, as throughout the empire. § The conquered were assumed to have lost their language with their gods. The Romans did not choose to know that there existed any other language than their own; their magistrates answered the Greeks in Latin; ¶ and, in Latin,

\* M. Charnicellon Figeac has recognized some even in Dauphiny. The tradition of the recognition of Ulyssee and Penelope is found, under a romantic shape, in Marseilles. Not very long since even the Church of Lyons observed the rise of the Greek Church. It appears that the Celtic models, prior to the Roman conquest, present a striking resemblance to the Macedonian coins. *Cabinet des Monnaies d'Antiq. Monnaies* 1. 209. All this seems to me insufficient to prove that the Celtic genius has been much or deeply modified by Greek influences. I incline rather to believe in a primitive analogy between the two races, than in the strong effect of their intercommunication.

† See the quotation from *Strabo* p. 54.

‡ St. Augustin *De Civ. Dei* l. viii c. 7. "The impious city labors not only to impose her yoke on the conquered nations, but to give them her language also."

§ Vol. *Mix* l. ii c. 2. "An idea may be formed of the anxiety of the ancient magistrates to preserve their own dignity and that of the Roman people from the fact that, among other signs of grave authority they were most strict in never answering Greek pleaders except in Latin. Nay, even denying them the advantage derivable from their own plastic tongue, they compelled them to speak through an interpreter, not only in our city, but even in Greece and

says the Digest, the prætors must expound the laws.\*

Thus the Romans, hearing only their own tongue from the tribunal, the prætorium, and the basilica, fancied they had extirpated the languages of the conquered. However, many facts exist to teach us what to think of this pretended universality of the Latin tongue. The rebel Lycians, having sent a countryman of theirs, but a citizen of Rome, to sue for pardon, it turned out that he was utterly ignorant of the language of the city.† Claudius found that he had given the government of Greece, a most distinguished office, to an individual unacquainted with Latin;‡ and since Strabo observes, that the tribes of Bætica, and most of those of Southern Gaul, had adopted the Latin tongue,§ the circumstance could not have been common, or he would not have taken the trouble to remark it. "I learned Latin," says St. Augustin, "without fear or flogging, in the midst of the carresses, smiles, and sports of my nurses,"|| just the plan followed with Montaigne, and on which he congratulates himself. But the acquisition of the language must have generally been a harder task, or St. Augustin would not have introduced the subject.

If Martial congratulates himself that all the world at Vienne had his book in their hands;¶ if St. Jerome addresses the ladies of Gaul, St. Hilary and St. Avitus, their sisters, and Sulpicius Severus his mother-in-law, in Latin; and if Sidonius recommends the reading of St. Augustin to women,\*\* all this only proves what no one doubts—namely, that the higher ranks of the south of Gaul, particularly of Roman colonies, as of Lyons, Vienne, or Narbonne, spoke Latin by choice.

As to the mass of the people, and I say this

Asia, in the view of spreading through the world a profound respect for the speech of Rome."

(Gibbon says, "So sensible were the Romans of the influence of language over national manners, that it was their most serious care to extend, with the progress of their arms, the use of the Latin tongue.")—TRANSLATOR.

\* L. Decreta, D. l. xlii. t. l. Decreta a prætoribus Latine interponi debent. Tiberius apologized to the senate for using the Greek word monopoly, "Adeo ut monopolium nominaturus, prius veniam postulavit quod sibi verbo peregrino utendum esset." "When, too, a decree was about to pass the senate, in which the Greek word ἑμβλημα had been inserted, he recommended its being changed." Suet. in Tiber. c. 71.

† Dio Cass. l. ix. ed. Reymar, p. 955.

‡ Suet. in Claud. c. 16. Splendidum virum, Græcique provincie principem, verum Latini sermonis ignarum.

(What Suetonius says is, that "he (Claudius) not only struck out of the list of judges, but likewise deprived of his freedom of Rome, a man of great distinction, and of the first rank in Greece, only because he was ignorant of the Latin language;" so that while the reference perfectly bears out the author's line of reasoning, he has accidentally misinterpreted the passage. Suetonius does not say that Claudius had given the individual in question the government of Greece; nor do the words, "Græcæ provincie principem" mean "governor of Greece," but simply, "a man of the first rank in Greece.")—TRANSLATOR.

§ Strab. l. iii. ed. Ozae. p. 503; l. iv. p. 258.

¶ Confess. l. i. c. 14.

|| Martial. l. vii. epigr. 87.

\*\* Sid. Apoll. l. ii. ep. 9. Roquesfort, Glossaire de la Langue Romaine, 1698. See on this subject, in particular, the learned work of M. Raynouard, t. i.

of the northern Gauls particularly, one can hardly suppose that the Romans invaded Gaul in sufficiently large numbers to induce it to abandon the national speech. According to the judicious rules laid down by M. Abel Remusat, it appears that a foreign tongue generally mingles with an indigenous one, in proportion to the number of those who introduce it into the country; and we may add, that in the particular case in question, the Romans, confined to the towns, or to the quarters of the legions, can have had but little communication with the slaves who were the tillers of the soil, the half-servile husbandmen who were scattered in the country. Even among the inhabitants of the towns and the persons of distinction—and in the language of those false Romans, who arrived at the dignities of the empire—we find traces of the national idiom. The Provençal Cornelius Gallus, a consul and prætor, used the Gallic word *casnar* to signify *associator puellæ*, (a girl's suitor,) and Quintilian objects it to him.\* Antonius Primus, that Toulousan, whose victory gained the empire for Vespasian, was originally named *Bec*,† a Gallic word found in all the Celtic dialects, as well as in French. In 230, by a decree of Septimius Severus, feoffments of trust are to be received, not only when executed in Latin and Greek, but in the *Gallic tongue* as well.‡ It has previously been related that a Druidess addressed Alexander Severus in Gaelic; and, in 473, Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of Clermont, thanks his brother-in-law, the powerful Ecdicius, for having induced the nobility of the Arverni to discontinue the rude Celtic.§

What, it will be inquired, was the vulgar tongue of the Gauls? Are there any grounds

\* Institut. Orat. l. i. c. 5, init.

† Suet. in Vitell. c. 16, ad calcem.

‡ Digest. l. xxii. tit. l. From the eighth century, the union of the Gallic and Latin tongues seems to have given rise to the Romance language. In the ninth century, a Spaniard could make himself understood by an Italian. (Acta 88. Ord. S. Ben. sec. iii. P. 2. p. 258.) It was this Romance *rætic* language that was referred to when the Council of Auxerre prohibited young girls from singing hymns in mingled Latin and Romance; while, on the contrary, those of Tours, Reims, and Metz, (813, 847,) order the prayers and homilies to be translated into it. And, finally, it was in this language that was couched the famous oath, taken by Lewis the German to Charles the Bald, which is the earliest monument of our national tongue. There is no doubt that the proportion in which either language contributed to its formation, differed according to the locality. About 950, an Italian could write "our vernacular language approximates to the Latin." (Martene, Vet. Ser. l. 294.) which explains why the vulgar Provençal tongue was common to parts of Spain and Italy, but there is nothing to show that it was the same with the vulgar tongue of central and northern Gaul. Gregory of Tours, (l. viii.) describing the entrance of Gontran into Orleans, clearly distinguishes between the Latin and the common tongue. In 955, we find a bishop preaching in the Gallic tongue. (Gallice. Concil. Hardouin. v. 731.) The monk of St. Gall gives *veltres*, (for *levriers*, greyhounds,) as a Gallic word. We read in the life of St. Columb, (Acta 88. sec. ii. p. 17.) "a little wild animal, which men vulgarly call *ayvrisan*," (*ecureuil*, squirrel.) It is curious to observe our French language thus gradually dawning, in a despised jargon.

§ "For that the nobility, casting off the scales of the Celtic tongue, cultivate the graces of oratory, and even of the muses." Sidon. Apollin. Epist. 3, lib. iii. ap. Ser. R. Fr. l. 780.

¶ The notice which I here venture to throw out will be thoroughly and irretrievably demonstrated in the great work preparing by Mr. Edwards, on the language of western Europe. Having mentioned the name of my illustrious friend, I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration of the truly scientific method which he has for twenty years pursued in his researches into the natural history of man. After having first taken his subject in its external point of view "*Physiologie des Langues*," *Agens Physiques sur l'Homme*, he has considered it in regard to the principle of its classification, "*Leçons sur les Races Humaines*," and, finally, he has now sought for a new principle of classification in language and has undertaken to deduce from the affinity of languages the philosophic laws of human speech. He has thus united the point where man's outward existence and his inner life blend and are knit together.

if the Celtic element has abided in our tongue, it must have left traces in other directions,\* and must have survived in manners as in language, in action as in thought.

I have spoken elsewhere of the Celtic tenacity; and beg leave to return to the subject, and to dwell on the obstinacy, characteristic of these nations. France will be better understood, by strongly defining its starting point. The mixed Celts, who are called French, may be partially illustrated by the pure Celts, Bretons and Welsh, Scotch and Irish. Let me be permitted to pause, and to raise a stone at the cross-way where these kindred races are about to separate by such opposite roads, to follow so different a destiny; for I should be pained did I not take a solemn farewell of these people, from whom the Germanic invasion will isolate our France. While undergoing the long and painful initiations of the Germanic invasion and of feudalism, she will proceed from serfdom to liberty, and from shame to glory—the old Celtic races, seated on their native rocks, and in the solitude of their isles, will remain faithful to the poetic independence of barbarous life, until surprised in their fastnesses by the tyranny of the stranger. Centuries have elapsed since England has surprised and struck them down; and her blows incessantly rain upon them as the wave dashes on the promontory of Brittany or of Cornwall. The sad and patient Judæa, who counted her years by her captivities, was not more rudely stricken by Asia. But there is such a virtue in the Celtic genius, such a tenacity of life in this people, that they subsist under outrage, and preserve their manners and their language.

They are a race of stone;† immovable as their rude Druidical monuments, which they still revere.‡ The delight of the Scotch mountaineers is to pile rock on rock, and rear a petty dolmen in imitation of the ancient.§ The native of Galicia, at his yearly emigration, casts a stone, and the heap is the measure of his life. The Highlanders say as a token of friendship, "I will add a stone to your cairn;"¶ and but last century they restored the tomb of Ossian, thrown down by English impiety: "In Glenamou stood Clach Ossian, a block seven

feet high and two broad, which, coming in the line of the military road, Marshal Wade overturned it by machinery, when the remains of the bard and hero were found, accompanied with twelve arrow-heads. So great respect had the Highlanders for this rude, but impressive monument, that they burned with indignation at the ruthless deed. All they could do, they did; the relics of Ossian were carefully collected, and borne off by a large party of Highlanders, to a place where they were thought secure from further disturbance. The stone is said still to remain with four smaller, surrounded by an enclosure, and retains its appellation of *Cairn na Huseoig*, or Cairn of the Lark, apparently from the sweet singing of the bard."<sup>¶</sup>

The Duke of Atholl, as descendant of the kings of the Isle of Man, sits to this day with his face turned towards the east,‡ on the mount of Tynwald. Not long since, the churches were used as courts of justice in Ireland.‡ The trace of the worship of fire is found everywhere in the language, the beliefs, and the traditions of these people; and, as regards our Brittany, I shall adduce at the beginning of my third book, a number of proofs of the tenacity of the Breton genius.

It would seem, that a race which remained unchangeable when all was changing around it, must have gained the ascendant by its pertinacity alone, and have moulded the world to take the impress of its own character. The contrary has happened. The more isolated this race has been, the more it has preserved its primitive originality, the more it has sunk and decayed, since for a people to continue in their original condition, apart from all foreign influence, and rejecting all foreign ideas, is to remain weak and imperfect. This is the isolation which has constituted at once the greatness and the weakness of the Jewish nation. It has had but one idea, has given it to the nations, but has borrowed hardly any thing from

\* Id. II. 373.

† Id. I. 308. See, also, the third book of this History.

‡ In 1839, government purchased from the late Duke of Atholl, the whole of his remaining rights, titles, revenues, and patronage, in his Lordship of Man, for £30,000.

§ No act of the Imperial Parliament extends to the Isle of Man, except it contain an express provision to that effect. The legislature of the Island consists of two Chambers; the Council and the House of Keys. The latter originates laws, which, if they pass the Council, are laid before the Sovereign, whose assent is seldom refused. To give a law validity, it must be promulgated by the Lieutenant-Governor, who does so, seated in great state, seated on the top of an ancient tumulus called the Tynwald mount, round which are collected, at the same time, the Council, the Keys, the officers of government, and, generally, a numerous concourse of the people. Hence its laws are commonly called —Acts of Tynwald. See, Isle of Man, in *Enc. Brit.*—TRANSLATOR.

¶ Id. II. 325. "Where zeal for Christianity did not lead to the destruction of circles and their condemnation as places of meeting, they continued to be used as courts, especially by the northern nations, until very late times. . . . One of the latest instances of this appropriation of the standing stones occurs in 1340, when Alexander Stewart, lord of Badenach, held a court at those of the Bath of Kingule." § See Appendix.

\* Premising, as I have already explained and insisted, that the primitive germs are little in comparison with the various developments they have acquired from the spontaneous labor of human liberty.

† As is the soil, so the race. The idea of deliverance, says Turner, (*Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, I. 313), delighted the Cymry in their wild land of Wales, in their paradise of stones—*stone Wales*, to use the expression of Taliesin.

‡ J. Logan, *The Scottish Gael, or Celtic Manners*, as preserved among the Highlanders, 1831, vol. II. p. 354. "It has been carefully noted, that none who ever meddled with the Druids' stones prospered in this world."

§ Logan, II. 308. "CLACH CUID FÌR, is lifting a large stone two hundred pounds or more from the ground, and placing it on the top of another about four feet high. A youth that can do this is forthwith reckoned a man, whence the name of the amusement, and may then wear a bonnet."

¶ W. von Humboldt, *Recherches sur la Langue des Basques*.

‡ Logan, II. 371.



prevailed, the land was long left half cultivated and in pasture.\*

Whatever has been the result, it is honorable to our Celts to have established in the west the law of equality. That feeling of personal right, that vigorous assumption of the *I*, which we have already remarked in Pelagius and in religious philosophy, is still more apparent here; and in great part lets us into the secret of the destiny of the Celtic races. While the Germanic families converted moveable into immoveable property, handed it down in perpetuity, and successively added to it by inheritance, the Celtic families went on dividing, subdividing, and weakening themselves—a weakness chiefly owing to the law of equality and of equitable division. As this law of precocious equity has been the ruin of these races, let it be their glory also, and secure to them at least the pity and respect of the nations to whom they so early showed so fine an ideal.

This tendency to equality, this levelling disposition, which kept men aloof from each other in matters of right and law, needed the balance of a close and lively sympathy which would attach man to man, though isolated and independent through the equity of the law, by voluntary bonds; and this is what at last took place in France, and accounts for its greatness. By this we are become a nation, while the pure Celts have remained in a state of clanship. The petty society of the clan, formed by the rude bond of a real or fictitious relationship,† was incapacitated from receiving any thing from without, or connecting itself with any thing foreign. The ten thousand men who constituted the clan Campbell were all cousins of the chief,‡ all named Campbells, and were

so little desirous of knowing or being more, as scarcely to recollect that they were Scotch. The small and dry nucleus of the clan has ever proved unfit for purposes of aggregation. Flints serve badly for building, as they do not readily take the mortar;§ whereas Roman brick so affects it, that to this day cement and brick unite in forming in the Roman monuments one compact and indestructible block.

On becoming Christians, one would suppose that the Celtic nations would have been softened into union and fellow feeling. This was not the case. The Celtic Church partook of the nature of the clan. At first, fecund and ardent, it seemed about to take the west by storm. The Pelagian doctrines were eagerly received in Provence, though welcomed but to die there. Later still, while the Germans invade the land from the east, the Celtic Church moves on the west, on Ireland: where intrepid and ardent missionaries land, fired with poetic fervor, and vain of their logical skill. Nothing was ever more wildly imaginative than the barbarous Odysseys of these holy adventurers, these bird-like travellers, who alight in flocks upon Gaul, both before and after St. Columbanus. The impetus is immense: the result small. Vainly do the glowing sparks fall upon this world, drenched with the deluge of German barbarism. St. Columbanus, says his contemporary biographer, was about to cross the Rhine, to convert the Suevi, when a dream stayed him. What the Celts omit, the Germans will accomplish of themselves; and St. Boniface, the Anglo-Saxon, will convert those whom St. Columbanus has disdained. The latter saint passes into Italy; but it is to give battle to the Pope. The Celtic Church separates from the Church Universal, rejects unity and co-operation, and refuses to lose herself humbly in European catholicity. But the Culdees of Ireland and of Scotland, who permitted themselves marriage, and were independent, even while living under the rule of their order, which associated them in small ecclesiastical clans of twelve members each, have to give way before the influence of the Anglo-Saxon monks, disciplined by the Roman missions.

The Celtic Church will perish, as the Celtic State has already. The tribes of Britain, indeed, endeavored, when the Romans abandoned their island, to form a kind of republic.‡ The

\* According to Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, i. 233, it was the custom of gavel-kind which delivered Great Britain into the hands of the Saxons, by the incessant subdivision of the possessions of the chiefs into small tyrannies. He cites two remarkable instances from two Lives of the Saints.

† It is well known that in Brittany the title of uncle is given to the cousin who is superior by one degree; a custom evidently tending to draw the ties of kindred tighter. Generally speaking, the spirit of clan-ship has been stronger in Brittany than is supposed, although less dominant among the Cymry than the Gæli. (See in the Second Part, a note upon Laurens's important article, FORJURER LES FAC-TEURS, in the Glossaire du Droit Français.)

‡ But the obedience of these cousins was not without its pride and independence. "Stronger than the bond were the vassals," is an old Celtic saying.—Logan, i. 192. "The right of primogeniture among the Celtic race was, however, obliged to give way to superiority in military abilities." The anecdote of the young chief of Clannairn is well known. On his return to take possession of his estate, observing the profuse quantity of cattle that had been slaughtered to celebrate his arrival, he very unfortunately remarked that a few hens might have answered the purpose. This exposure of a narrow mind, and inconsiderate display of indifference to the feelings of his people, were fatal. "We will have nothing to do with a hen-chief," said the indignant clansmen, and immediately raised one of his brothers to the dignity. So highly did the Highlanders value the qualifications of their commanders, that in the deposition of one whom they deemed unworthy, they risked the evil of a deadly feud. On this occasion, the Frasers, among whom young Clannairn had been fostered, took arms to revenge his disgrace; but they were, after a desperate battle, defeated with great slaughter, and the unhappy hen-chief perished on the field."

\* A Breton proverb says, "A hundred countries, a hundred ways; a hundred parishes, a hundred churches"—

Kant brot, kant kis,  
Kant porrez, kant illis.

A Welsh proverb, "Two Welshmen, and a fight."

† See the following book.

‡ We learn from Gildas, p. 8, that the Saxons had a prophecy, according to which they were to ravage Britain for a hundred and fifty years, and keep possession of it a hundred and fifty: (may not the last clause be an interpolation of the Welsh?)—

"A serpent with chains  
Towering and plundering  
With armed wings  
From Germania, &c."

Taliesin, p. 94, and 7 uwer, l. p. 312.

brians and Loegrians, (Cumry and Lloegyr, Wales and England,) united for a moment under the Loegrian Vortigern, in order to subdue the Picts and Scots from the north. badly supported by the Cambrians, Vortigern was obliged to call in the Saxons, who, auxiliaries, soon became enemies. Loegria conquered, Cambria held out under the great Arthur, and prolonged the resistance two centuries. The Saxons themselves were to be subdued in a single battle, by Wilfrid the Bastard; so ill-calculated is the German race for resistance. In the same manner the Franks, established in Gaul were, subdued, thoroughly changed in the second generation, by ecclesiastical influence.

The Cambrians held out two hundred years more of arms, and more than a thousand by of hope. Untameable hope (the "unconquerable will" of Milton) has been the characteristic of these races. The *Saxons* (Saxons) English, in the languages of the Highlands of Wales) believe Arthur to be dead. They deceived. Arthur lives, and bides his time. Some have even found him in Sicily, lying under Etna.\* The sagest of sages, Druid Myrdhy, (Merlin,) is also somewhere existent. He sleeps under a stone in the east, through the fault of his mistress, Vyvyan.

She chose to try her power, and brought the stone to tell her the fatal word by which he could be spell-bound. He, who knew all, was ignorant of the use to which she was about to put it. Nevertheless, he told it her, and, to please her, laid himself quietly down in a tomb.†

The following is Merlin's famous prophecy as given by Geoffrey of Monmouth, who has preserved for us the old traditions of Britain, formerly contained in the *Book of Exaltation*, (*liber exaltationis*), as the Latins styled it.

"Vortigern was sitting on the bank of a dried-up lake, when a white and a red dragon came out of it, one white, the other red. The dragon the white, and the king asks Merlin what that means. Merlin weeps; the white is the Briton, the red the Saxon. . . . The wild-bird of Cornwall will transfer necks under his feet. The lake of Ocean will be and his will be the ravines of Gaul. He will be famous a mouth of his people, and his actions will be as fond as who shall sing them. Then will come the lion of the sea; at his roar the towers of Gaul and the dragons of the sea will tremble. Then will come the great with horns of silver, and beard of silver. No strong will be the breath of the north, that it will shroud in vapors the whole of the island. The women will have the gait of swans, and their every step shall witness their pride. flames of the funeral pile shall be changed into swans, will swim upon the land, as in a river. The stag of the forest will bear four crowns of gold. His six remaining legs will be changed into ox horns, which will shake, an unheard-of sound, the three isles of Britain. The earth will tremble at it, and will cry out with human voice, as, 'Cambria, god of Cornwall to thy side, and say to the king. The earth shall swallow thee up.'—Then there be massacre of the foreigners. The fountains of water shall leap, Cambria shall be filled with joy, the of Cornwall shall put forth their luxuriance. Flowers shall speak: the straits of Gaul shall be contracted. . . . eggs shall be hatched in the nest, where shall issue men, and wolf. On which shall arise the giant of iron, whose look shall freeze the world with fear." *Gal. Monemurtois*, l. 15.

*Gervase Tilburtonensis, de Otio imperialibus, ap. Rev. R. Courcy, p. 721. Thierry, Conquête de l'Angleterre, III. iv. p. 25.*

is in the history of Adam and Eve, Samson and Delilah.

While waiting for his resurrection, this great race weeps, and sings\* songs as full of tears as those of the Jews by Babel's stream. This impression of melancholy is stamped on the few Ossianic fragments which are really ancient. The language of our less unfortunate Bretons abounds in melancholy sayings. They sympathize with night, and with death. "I never sleep," says their proverb, "that I do not die a bitter death;"—and, to him who passes over a tomb, "Step from off my corpse." It is another saying of theirs, that "the earth is too old to bring forth."

They have no great reason to be gay, since all has been against them. Brittany and Scotland have voluntarily espoused the weaker party and the losing side. The Chouans supported the Bourbons—the Highlanders, the Stuarts. But the Celts lost the power of making kings when the mysterious stone, formerly brought from Ireland into Scotland, was transferred to Westminster.†

Of all the Celtic nations, Brittany is the least to be pitied, having been so long the sharer of equality—France is a humane and generous country. The Welsh Cymry, again, were admitted under the Tudors (from Henry the Eighth's time) to the privileges of Englishmen; still, it was by torrents of blood and the massacre of the Bards, that England led the way to this happy fraternity, which, after all,

lah, Hercules and Omphale; but the Celtic legend is the most affecting.

\* The following is the most popular of the Welsh songs; it is partly in Welsh, partly in English:—

"Sweet is the tale of the minstrel merry,

*Ar hyd y Nos*, (All the night;)

Sweet the rest of herdsman weary,

*Ar hyd y Nos*;

And six hours appear with sorrow

Forced the mask of joy to borrow,

Comfort is there, till the morrow,

*Ar hyd y Nos*."

Cambro-Briton, November, 1819.

† Legum, l. 197. "The practice of crowning a king upon a stone is of remote antiquity. The celebrated coronation chair, the seat of which is formed of the slab on which the kings of Scotland were inaugurated, is an object of curiosity to those who visit Westminster Abbey. The history of this stone is carried back to a period far beyond all authentic record; and the Irish say that it was first in their possession. According to Wintoun, its original situation was in Iona. It was certainly in Argyll, where it is believed to have remained long at the castle of Dunstaffnage, before it was removed to Kilmory, the place of coronation for the kings of Scotland, whence it was carried to London by Edward the First. This curious relic is of a dark color, and appears to be that sort found near Dundee. It was looked on with great veneration by the ancient Scots, who believed the fate of the nation depended on its preservation. The Irish called it *clach na cineamara*, the stone of fortune, and the Scots preserve the following circular verse:—

Claithd' fuit mor' am fne,

Mar' b'ing am fialtine:

Far am fighear an fial,

Igha fialtine do ghabhail.

"('The race of the five Scots shall flourish, if this prediction is not false; wherever the stone of destiny is found, they shall prevail by the right of Heaven.') . . . *Maro Grammaticus*, lib. 11, says it was the ancient custom in Denmark to crown the kings sitting on a stone. . . . These inauguration seats were always placed on eminences. On Quothman Law, a beautiful green hill in the ward of Lanchester, is a stone artificially hollowed, on which it is said that Wallace sat in conference with his chiefs."



is perhaps more apparent than real.\* As for Cornwall, so long the Peru of England, who saw in her only her mines, her fate has been to lose even to her language:†—"There are only four or five of us who speak the language of the country, said an old man in 1776, and they are all old folk like me, from sixty to eighty years of age: not one of the young people know a word of it."

Singular fate of the Celtic world! Of its two great divisions, one, although the least unfortunate, is perishing, wearing away, or at all events losing its language, costume, and character—I allude to the Highlanders of Scotland and the people of Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany.‡ Here we find the serious and moral element of the race, which seems dying of sadness and soon to be extinguished. The other, filled with inexhaustibleness of life, multiplies and increases despite of every thing: it will be felt that I speak of Ireland.

Ireland! poor elder child of the Celtic race, so far from France, her sister, who cannot stretch out her arm to protect her across the waves—the *isle of Saints*,§ the *emerald of the*

\* The Tudors placed the Welsh dragon in the arms of England, as the Stuarts afterwards adorned them with the gloomy Scotch thistle; but the fierce leopards have not admitted either on a footing of equality any more than the Irish harp.

† Memoirs of the London Society of Antiquaries, II. 305. Thelery, Conq. de l'Angleterre, IV. 241.

‡ The paper referred to by the author is in the 57th volume of the Transactions of the London Antiquarian Society; being a letter from Daines Barrington, read March 21st, 1776, in continuation of some remarks of his "On the Expiration of the Cornish Language," published in the third volume of the Society's Transactions. Appended to this letter, is a letter written in Cornish and English (deposited with the Society) sent to him from an aged Cornish fisherman; of which the following is part:—"My age is three-score and five, I learnt Cornish when I was a boy, I have been to sea with my father and five other men in the boat, And have not heard a word of English spoken in the boat, For a week together, I never saw a Cornish book, I learned Cornish going to sea with old men, There is not more than four or five in our town, Can talk Cornish now, Old people four-score years old, Cornish is all forgot with young people."

§ This letter is dated Mousehole, July 3d, 1776. It is written in lines of various length: the Cornish above, the English under. The punctuation of the foregoing copy shows the length of each line.—TRANSLATOR.

¶ See the Cambro-Briton, (having for motto, KYMBY FU, KYMBY FYDD.) Many laws were passed prohibiting the Irish from speaking their native tongue, and the Welsh as well, about the year 1700. In the principal Welsh grammar schools, particularly in North Wales, Welsh, far from meeting encouragement, has been for many years discountenanced by severe penalties. The boys there speak it incorrectly, are unacquainted with its grammar, and are unable to write it. Cambro-Briton, I. 21. But it appears that the Celtic tongues have taken refuge in literature. In 1711, there existed seventy works printed in Welsh; their number is supposed now to exceed 10,000. Logan, II. 306.—The Celtic dress has undergone no less persecution than the language. In 1585 an act of parliament forbade the natives to assemble in the Irish dress. However, the Irish appear to have given it up in the middle of the seventeenth century with less reluctance than the Scotch Highlanders. It is stated in a Scotch paper of 1750, that a murderer was acquitted, as the individual he killed wore a Tartan dress.

(The various enactments against the use of the Highland dress were repealed by a bill introduced into parliament by the Duke of Montrose, in 1792; and the perpetuation of the language and dress of the Scottish Gael is one of the main objects of the Celtic Society.)—TRANSLATOR.

§ Giraudus Cambrensis (Topograph. Hibernia, III. c. 29) reproached the Irish as the only people in the world who did not cement the Church of Christ with blood. "All the saints of this country," he says, "are confessors, but no

sea, all-fertile Ireland, whose men grow like grass, to the terror of England, in whose ear is daily shouted—"they are another million"—land of poets, of bold thinkers, of John Erigenes, of Berkeley, of Toland, land of Moore, land of O'Connell\*—land of the brilliant speech and lightning sword, which, in the senility of the world, still preserves the power of poetry. The English may laugh when they hear in some obscure corner of their towns the Irish widow improvising the *coronach* over the corpse of her husband†—*pleurer à l'Irlandaise*, (to weep Irish,)‡ is with them a by-word of scorn. Weep, poor Ireland, and may France weep as well, as she beholds at Paris, over the gate of the asylum which receives your sons, that harp which asks for succor. Let us weep at our inability to give back the blood which they have shed for us. In vain, in less than two centuries, have four hundred thousand Irish§ fought in our armies. We must witness the sufferings of Ireland, without uttering a word. In like manner have we long neglected and forgotten our ancient allies, the Scotch—and the Scotch mountaineer will soon have disappeared from the face of the earth.¶ The Highlands are

martyr, which can scarce be paralleled by any other Christian nation. There has not been found those who would cement the foundations of the rising Church with blood." Then, playing on the words of the Psalmist, he exclaims—"There is none that doeth good, no, not one." To this reproach, Maurice, Archbishop of Cashel, replied—"It is true our country boasts of numbers of holy men and scholars, who have enlightened not only Ireland, but all Europe; but we have ever held piety and learning in too much reverence, to injure, much less destroy the promoters of either. Perhaps now, sir," added he, "that your master holds the monarchy in his hands, we shall be enabled to add martyrs to our catalogue of saints." The good Archbishop alludes to the murder of Thomas à Becket. O'Halloran, Introduction to the Hist. of Ireland. (Dublin, 1772, p. 182, 183.)

\* Since Mirabeau's time, no assembly, I think, has witnessed a finer burst of eloquence than O'Connell's unpremeditated speech on the 5th of February, 1833.

† Logan, II. 392. It is an extempore composition, decanting on the virtues and respectability of the deceased. At the end of each stanza, a chorus of women and girls swell the notes into a loud, plaintive cry. The Irish, in remote parts, before the last howl, expostulate with the dead body, and reproach it for having died, notwithstanding he had a good wife and a milch cow, several fine children, and a competency of potatoes. Ibid. 393. The singing of the coronach appears to have given place to the playing of the bagpipes, among the Highlanders.

‡ (See in orig.)

§ (The passage of Logan which the author has introduced into his text, is as follows:—"This wild and melancholy dirge has been termed 'the howl,' and gave rise to the expression among the English of 'weeping Irish.'")—TRANSLATOR.

¶ O'Halloran, I. 95, 376. Louis XIV. wrote several letters with his own hand, to press the claims of the Irish on Charles II. See, particularly, the letter dated Sept. 7th, 1690. O'Halloran states, that, according to the registers of the War-Office, 450,000 Irish enlisted under the French banners between 1691 and 1745 inclusive. Perhaps, this estimate should include all the Irish who entered our armies up to 1799.

¶ The Scotch mountaineers are now compelled to emigrate by want. The land is everywhere converted into pasture. Regiments can hardly be raised there. The pibroch may sound; no warrior will reply to it.

The entire passage of Logan, which M. Michelet has condensed into the above note, is as follows:—"Many Highland proprietors have of late turned their almost exclusive attention to sheep-farming, and have followed their object with so much zeal, that whole districts have been depopulated that they might be turned into extensive sheep-walks. How far this may be ultimately of advantage to

daily unpeopled. The conversion of small holdings into large farms, which ruined Rome, has destroyed Scotland.\* Estates may be found ninety-six square miles in extent, others twenty miles long and three broad ;† so that the Highlander will soon only exist in history and in Walter Scott. When the tartan and claymore

are seen passing, the inhabitants of Edinburgh run to their doors to gaze at the unusual sight. The Highlander expatriates himself and disappears ; and the bagpipe awakens the mountains with but one air"—

"Chà till, chà till, chà till, sin taile."

We return, we return, we return, no more.

## BOOK THE SECOND.

### THE GERMANS.

#### CHAPTER I.

##### GERMANIC WORLD.—INVASION.—MEROVINGIANS.

BEHIND the old Celtic, Iberian, and Roman Europe, so precisely defined by its peninsulas and islands, lay stretched out another world—the Germanic and Slavonic world of the north—equally, though differently, vast and vague, and with its boundaries, left indeterminate by nature, determined by political revolutions. Nevertheless, this indecisive character is ever striking in Russia, Poland, and in Germany itself. On our side, the frontiers of the German language and population run down into Lorraine and Belgium. Eastward, the Slavonic frontier of Germany has been upon the Elbe, then on the Oder, and then,—as unsettled as this capricious stream which so often changes its course. Through Prussia and Silesia, at once German and Slavonic, Germany dips towards Poland and towards Russia, that is to say, towards the boundless world of barbarism. Northward, the sea is hardly a better defined boundary. The sands of Pomerania are the continuation of the bottom of the Baltic ; and there, lie under the level of the water towns and villages like those threatened to be swallowed up by the sea in Holland. Pomerania is but the battle-field of the two elements.

The land is undefined, its inhabitants unsettled. Such at least is the picture given by Ta-

citius in his *De Moribus Germanorum*. He speaks of marshes and forests of greater or smaller extent, as they are cleared and retreat before man, or grow denser in the spots which he has abandoned ; of scattered habitations, and of scanty cultivation, transferred each year to a virgin soil. The forests were alternated with *marches*, vast openings, an indeterminate and common territory, which yielded a path for migrations, the scene of the first attempts at cultivation, and where a few huts would be collected together as caprice dictated. "Their dwellings," says Tacitus, "are not contiguous ; here, they will stop near a spring, there, near a clump of trees." To determine the limits of the *marc*, is the all-important office of the forest council—but the limits are not very accurately drawn. "What size," it is asked, "can the husbandman make his plot in the *marc* ? As far as he can hurl his hammer." The hammer of Thor is the sign of property, and the instrument of this peaceful conquest over nature.

However, it must not be inferred from these changes of abode, and this desultory mode of cultivation, that they were a nomadic people. They display none of that spirit of adventure which has equally led ancient Celt and modern Tartar over Europe and Asia.

Specific causes are usually assigned for the first migrations of the great Germanic swarm : thus, the Cimbri were forced towards the south by an irruption of the ocean, and in the course of their flight hurried numerous nations along with them. War and famine, and a craving for a more genial soil, as is evident from Tacitus, often forced tribe after tribe upon each other ; but when they found a spot to their liking and with natural defences, they settled down there. The Frisians, who have for so many ages remained faithful both to the soil and the customs of their ancestors, are a case in point.

Notwithstanding the lively colors with which Tacitus has delighted to adorn them, the manners of the early inhabitants of Germany do not appear to have differed from those of most

proprietors it is not easy to foresee, but its policy is certainly very objectionable. To force so great a number of the inhabitants to emigrate, and thus deprive the country of the services of a large proportion of the best part of the peasantry, is surely a serious national evil. Regiments can no longer be raised in case of need, in those places where now are only to be seen the numerous flocks of the solitary shepherd. The pibroch may sound through the deserted glens, but no eager warriors will answer the summons—the last notes which pealed in many a valley were the plaintive strains of the expatriated clansmen in "Chà till, chà till, chà till, sin taile."

\* *Latifundia perdidit Italia*. Pliny, xviii. In Scotland, the lairds have taken possession of the lands belonging to the clan, and have converted their suzerainty into property.—In Brittany, on the contrary, many farmers who held lands at the lord's pleasure, have become proprietors ; the former owners having been deprived of their estates as feudal lands.

† Logan, II. 73.

barbarous nations. The hospitality, deadly spirit of revenge, passionate addiction to gaming, love of fermented drinks, abandonment of agriculture to their women, and numerous traits of the kind supposed by writers unacquainted with any other savage people to be peculiar to the Germans, are common to most races of men in a state of nature. However, they are not to be confounded with the pastoral Tartar or American hunting tribes. The German hordes, more agricultural and less scattered than they, and not covering the same vast spaces, appear to us under softened features, seeming rather barbarian than savage, rather rude than ferocious.

At the time Tacitus described Germany, the Cimbri and Teutons (Ingevones, Istævones) were fading and dying away in the west; the Goths and Lombards were beginning to rise in the east; we hardly hear of the Saxon vanguard, the Angles; and the Frankish confederation was not formed. The Suevi (Hermiones) were the dominant race.\* The prevailing religion, although many tribes may have cherished peculiar local superstitions, consisted, there is every reason to believe, in the worship of the elements, of the groves, and of the fountains:† and every year the goddess Hertha, (*erd*, the earth,) issuing in a covered car from the mysterious forest in which she had placed her sanctuary, in an island of the Northern Ocean,‡ showed herself for adoration.

\* *Majorem enim Germanie partem obtinent.* Tacit. *Germania*, c. 38.

† When St. Boniface went to convert the Hess, he found that "some sacrificed to groves and fountains privately, others openly." *Acta SS. Ord. S. Ben. sec. III. in S. Bonif.*

(The adoration of stones in woods and elsewhere was forbidden by a Council of Lateran, in 482. Gregory of Tours states that woods, waters, birds, beasts, stones were worshipped in his time—he wrote in the sixth century; and the Germans were prohibited from sacrifices or anguries beside sacred groves or fountains by Pope Gregory III., about 740. "So difficult is it," says Logan, (ii. 354.) from whom the foregoing facts are taken, "to wean people from the religion of their fathers, and that which has been long venerated, that the first Christians were obliged to conciliate their proselytes by tolerating some of their prejudices; perhaps they themselves were somewhat affected by a respect for ancient usages.")—TRANSLATOR.

‡ Tacit. *Germania*, c. 40. "They all agree to worship the goddess Earth, or, as they call her, Herth, whom they consider as the common mother of all. This divinity, according to their notion, interposes in mundane affairs, and, at times, visits the several nations of the globe. A sacred grove on an island in the Northern Ocean is dedicated to her. There stands her sacred chariot, covered with a vestment, to be touched by the priest only. When she takes her seat in this holy vehicle, he becomes immediately conscious of her presence, and in his fit of enthusiasm pursues her progress. The chariot is drawn by cows yoked together. A general festival takes place, and public rejoicings are heard, wherever the goddess directs her way. No war is thought of; arms are laid aside, and the sword is sheathed. The sweets of peace are known, and then only relished. At length the same priest declares the goddess satisfied with her visitation, and reconducts her to her sanctuary. The chariot with the sacred mantle, and, if we may believe report, the goddess herself, are purified in a secret lake. In this ablution certain slaves officiate; and instantly perish in the water. Hence the terrors of superstition are more widely diffused; a religious horror seizes every mind, and all are content in pious ignorance to venerate that awful mystery, which no man can see and live."

May not the *æstem* name of Tacitus be the holy isle of the Saxons, *Helligland*, (*Helligland*), situated at the mouth of the Elbe, and which is also called *Foeteland*, from the name of the idol worshipped there? (A *nomine dei sui fidei*,

Just as we have established in Gallie Cymry, so a new races and na, world of primeval Germany, which, cold, vague, and indecisive, bowed down in vanity to matter. The invasion of the worshipped Odin, of the Goths, (Jutes, Gepids, Lombards, Burgundians,) and of the Saxons, imparted to the Suevic tribes a higher civilization, and bolder and more heroic aspirations: for although the system of Odin was undoubtedly far from having reached the elevation it subsequently attained, particularly in Iceland, it already contained the elements of a nobler life and deeper morality. It promised the brave immortality, a paradise, a Valhalla, where they would btle the whole day, and at eve sit down to the feast of heroes: while on earth it spake to them of a sacred city—city of the As, Angul, a happy and hallowed spot, from which the Germanic races had been formerly driven fast, and which was to be the object of their wanderings over the world.\* It is not impossible that the migrations of the barbarians were in some degree prompted by this belief, and had in view the discovery of the sacred city, as another holy city was at a later age the object of the crusades.

There is an essential difference to be noted among the Odinic tribes. The Goths, Lombards, and Burgundians, looked up to and fought under military chiefs, as the Amali and Balthi; and the spirit of warlike fellowship, of the *comitatus*, described by Tacitus in the early Germans, was all-powerful among these people:—"Where merit is conspicuous, no man blushes to be seen in the list of followers or

*Foetra, Foeteland est appellata.* *Acta SS. Ord. S. Benif. sec. 4. p. 25.* According to Adam de Brema, it was held in veneration by mariners, even in the eleventh century. Pontanus describes it in 1530. It consists of two rocks, like Mont St. Michel and the rock of Delphi. (See *Tacit. Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, i. 135.) The sea, which all but swallowed up North-Strand in 1634, nearly swayed away Helligland in 1640.—Since 1814, this Danish isle, which was the cradle of their ancestors, has belonged to the English. Its arms are, a vessel under full sail.

(Gibbon supposes the Isle of Rugen to be the island in question; and, with respect to the suspension of war which honored the presence of the goddess, observes, "The *æstem* of God, so often and so ineffectually proclaimed by the clergy of the eleventh century, was an obvious imitation of this ancient custom." *Decline and Fall*, vol. i. c. ix. p. 32. See also, quoted by him, Dr. Robertson's *Hist. of Charles V.* vol. i. note 10.)—TRANSLATOR.

\* Consult an interesting memoir, by M. Lea, on the worship of Odin in Germany.—In Ragnar Lodbrok's Saga, the Normans are represented as going to seek Rome, of whose fame and opulence they have heard so much. Coming to Luna, they take it for Rome, and plunder it. Finding their mistake, they set out again, and meet an old man, who has iron shoes on his feet. He tells them that he is bound to Rome, but that it is so far off that he has already worn out a similar pair of shoes: at which they lose heart.—See *Anders, Sur la Littérature du Nord*.

† Jornandes (c. 13, 14) has given the genealogy of Theoderic, the fourth offspring of the race of the AMALI, beginning with Gapt, one of the ad or demigods: "a wondrous origin," says the same author. See *Gibbon*, i. 304, and vii. c. 28.—Balthi, or Balthi, (hence the English, *bald*.)—Alaric was of this illustrious stock. The family of Rann, belonging to Provence and to Naples, boast their descent from the Balthi. *Gibbon*, i. 304, vii. 2.

COMPANIONS. A clanship is formed in this manner, with degrees of rank and subordination. The chief judges the pretensions of all, and assigns to each man his proper station. A spirit of emulation prevails among his whole train, all struggling to be first in favor, while the chief places all his glory in the number and intrepidity of his COMPANIONS. In that consists his dignity; to be surrounded by a band of young men is the source of his power; in peace, his brightest ornament; in war, his strongest bulwark. Nor is his fame confined to his own country; it extends to foreign nations, and is then of the first importance, if he surpasses his rivals in the number and courage of his followers. He receives presents from all parts; ambassadors are sent to him; and his name alone is often sufficient to decide the issue of a war. In the field of action, it is disgraceful to the prince to be surpassed in valor by his COMPANIONS; and not to vie with him in martial deeds, is equally a reproach to his followers. If he dies on the field, he who survives him survives to live in infamy. All are bound to defend their leader, to succor him in the heat of action, and to make even their own actions subservient to his renown. This is the bond of union, the most sacred obligation. The chief fights for victory; the followers for their chief. If, in the course of a long peace, the people relax into sloth and indolence, it often happens that the young nobles seek a more active life in the service of other states engaged in war. The German mind cannot brook repose. The field of danger is the field of glory. Without violence and rapine, a train of dependents cannot be maintained. The chief must show his liberality, and the follower expects it. He demands at one time this warlike horse; at another, that victorious lance imbrued with the blood of the enemy. The prince's table, however inelegant, must always be plentiful: it is the only pay of his followers. War and depredation are the ways and means of the chieftain.\*

In the other branch of the Odinic tribes this principle of attachment to a chief—this personal devotion and worship of man by man, which at a later period became the vital principle of feudalism—is of late development. The Saxons seem at first to have been strangers to this warlike hierarchy mentioned by Tacitus. Equal under the gods, and under the Axi, children of the gods, their chiefs had no authority over them, except when supposed to be divinely commissioned. The very names of Axi and Saxons are perhaps identical.† They were divided into three nations and twelve tribes; and

every other division was so obnoxious to them, that when the Lombards invaded Italy, the Saxons refused to follow them, through dislike to conform to the military division of tens and hundreds in use among their allies.\* It was not till a late period—some, indeed, state not till Alfred's time—when, hemmed in between the Franks and Slaves, they betook themselves to the ocean and threw themselves upon England, that the authority of military chieftainship and division into *hundreds* prevailed among them.

Once established in the north of Germany, the Saxons seem to have long remained sedentary, while the Goths or Jutes, on the contrary, undertook distant expeditions, migrating into Scandinavia and Denmark, and appearing almost at the same time on the Danube and the Baltic; vast expeditions which could never have been undertaken except the entire population had formed one band, and the *comitalus*, the apprenticeship to war, had been organized under hereditary chiefs. Pressing on all the Germanic tribes, the latter were obliged to put themselves in motion,—either to give place to the new-comers, or to follow them in their wanderings. The youngest and the boldest arrayed themselves under leaders, and began a life of war and adventures—another trait common to all barbarous nations. In Lusitania and ancient Italy the young men were drafted off to the mountains; and, among the Sabelli, the banishment of part of the population was regularly organized, and consecrated by the appellation of *er sacrum*.‡ These banished or banned men, (*banditti*), thrust out of their country into the world, and out of the pale of the law (*outlaws*) into a state of warfare, these wolves, (*uargr*.) as they were called in the north,§ constitute the adventurous and poetic portion of all ancient nations.

The young and heroic form which the Germanic race happened to assume in the eyes of the old Latin world, has been imagined the invariable character of the race; and historians, whose authority has great weight with me, have considered that we are indebted to the Germans for the spirit of independence and the genius of free personality. Before subscribing, however, to this opinion, it should be ascertained whether all races have not, in similar situations, presented similar characteristics. As the Germans were the last who arrived of the barbarians, may not the qualities which have composed the barbarian genius of all ages have been ascribed to them? May we not even say that their successes over the empire are attributable to their readiness to band together in large armaments, and to their hereditary attachment to the families of their chiefs—in a

\* The above is from Murphy's translation.

† Saxones, *Saxen*, *Saxon*, *Axi*, *Axi*—Turner, l. 115. Saxones, that is, *Saxen Saxen*, some of the *Saxon*, conquerors of Britannia. Ptolemy says that the *Saxen* settled in Armenia called themselves *Saxasaxen*, (l. vi. c. 11) the province of Armenia, where they were, was called *Saxasaxen*. (Murphy, l. xi. p. 776.) We find *Saxon* on the *Estime*. (Hieronymus, de Urb. et Pop. p. 657.) Ptolemy calls a Scythian people, spring from the *Saxen*, *Saxen*.

\* I am sorry that the author in whom I have read this important fact has slipped my memory.

(See my History of Rome, 2d edit. 1. 3c.)

‡ Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, 1828, p. 204.

word, to that personal devotion and submissiveness to order which have in every age been characteristic of Germany; so that what has been adduced in proof of the indomitable spirit and strong individuality of the German warriors, is, on the contrary, the sign of the eminently social, docile, and flexible genius of the Germanic race!\*

When Alaric swears that an unknown power draws him on towards the gates of Rome, we recognise in the fact that manly and youthful buoyancy of spirit, characteristic of the freeman of the illimitable forest, who, lord of the world, in the joyousness of his strength and liberty, is borne as if on ocean to unknown shores, or rushes on like the wild horse of the steppes and pampas. The same intoxication of spirit prevails in the Danish pirate, who proudly careers over the seas, and animates the glade where Robin Hood sharpens his good arrow against the sheriff. But is not the same discernible in the Gallician guerrilla, in the Don Luis of Calderon, the *enemy of the law*? Is it less striking in those joyous Gauls who followed Caesar under the standard of the lark, and marched singing to the capture of Rome, Delphi, and Jerusalem? Is not this character of free personality, of the boundless pride of the *I*, equally marked in the Celtic philosophy, in Pelagius, Abelard, and Descartes; while the mystic and ideal have been the almost invariable characteristics of the German philosophy and theology?†

From the day that, according to the beautiful Germanic legend, the *Wargus* threw dust upon all his kindred, and cast grass over his shoulders, and leaped with his staff the small enclosure of his field, from that day—whether

he tossed a feather in the air<sup>6</sup> to direct his choice of road, or hesitated with Attila between attacking the empire of the East or of the West—hope and the world were the German's!

It is out of the amplitude of this poetic state that the Germanic beau-ideal had its origin personified by the Scandinavian Sigurd—the *Siegfried* or Dietrich Von Bern of Germany. In this colossal figure are combined what Greece divided—heroic strength and the passion for travel—Achilles and Ulysses; *Siegfried overran many countries by the strength of his arm.*‡ But, with the Germans, the man of craft, so lauded by the Greeks, is accused in the person of the perfidious Hagen, the murderer of Siegfried; Hagen, of the *pale face*, the one-eyed and monstrous dwarf, who has deg into the entrails of the earth, who knows every thing, and whose sole desire is mischief.§ The conquest of the North is typified in Sigurd; that of the South, in Dietrich Von Bern, (Theodoric of Verona!) By the side of Dante's tomb, the silent town of Ravenna guards the tomb of Theodoric; an immense rotunda, whose dome—a single stone—seems to have been raised by the hands of the giants. Perhaps, this is the only Gothic monument now existing in the world; though there is nothing in its massiveness to suggest the idea of that bold and light style of architecture which goes under the name of Gothic, and which, in fact, is the expression of the mystic soaring of Christianity in the middle ages. It may rather be compared to the massive building of the Pelasgi, in the tombs of Etruria and of Argolis.||

The venturesome inroads of the Germans into the empire, and their service as mercenaries in the Roman armies, often brought them into contact with each other. At Florence, the Vandal Stilicho defeated his countrymen, who served in the huge barbarian army of Rhodogast. The Scythian, Ætius, defeated the Scythians in the plains of Châlons—where the Franks fought both for and against Attila. What is it that hurries the German tribes into these paricidal wars? It is that terrible fatality spoken of in the Edda and the Nibelungen: it is the gold of which Sigurd rifles the dragon Fafnir, and which is to be his own destruction; that fatal gold which passes into the hands of his murderers, in order to prove their death at the banquet of the grasping Attila.

The object of wars, the end of heroic expe-

\* We must carefully separate from our idea of primitive Germany the two forms under which she has presented herself externally: firstly, as bands of adventurous barbarians who descended upon the south, and entered the empire as conquerors and as mercenary soldiers; secondly, as lawless pirates, who, at a later period, when stopped in their progress westward by the Franks, left first the banks of the Elbe, and then the shores of the Baltic, to plunder England and France. Both committed fearful ravages.—Undoubtedly, great misery must have followed the first contact of races, strangers alike in habits and in language: still, the conquered omitted no exaggeration, to increase their own terror.

† In another work I have pointed out the profound impersonality which is the characteristic of German genius, and I shall return to the subject in this. The sanguinary complexion, which is very remarkable in the youth of Germany, frequently throws this characteristic into the shade; and while this ebullience of blood lasts, the German displays much heady impulse and blind enthusiasm. Nevertheless, the fundamental character of the German mind is impersonality. (See my *Introduction à l'Histoire Universelle*.) This point has been admirably seized in ancient sculpture. To illustrate my meaning, I would refer to the colossal busts of the captive Daci, in the new wing of the Vatican, and to the polychrome statues—for inferior, it is true, to these—which are in the vestibule of our Museum. The Daci of the Vatican, with their enormous proportions and forest of wild hair, suggest no idea of barbarian ferocity, but rather that of immense brute power, like the ox and the elephant, presenting, as well, a singularly indecisive and vague air. They see, but without seeming to look; just like the statue of the Nile, also in the Vatican, and Vietti's charming statue of the Seine, in the Lyons' Museum. I have often noticed and been struck with this indecision of look in the most eminent men of Germany.

‡ See the forms of entrance into the German *Companionship*, translated by me in the notes to my *Introduction à l'Histoire Universelle*.

§ Priscus, in Corp. Hist. Byzantine, p. 40.

|| "Durch eines Libos Sterbe er zelt in menegia Laet."

*Der Nibelungen Nid*, 67.

Cornelius, and it is to be regretted, appears in his admirable frescoes to have remembered the German Nibelungen rather than the Scandinavian Edda and Hagen.

§ See the admirable article by M. Ampère in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, August 1st, 1833.

|| See the voyage, or rather the epopee, of Edgar Quinet, 1830.

ons, are gold and woman—heroic, with re-  
l to the exertion, for love with this people  
raises none of its softening qualities. Wo-  
's grace consists in her strength and colos-  
size. Reared by a man, by a warrior,  
ndeful coldness of the Germanic tempera-  
t!\*) arms are familiar to the virgin's hand.  
win Brunhild, Siegfried must launch his  
lin against her; while she, in the amorous  
ggle, must with her strong hands make the  
d spirt out of the fingers of the hero. In  
itive Germany, woman was yet bowed  
n to the earth she cultivated;† she grew  
n the midst of war, and became the sharer  
he dangers of man, the partner of his fate  
fo and death, (*sic vivendum, sic pereundum*.  
it.) She shrinks not from the field of bat-  
but coolly faces and presides over it, be-  
ing the spirit of battles, the charming and  
ble Valkyria, who gathers the soul of the  
g warrior, as you gather a flower. She  
s him on the deathful plain, as the *swan-*  
ed Edith sought for Harold after the battle  
fastings, or like that courageous English-  
man who turned over the corpses of Water-  
to discover the body of her youthful hus-  
l.

#### T INVASION OF THE EMPIRE BY THE BAR- BARIANS. (A. D. 375.)

he occasion of the first migration of bar-  
as into the empire,‡ is well known. Till  
year 375, only partial inroads and invasions  
occurred. At that period, the Goths, worn  
with the incursions of the Hunnic cavalry,  
sh rendered all cultivation impossible, ob-  
d permission to cross the Danube as sol-  
s of the empire, which they sought to de-  
and cultivate. Converted to Christianity,  
had been already softened by intercourse  
the Romans. Steeped in famine and de-  
r by the oppression of the imperial agents,  
ravaged the provinces between the Black  
and the Adriatic; incursions which served  
umanize them the more, both by the luxu-  
they enjoyed and their intercourse with  
families of the conquered. Bought over at  
price by Theodosius, they twice gained him  
empire of the West. The Franks had at  
gained the upper hand in this empire, as  
Goths had in the others; and their chiefs,  
lobaud, under Gratian, Arbogastes, under  
satinian II., and then under the rhetorician

Eugenius whom he had invested with the pur-  
ple, were, in point of fact, emperors.\*

In this prostration of the empire of the West,  
which yielded itself up to the barbarians, the  
old Celtic populations, the indigenes of Gaul  
and of Britain, rose up and chose their own  
rulers. Maximus, who as well as Theodosius†  
was a Spaniard, was raised to the empire by  
the legions of Britain, (A. D. 383.) He landed  
at St. Malo with a swarm of islanders, and  
defeated the troops of Gratian, who, with his  
Frankish chief, Melloband, was put to death.  
These British auxiliaries settled in our Armo-  
rica under their conan or chief, Meriadec, or  
rather, Murdoch, who is said to have been  
first count of Brittany.‡ Spain willingly sub-  
mitted to the Spaniard Maximus, and this able  
prince soon wrested Italy from the young Va-  
lentinian II., the brother-in-law of Theodosius.  
Thus the whole west was united by an army,  
partly composed of Britons, and commanded  
by a Spaniard.

It was by the aid of the Germans§ that  
Theodosius triumphed over Maximus. His  
army, consisting principally of Goths, invaded  
Italy,|| while the Frank, Arbogastes, effected a  
diversion through the valley of the Danube.  
The latter chief remained all-powerful under  
Valentinian II., got rid of him, and reigned  
three years in the name of the rhetorician Eu-  
genius; and it was likewise to the Goths that

\* Zosim. l. iv. ap. Script. R. Fr. i. 394. "Arbogastes was of consequence enough to be able to speak boldly to the king, and even to prevent the execution of any orders that struck him as being improper or unbecoming."—Paul. (Oros. l. vii. c. 33. "He dared to raise Eugenius to the purple, and give him the name of emperor, reserving the power to himself."—Prosper. Aquitan. ann. 384. Marcellin. (Chron. ap. Scr. R. Fr. i. 640.

Hunc alibi Germanus flavulum delegavit exul,  
(Him the German exile chose for servant,

is the contemptuous language of Claudian, l. v. Cons. Honor. 74.

† Zosimus, iv. 47.—Sozom. iv.—Sulpicius Severus (Dialog. li. c. 7) says of him, that "he would have been a perfect man, could he have rejected the crown, or abstained from civil war."—Some authors state that he was elected emperor against his will. Paul. Oros. l. vii. c. 34, &c.

(Sulpicius, Gibbon observes, had been his subject.)—TRANSLATOR.

‡ Trade of the island of Britain. "The leaders of the third ceopant expedition from the island were Ellen, powerful in battle, and Cynan, his brother, lord of Meririadeg in Armerica, where they obtained lands, power, and sovereignty, from the emperor Maximus, as the purchase of their support against the Romans. . . . None of them returned; but they remained there, and in Ystru Gynaelwng, where they established themselves."—In 682, a bishop of the Bretons attended the council of Tours.—In 686, Anthelmus summoned to his aid twelve thousand British auxiliaries. They were commanded by Bithamus, one of the independent kings, or chieftains, of Britain, who sailed up the Loire, and established his quarters in Berry. Jornandes, de Reb. Getarum, c. 45.—Turner (Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, p. 398) thinks that the Britons did not settle in Armerica till the year 528, the date assigned to that event by the chronicle of Mont St. Michel.—There can be no doubt that from the remotest antiquity a constant flow and ebb of emigration, induced by motives of commerce, and especially of religion, took place between Great Britain and Armerica. (See Chron.) The only question about which there can be any dispute, is the date of emigration for the purpose of conquest.

§ Maximus also had Germans in his pay. Gibbon, vol. v. p. 47.

|| Id. ibid. p. 54.

See the opening of the Niflunga.—Salvian, de Provident.  
"The Goths are a treacherous, but chaste race. The  
as, monsters of cruelty, but marvels of chastity."  
Paul. Germania, c. 15. "The intrepid warrior, who in  
laid braved every danger, becomes in time of peace a  
sober and vigilant. The management of his house and lands  
sues to the women, to the old men, and to the infirm  
of his family."

The great work of Augustin Thierry on the invasions of  
barbarians is notoriously biased far. The subject is han-  
dled in my History of the Roman Empire.  
Rivier. Chron. Ad rebellionem flum. causam sunt.

Theodosius \ chiefly indebted for his victory over this usurper.\*

Under Honorius, the rivalry of the Goth Alaric and of the Vandal Stilicho deluged Italy for ten years with blood. The Vandal, appointed guardian of Honorius by Theodosius, had the emperor of the West in his power. The Goth, nominated to the command of the province of Illyria by Arcadius, emperor of the East, vainly solicited from Honorius permission to repair thither. Meanwhile, Britain, Gaul, and Spain recovered their independence under the Briton, Constantine. The revolt of one of this emperor's generals,† and, perhaps, the rivalry between Spain and Gaul, prepared the way for that ruin of the new Gallic empire, which was consummated by the reconciliation of Honorius and the Goths. Ataulph, Alaric's brother, married Placidia, the sister of Honorius; and his successor, Wallia, made Toulouse the head-quarters of his bands, employed as a federal militia in the service of the empire, (A. D. 411.) However, that empire soon no longer needed a militia in Gaul, but voluntarily abandoning the province, as it had already given up Britain, concentrated itself in Italy—there to expire. In proportion as it contracted its limits, the Goths enlarged theirs, occupying in the space of half a century Aquitaine and the whole of Spain.

The dispositions of these Goths towards Gaul were any thing but hostile. In their long passage through the empire they had learned to view with wonder and respect the prodigious fabric of Roman civilization, frail and ready to crumble away, undoubtedly, but still standing and in its splendor; and, after the first brutal excesses of invasion, simple and docile, they had submitted themselves to the discipline of the conquered; and the ambition of their chiefs sought as its highest object the title of restorers of the empire—a fact proved by the following memorable words of Ataulph which have been handed down to us:

"I remember," says a writer of the fifth century, "having heard the blessed Jerome relate at Bethlehem his having heard from a citizen of Narbonne who had risen to high offices under the emperor Theodosius, and was, moreover, a religious, wise, and grave man, and who had enjoyed in his native city the friendship of Ataulph, that the king of the Goths, who was a high-hearted and large-minded man, was in the habit of saying that his warmest ambition at first had been to annihilate the name of Rome, and to erect out of its ruins a new empire, to be called the Gothic, so that, to employ the terms commonly used, all that had been ROMANIA should become GOTHIA, and he himself play the same

part that Cæsar Augustus formerly did. But, that becoming convinced by experience that the Goths were incapable, from their stubborn barbarism, of obedience to the laws, without which a republic ceases to be a republic, he had resolved to seek glory by devoting the might of the Goths to the integral re-establishment and even increase of the power of the Roman name, so that he might be regarded by posterity as the restorer of that empire which he found himself unable to transplant. In this view he abstained from war, and devoted his best care to the cultivation of peace."<sup>‡</sup>

The quartering of the Goths on the Roman provinces was no new or strange fact. The emperors had long had barbarians in their pay, who, under the name of *guests*, lodged and lived with the Roman; and the presence of these new-comers was, in the first instance, of signal benefit, by completing the overthrow of the imperial tyranny, for the agents of the treasury gradually withdrawing, the greatest evil of the empire ceased of itself; and the curiales, restricted henceforward to the local administration of the municipalities, found themselves relieved from the loads with which the central government had weighed them down. It is true that the barbarians took possession of two-thirds of the land in the cantons where they settled; but, considering the quantity of land which had been thrown out of cultivation, this must have been, comparatively speaking, but an inconsiderable grievance. Sometimes, too, the barbarians appear to have entertained scruples with respect to such forcible assumption of property, and to have indemnified the Roman proprietors. Paulinus, the poet, who had been reduced to poverty through the final success of Ataulph, and had retired to Marseilles, mentions his surprise at receiving one day the value of one of his estates, which had been sent him by its new owner.§

The Burgundians, who established themselves westward of the Jura, about the period of the settlement of the Goths in Aquitaine, were, perhaps, a still milder race. "The good-nature, which is one of the present characteristics of the Germanic race, was early displayed by the Burgundians. Before their entrance into the empire, they very generally pursued some trade, and were carpenters or cabinet-makers: they supported themselves by their labor in the intervals of peace, and were thus free from that twofold pride of the warrior and of the idle proprietor, which nourished the insolence of the other barbarian conquerors. . . . Established as masters in the domains of

\* P. Oros. l. vii. c. 42. The passage has been quoted and translated by Thierry, *Lettres sur l'Histoire de France*, vi.

† The Hérul and Lombards contended successively with a third.

‡ Paulinus, in Eucherius, v. 564-561, ed. 1851, in Oros.—See also l'Hist. Lit. de Fr. 363-368.

§ Socrates, l. vii. c. 38. ap. Scr. R. Fr. l. 604. Quippe enim fere cuncti fidei ligandi, et ex hac arte mercedem capientes comitibus abant.

\* The post of honor was assigned them in the battle, *Id. ibid.* p. 72.

† Gerontius, who had commanded in Spain during the absence of Constantine's son. Zosim. l. vi. ap. Scr. R. Fr. l. 595. Sozomen, l. ix. lb. 685.

the Gallic landowners, and having received, or taken, under color of hospitality, two-thirds of the land, and a third of the slaves, or, probably, what amounted to a half of the entire property, they scrupled usurping any thing more, and did not treat the Roman as their farmer, or, to use the German phrase, as their *hide*, but as their equal; and even experienced, when in company with the rich senators, their co-proprietors, something of the conscious embarrassment of men of inferior birth who have suddenly risen up in the world. When quartered as soldiers in a handsome mansion, and, in point of fact, masters of it, they did what they saw done by the Roman clients of their noble host, and assembled in the morning at his levee.\* The poet Sidonius has left us a curious picture of a Roman house in the occupation of barbarians, whom he represents as troublesome and coarse, but in nowise ill-inclined:—"From whom do you ask a hymn to the joyous Venus! From one beset with the long-haired bands, who has to endure the dissonant German tongue, and to force a melancholy smile at the songs of the gorged Burgundian, who smears his locks with rancid butter the while. . . . Happy man! thou art not condemned to see this army of giants, who come to salute you before daybreak, as if you were their grandfather or their foster-father. The kitchen of Alcibiades would not suffice to feed the swarm—but enough said—silence; what if my verses should be deemed a satire!"†

The Germans who had settled in the empire with the permission of the emperor were not allowed to remain peaceful possessors of the lands allotted to them. Those same Huns, who had formerly forced the Goths to cross the Danube, drew with them the other Germans who had remained in Germany, and both crossed the Rhine. Here is the barbarian world, rent into its two forms—the band, already established on the soil of Gaul, and which, more and more won over to Roman civilization,‡ adopts, imitates, and defends it; and the tribe, the primitive and antique form, more affined to the genius of Asia, which flocks after the Asiatic

cavalry, and comes to demand a share in the empire from her sons, who have forgotten her.

It is a remarkable singularity in our history that the two great invasions of Europe by Asia—that of the Huns in the fifth century, and that of the Saracens in the eighth—should both have met with their repulse in France. The Goths were the principal actors in the first victory; the Franks in the second.

Unfortunately, great obscurity hangs over both these events. The leader of the invasion of the Huns, the famous Attila, appears in tradition less like an historical personage than a vague and terrible myth, the symbol and memorial of wholesale slaughter. His true eastern name, Etzel,\* signifies something vast and powerful, a mountain, a river, and, in particular, the Volga, that immense river which separates Asia from Europe. This is also the aspect of Attila in the Nibelungen—powerful, formidable, but indefinite and vague, destitute of all human qualities, as indifferent and void of moral sympathies as nature, hungry as the elements, and as devouring as fire and water.†

The existence of Attila would be doubtful were not all the writers of the fifth century agreed on the point, and if Priscus had not told us with terror that he had seen him, and described to us the table of Attila—terrible even in history, although we do not find it decked out there, as in the Nibelungen, with the obsequies of a whole race. But it is a great spectacle to see seated there, in the lowest place, and beneath the chiefs of the lowest barbarian hordes, the sad ambassadors of the emperors of the East and West.‡ While mimes and buffoons excite the mirth and laughter of the barbarian warriors, Attila, serious and grave, and gathered up in his short and thick frame, with flattened nose, and his broad forehead pierced with two burning holes,§ revolves gloomy thoughts,

\* Etzel, Atzel, Athila, Athela, Ethela.—Atta, Atti, Attili, Vater, signify in almost all languages, and especially in those of Asia, father, judge, chief, king. It is the root of the names of the king of the Marcomanni, Attilus; of the Moor, Attala; of the Mythian, Athela; of Attalus of Pergamus; of Atalrich, Eticho, Edico. But it has a deeper and wider meaning. Attila is the name of the Volga, of the Don, of a mountain in the province of Einsiedeln, and a general name for mountain and river. Thus it may be intimately connected with the Atlas of the Greek myths." Jac. Grimm, *Altdeutsche Walder*, i. 6.

† We frequently read in Priscus and Jornandes, of both the Greeks and Romans pacifying him by presents. (Priscus, in *Corp. Hist. Byzantine*, i. 72. *Τὸν οὖν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔπεισαν*—By force of presents, the war determined him to invade Gaul.—As reparation for an attempt on his life, he demanded an increase of tribute, &c.)—In the *William-Naga*, c. 27, he is called the most adventurous of men; and it was by holding out to him hopes of a treasure, that Charlembold persuaded him to admit his brothers into his palace.

‡ Priscus, in *Corp. Hist. Byzantine*, i. 64, describing their reception, states "that they were seated on the left hand, and Seric, a Mythian chieftain, had precedence of them." The right hand was esteemed the most honorable.

§ Jornandes, *De Rebus Geticis*, ap. *Dachmann*, i. 385. "A large head, a swarthy complexion, small deep-set eyes, a flat nose, a few hairs in the place of a beard, broad shoulders, and a short square body. In face, he displayed all the signs of his origin."—*Amm. Marcell.* xiii. 1. "The Huns you would compare to beasts on two legs, or to those misshapen figures, the Turanni, which are placed on our

\* Aug. Thierry, *Lettres sur l'Hist. de France*, vi.

† Sidon. *Apollin. carmen* xii ap. *Mer. R. Fr.* i. 811—

*Laudantem letitico subinde vultu,  
Quod Burgundis cantat convulatus,  
Infundens ardui comam butyri.*

*Quem non ut retulum patri parentem,  
Nutritique virum, de ore oris,  
Tot tantique prius simul gigantes.*

‡ Priscus contrasts the Goths with the Germans, *De Rebus Gothicis*, i. iii. c. 33, ap. *Mer. R. Fr.* ii. 41—*Paul. Oron.* ap. *Mer. R. Fr.* i. "By the mercy of God, all became Christians and Catholics, and, submitting themselves to our priests, lead a calm and innocent life, treating the Gauls not as subjects, but as Christian brethren."

§ In the foregoing passage, Jornas refers to the Burgundians, who obtained a permanent seat in Gaul at the commencement of the fifth century. The learned editor of the *Mer. R. Fr.* observes on this passage, that "The Burgundians, some years afterwards, turning Arians, grievously oppressed the Gauls."—*TRANSLATOR*



as he passes his hands through the hair of his young son. There they sit, those Greeks who come even into the lion's den, to lay snares for him! He knows all; but is satisfied with returning the emperor the purse with which he had thought to purchase his death, and with addressing him this overwhelming message:—"Attila and Theodosius are sons of very noble fathers. But Theodosius, by paying tribute, is fallen from his nobility, and has become Attila's slave. It is not fit that he should conspire against his master, like a vile serf."

He disdained all other vengeance; but exacted some thousand ounces of gold the more. When payment of the tribute was not made to the day, the following notice, delivered by a slave, sufficed to secure its immediate transmission: "Attila, my lord and thy lord, is coming to see thee. He orders thee to get a palace ready for him in Rome."<sup>6</sup>

And what would have been the gain to this Tartar to have conquered the empire? He could not have breathed in its walled cities or marble palaces. Better did he love his wooden village, with its huts adorned with paint and hangings, and its thousand kiosks, flaunting in a hundred different colors, scattered in the green meadows of the Danube. Thence he yearly took his departure with his innumerable cavalry, and the German bands which followed him whether they would or not. At enmity with Germany, he yet made use of Germany. His ally, the Vend Genseric, who had settled in Africa,† was the enemy of Germany. The Vends having turned aside from Germany through Spain, and changed the Baltic for the Mediterranean, infested the south of the empire while Attila laid waste the north. The Vend Stilicho's hatred of the Goth, Alaric, reappears in Genseric's hate of the Goths of Toulouse. He sought in marriage, and then cruelly mutilated the daughter of their king. He called Attila against them into Gaul. A contemporary historian (of slight authority, it is true) states that his countryman Ætius,‡ general of the Western empire, had also invited his presence, in the hope that the Goths and Huns might exterminate each other. Attila's path was marked by the ruin of Metz and of numerous other cities. An idea may be formed of the impres-

sion left\* by this terrible event, from the numerous legends that grew out of it. Troyes was saved by the merits of St. Lupus. God took St. Servatius to himself to spare him the grief of seeing the ruin of Tongres. Paris was saved by the prayers of St. Genevieve;† and Orleans stoutly defended by Bishop Amianus. This holy man, while the battering-ram was shaking the walls, asked, in the midst of his prayers, whether any thing was seen coming. Twice he was answered, no; but on asking the third time, he was told that a small cloud was visible in the horizon—it was the Goths and Romans who were coming to the aid of the citizens.‡

Idatius gravely asserts that two hundred thousand Goths, with their king, Theodoric, fell in a battle with Attila, near this town. His son Thorismund burns to avenge him; but the prudent Ætius, who equally feared the triumph of either party, seeks Attila under cover of night, and tells him—"You have destroyed but the smallest part of the Goths, who will bear down upon you to-morrow in such multitudes, that you will find it difficult to escape;" and, in his gratitude, Attila presents him with a thousand pieces of gold. Then, repairing to Thorismund, Ætius tells a similar tale to him; and, besides, awakens his fears that if he does not hasten his return to Toulouse, his brother will usurp his throne. For this good advice, Thorismund, in his turn, gives him ten thousand solidi; and both armies quickly take opposite routes.§

The Goth, Jornandes, who wrote a century afterwards, does not fail to add to the fables of Idatius; but he gives all the glory to the Goths, and attributes the employment of treachery, not to Ætius, but Attila—all whose enmity is directed against the king of the Goths, Theodoric.¶ Attila is represented as leading into Gaul the collective barbarians of the North and the East;‡ and a frightful battle is delivered between the whole Asiatic, Roman, and German world, three hundred thousand of whose

\* Italy retained as sensible an impression of the invasion of the same barbarian. In a battle, fought at the very gates of Rome, both parties were said to have perished to a man; "but their spirits rose, and fought with unwearied fury for three days and three nights." Damascius, ap. Phot. Bibl. p. 1039.

† According to the legend, it was on his retreat from Orleans that Attila massacred the eleven thousand virgins of Cologne.

‡ Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 7. *Aspicit de muro civitatis, et Dei miseratio jam succurrit. . . . Aspicit iterum, &c.*

§ Idatius, ap. Proleg. Scr. R. Fr. ii. 462. The estimate given by Prolegarius is regarded with suspicion.

¶ Jornandes, c. 28. ap. Scr. R. Fr. ii. 92.

‡ See Jornandes, *ibid.*, and the notes of the edition.

"The greater part of the army collected by Ætius in Gaul must have been composed of Franks, supposed by the moderns to have been Gauls, and subjects of Marcomann; of Ripuarii, also of Frankish race; of Saxons, settled at Bayeux; of Burgundians, who had established their monarchy, forty years before, near the lake of Geneva; of Romanians, who had passed into Gaul at the time of the great barbaric invasion in 406; of Alani of Orleans, or of Valence; of Thaulages of Poitou; of Brehones, cantoned in Rhodan; of Armoricans, soldiers, perhaps, from the provinces which had shaken off the yoke; and of Loti, or veteran barbarians, whose services had been rewarded with a gift of lands, granted on condition of their defending them." (M. de la Motte, Hist. des Français, l. 126, who cites Jornandes, c. 28.)

bridges."—Jornandes, c. 24. "They are fearfully swarthy; their face a shapeless lump, (if I may so speak,) rather than a human countenance, and having two dots for eyes."

(Gibbon, quoting the same passage, observes, "Jornandes draws a strong caricature of a Calmuck face.")—TRANSLATOR.

\* Chronic. Alexandria. p. 734.

† Jornandes, ap. Scr. R. Fr. i. 22. "By lavish presents, Genseric induces Attila to fall on the Visigoths," &c.

‡ Greg. Tur. l. ii. ap. Scr. R. Fr. i. 163. "Gaudentius, Ætius's father, was a man of the first rank in the province of Scythia."

§ Jornandes (ap. Scr. R. Fr. i. 22) says that "he was descended from the valiant Mœdii, and born in Dorostorum."—Ætius had been a hostage to the Huns. (Greg. Tur. loc. cit.) Orestes, the father of Augustulus, the last emperor of the West, and the Hun, Edecon, the father of Odoacer, the conqueror of Italy, figure among the ambassadors of Attila. See the account given by Priscus.

bodies strew the field. Attila, in danger of being forced in his camp, rears an immense funeral pile of the saddles of his cavalry, and takes his station by it, torch in hand, ready to fire it.\*

In this recital, however, there is one fearful circumstance, which admits of no doubt. On both sides, the combatants were, for the most part, brethren.—Franks against Franks, Ostrogoths against Visigoths.† After so long a separation, these tribes meet only to fight and slaughter each other. This circumstance is touchingly alluded to in the Nibelungen, when, in obedience to the wife of Attila, the Margrave Rudiger, shedding big tears, attacks the Burgundians whom he loves, and in his duel with Hagen, lends him his buckler.‡ Still more pathetic is the song of Hildebrand and Hadubrand. The father and son, who have been many years separated, meet at the other end of the world: but the son does not recognise the father, and the bitter alternative left to the latter is to slay his son or perish.§

\* Jornandes, c. 40. . . . . Equis bellis construisse pyram, seneque, si adversariis truncant, flammis impere voluisse.—In the Nibelungen, Chromchild fires the four corners of the hall in which her brothers are.

† The Visigoths, with their king Theodoric, fought on the side of the Romans; the Ostrogoths and the Gepide were with the Huns. It was an Ostrogoth who slew Theodoric.

‡ We gerne ch du were gut mit minem schilde,  
Tust' ich dir'n bieten vor Chromchild:  
Iuch nim du in hin, Hagen unt trag'en an den hant:  
Hei, suldest in furen heim in der Burgunden lant."  
*Die Nibelungen*, Not. 888-892.

§ I would willingly give you my buckler,  
If I durst offer it you before Chromchild—  
It matters not—take it, Hagen—bear it on thy arm  
Ah! mayst thou bear it to thy home, to the land of  
the Burgundians!

¶ The song of Hildebrand and Hadubrand was discovered and published in 1612 by the brothers Grimm, who refer it to the eighth century. I cannot refrain from giving here this venerable monument of primitive German literature. It has been translated by M. Gley (*Langue des Franks*, 1-16, and by M. Ampere (*Etudes Hist. de l'Allemagne*) I venture to offer a new version.—I have heard tell that one day while the battle was raging, Hildebrant and Hathubrecht, father and son, defied each other. . . . They arrayed themselves in their armor and surcoats, put on their greaves, buckled their swords, and marched against each other. "Who is thy father among the people?" asks the wise and noble Hildebrant, "and of what race art thou? If you will tell me, I will give you a coat of mail of triple links. I know every race of men." Hathubrecht, son of Hildebrant replied, "The old and wise of former days told me that Hildebrant was my father. I am Hathubrecht. One day he fled to the East to avoid the wrath of Othachr (Attila). He went with Theodrich (Theodoric), and a train of followers. Leaving a young wife sitting in his house, an infant son and an armor without a master he went to the East. The misfortunes of my cousin Dietrich increasing, and all deserting him he was ever at the head of his people, and his wife joy was bitter. I do not believe that he still lives." "God of heaven, lord of man," exclaims Hildebrant, "suffer not those who are thus connected to do battle." He then takes from his arm a bracelet which had been the gift of the king lord of the Huns. "Alas, me," he said, "to offer this to thee?" Hathubrecht replied, "With the javelin only can I receive it and point to point." "O! Hadubrecht, thou wouldst deceive me by thy words. In a moment I launch my javelin at thee (O! man, didst thou hope to take me in)." They have told me that who married to the West on the son of the Vends that Hildebrant, son of Hildebrant, fell in a great battle there. Then replies Hildebrant, son of Hildebrant, I see by thy armor that thou art not a noble chief that thou hast not yet conquered. "Alas! what a fate is mine." Many summers and sixty winters have I been wandering a banished and exasperated man. Ever have I been seen in the thick of

Attila withdrew; but the empire could take no advantage of his retreat. Who then remained masters of Gaul? apparently the Goths and Burgundians. These people could not fail to have invaded the central countries, which, like Auvergne, persisted in remaining Roman. But were not the Goths themselves Roman? Their kings chose their ministers from the conquered. Theodoric II. employed the pen of the ablest man of Gaul, and was proud to have the elegance of the letters written in his name admired. The declaimer, Cassiodorus, was minister to the great Theodoric, the adopted son of the emperor Zeno, and king of the Ostrogoths who had settled in Italy. The learned Amalasontha, Theodoric's daughter, spoke Greek and Latin fluently; and her cousin, husband, and murderer, Theodatus, affected the language of a philosopher.

The Goths had succeeded but too well in reconstructing the empire. With the reappearance of the imperial administration, all its abuses had followed. Severe regulations in favor of the Roman landed proprietors had kept up slavery. Imbued, from their long sojourn in the East, with the tenets current at Constantinople, the Goths had brought thence the Arianism of the Greeks, by which Christianity was reduced to mere philosophy, and the Church made a pendent of the State. They were detested by the Gallic clergy, whom they suspected, not without cause,\* of calling in the Franks,

the battle: never has an enemy taken me or held me chained in his fetter. And now, either my beloved son must pierce me with his sword, how me down with his axe, or I become his murderer. Undoubtedly, it may be, if thy arm is strong, that thou mayst take his armor from a man of heart, and despoil his corpse: do it, if thou hast the right: and may he be the most infamous of the men of the East who shall discuss thee from the combat thou desirest. Brave companions, judge of your valor, who to-day will best hurl the javelin, who dispose of the two armors. Thereupon the sharp javelins flew, and buried themselves in the bucklers: then they came hand to hand, their stone axes sound, raving heavily on the white shields. Their bodies were somewhat shaken, not, however, their limbs."

§ &c. &c.  
When fear of the Franks filled these parts, and there was a general and vehement longing for them to relieve the kingdom, the Burgundians began to suspect the holy Aprunculus bishop of Langres, and growing daily more affected towards him, gave orders that he should be privately dealt with. This being reported to him, he left Lyons at night, and repairing to Auvergne, was made bishop there. At this time many of the Gauls greatly desired the Franks to be rulers over them: whence it came to pass, that Quintianus, bishop of Rheims, in Aquitaine, was expelled that city, for they said to him: "Because thy desire is to be the Franks, that they may rule over this land." Scandal having arisen between him and the citizens the latter intimated to the Goths who turned there that he wished to suspect them to the sway of the Franks, whereupon they took counsel to kill him. When this was told to the man of God, rising by night, and fleeing from Rheims, he came to Auvergne. There he was kindly entreated by the good bishop Rhabanus, and when Apollonius departed this life, and news was brought to king Theodoric he ordered the holy Quintianus to be elected in his stead, saying, "He was ejected from his seat out of his nest for us." At this time Clovis reigned in some cities of Gaul and hence the Goths, entering a suspicion that this pious desire to submit himself to the Franks, banished him to Toulouse, where he died. Voluarius, the seventh bishop of Tours, and Verus the eighth, being suspected by the Goths of favoring the above-said cause, ended their lives in exile." *Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 33. 36. l. i. c. 31* See also c. 35, and Vit. Pol. ap. *Scr. R. Fr. l. iii. p. 628.*

the barbarians of the north. The same suspicions were entertained by the milder Burgundians; and this common distrust rendered the government daily more severe and tyrannical. It is known that the Gothic law derived the first hint of the inquisition from the proceedings of the imperial courts.\*

#### CONFEDERATION OF THE FRANKS.

The Franks were the more longed for, that no one, perhaps, knew what they were.† They were not a people, but a confederation, which varied in its members as it fluctuated in its influence, but which must have been powerful at the close of the fourth century, under Mellobaud and Arbogastes. At this period the Franks had indisputably large possessions in the empire. Under the name of Franks, Germans of every race composed the best troops of the imperial armies‡ and the body-guard of the emperor.§ Floating between Germany and the empire, they generally declared against the other barbarians, whose irruptions into Gaul

\* Montesquieu, *Esprit des Loix*, l. xviii. c. 1.

† The Franks had invaded Gaul in 254, during the reign of Gallienus, and had made their way through Spain as far as Mauritania. (Zosimus, l. i. p. 646; Aurel. Victor, c. 33.) In 277, Probus twice defeated them on the Rhine, and settled numbers of them on the shores of the Black Sea. The daring voyage of these pirates is well known. Tired of exile, they set sail in order to revisit their beloved Rhine, and, plundering on their way the coasts of Asia, Greece, and Sicily, landed peaceably in Frisia or Batavia. (Zosimus, l. 696.)—In 293, Constantius transported a colony of Franks into Gaul.—In 358, Julian drove the Chamavians beyond the Rhine, and subjected the Salians, &c.—Clovis (Hlodwig) defeated Syagrius in 486.—Greg. Tur. l. ii. c. 9: "It is generally held that these same Franks came from Paenonia, and first settled on the shores of the Rhine; and that then, crossing the river, they passed over into Thuringia."

‡ For instance, of the armies of Constantine. Zosimus, l. ii.; Gibbon, iii. 66.

§ Amm. Marcellin. l. xv. a. p. 355: "The Franks who at this time swarmed in the palace," &c. When, at a later period, the emperor Anastasius sent Clovis the insignia of the consulship, the Frankish chieftains were already familiar with the Roman titles of honor. A little later than this, Agathias terms the Franks the most civilized of barbarians, and says that dress and language are all that distinguish them from the Romans. Not that their dress was devoid of elegance. "The young chief, Sigismund," says Misodorus Apollinaris, "walked, preceded or followed by horses whose housings sparkled with jewels. On foot, and clad in milk-white silk, resplendent with gold, and blazing with purple; these three colors harmonized with his hair, his complexion, and his skin. . . . The chiefs around him wore boots of fur; their legs and knees were bare; their high narrow gowns, striped with various colors, hardly reached their calves, and their sleeves did not fall below the elbow; their green mantles were edged with a scarlet border; their swords, suspended from the shoulder by a long belt, girded their sides, around which they wore skins; their arms were an additional ornament." . . . Sidon. Apollin. l. iv. epist. 20, ap. Scr. R. Fr. l. 793. "In the tomb of Childeric I., discovered in 1653 at Tournai, there were found a crystal globe, a style with tablets, and medals of several emperors. His name was traced round his body in Roman letters. . . . In all this there is nothing very barbarous." Chateaubriand, *Etudes Historiques*, iii. 215.—St. Jerome (as quoted in Fredegarus) thinks the Franks, like the Romans, descended from the Trojans, and refers their origin to one Francio, a son of Priam: "The blessed Jerome wrote of the ancient Franks that Priam was their king, and that, when Troy was taken, half of them, with Francio for king, invaded Europe, and settled on the bank of the Rhine with their wives and children. . . . A long time afterwards they were called Franks, they and their chiefs always spurning foreign rule." Fredeg. c. 2.—The steadfastness with which this tradition was welcomed by the middle ages is well known.

succeeded theirs. They opposed, though unsuccessfully, the great invasion of the Burgundians, Suevi, and Vandals, in 406,\* and many of them fought against Attila. At a later period we shall see them, under Clovis, defeating the Germans near Cologne, and preventing their crossing the Rhine. Still pagans, and from their roving life on the frontier no doubt but loosely attached to any religious system, they must have proved easy converts to the clergy of Gaul. At this epoch the rest of the barbarians were Arians; and they all were of distinct race and had a distinct nationality. The Franks alone, a mixed people, seemed hovering indecisively on the frontier, ready to take the impression of any idea, influence, or religion. They alone received Christianity through the Latin Church; that is, in its complete form, and with its lofty poetry. Rationalism may follow civilization; but it would only wither barbarism, dry up its life-blood, and strike it with palsy. Seated in the north of France, in the north-west corner of Europe, the Franks held their ground against the pagan Saxons, the latest swarm from Germany, against the Arian Visigoths, and finally against the Saracens, all three equally hostile to the divinity of Jesus Christ. Therefore, it is not without reason that our monarchs have been styled the eldest sons of the Church.

The Church made the fortune of the Franks. It would have seemed that the establishment of the Burgundian monarchy, the greatness of the Goths—masters of Spain and Aquitaine—the formation of the Armorican confederations, and that of a Roman kingdom at Soissons by Ægidius,† must have confined the Franks within the Carbonarian forest between Tournai and the Rhine.‡ But they induced the Armoricans to join their bands, at least those settled at the mouths of the Somme and Seine,§ and the sol-

\* (Gibbon (v. 294) remarks of this invasion: "This memorable passage of the Suevi, the Vandals, the Alans, and the Burgundians, who never afterwards reunited, may be considered as the fall of the Roman empire in the countries beyond the Alps; and the barriers, which had so long separated the savage and the civilized nations of the earth, were from that fatal moment levelled with the ground.")—TRANSLATOR.

† ("His dominions (Ricimer's) were bounded by the Alps; and two Roman generals, Marcellianus and Ægidius, maintained their allegiance to the republic, by rejecting with disdain the phantom which he styled an emperor. . . . Ægidius, the master-general of Gaul, who equalled, or at least who imitated, the heroes of ancient Rome, proclaimed his immortal resentment against the assassins of his beloved master, Majorian. A brave and numerous army was attached to his standard; and though he was prevented by the arts of Ricimer, and the arms of the Visigoths, from marching to the gates of Rome, he maintained his independent sovereignty beyond the Alps, and rendered the name of Ægidius respectable both in peace and war." Gibbon, vi. 184-5.)—TRANSLATOR.

‡ During their long stay in Belgium, they must necessarily have mingled with the indigenous, and by the time of their arrival in Gaul, were, no doubt, partly Belgians. (The Carbonarian wood was that part of the great forest of Ardenne which lay between the Scheldt and the Meuse.)—TRANSLATOR.

§ Procop. Bell. Goth. c. 12, ap. Scr. R. Fr. l. 30: "The Germans sought to fraternize with them, and the Armoricans were not at all unwilling, both happening to be Christians."

diers of the empire as well, who had remained without a leader after the death of Ægidius;\* but never could their feeble forces have destroyed the Goths, humbled the Burgundians, and repulsed the Germans, had they not everywhere found the clergy ardent auxiliaries, who guided and lighted their progress, and gained the country over to them beforehand.

See in what modest terms Gregory of Tours speaks of the first advances of the Franks in Gaul. "It is said that at this time Chlogion, (Clodion,) a powerful and distinguished man in his country, was king of the Franks. He held his residence at Dispargum,† on the borders of the Thuringians of Tongres. The Romans likewise occupied these countries; that is, southward, as far as the Loire. Beyond the Loire the country belonged to the Goths. The Burgundians, like them attached to the sect of the Arians, dwelt beyond the river Rhone, which runs by Lyons. Chlogion having sent spies into the town of Cambrai, and examined the land, defied the Romans, and took possession of that town: having remained in which some time, he conquered the land as far as the Somme. Some assert that king Meroveus, who had Childeric to his son, was his descendant."‡

It is probable that many of the Frankish chiefs, for instance this Childeric, who, we are told, was son of Meroveus and father of Clovis, had Roman titles; as was the case in the preceding century with Mellobaud and Arbogastes. We see Ægidius, a Roman general, and partisan of the emperor Majorian, and who was the enemy of the Goths and of their creature the emperor Avitus, the Arvernian, succeeding the Frankish chief, Childeric, who was for a time expelled by his subjects; but, undoubtedly, it was not as hereditary and national chief,§ but as general of the imperial militia. Childeric, accused of having violated some freeborn virgins, took refuge with the Thuringians, and carried off their queen. On the death of Ægidius he returned to the Franks; and was suc-

ceeded by his son, Clovis, who in his turn triumphed over the patrician Syagrius, son of Ægidius. Defeated at Soissons, Syagrius flies to the Goths, who deliver him up to Clovis, (A. D. 486.) Subsequently, the latter is invested with the insignia of the consulship by Anastasius, emperor of Constantinople.

CLOVIS EMBRACES CHRISTIANITY. (A. D. 496.)

Clovis was still only chief of the petty tribe of the Franks of Tournai, when numerous bands of Suevi, under the designation of All-men, (Alemanni,) threatened to pass the Rhine. The Franks, as usual, flew to arms, to oppose their passage. In similar emergencies the different tribes were accustomed to unite under the bravest chief,\* and Clovis reaped the honor of the common victory. This was the occasion of his embracing the worship of Roman Gaul, which was that of his wife Clotilda, niece of the king of the Burgundians. He had vowed, he said, during the battle, to worship the god of Clotilda if he gained the day. Three thousand of his warriors followed his example.† There was great joy among the clergy of Gaul, who thenceforward placed their hopes of deliverance in the Franks. St. Avitus, bishop of Vienne, and a subject of the Arian Burgundians, did not hesitate to write to him—"When thou fightest, it is to us that the victory is due."‡ These words were the subject of eloquent comment by St. Remigius, on the occasion of the baptism of Clovis—"Sicamber, bow meekly thy head; adore what thou hast burnt, burn what thou hast adored."§ In this manner the Church took solemn possession of the barbarians.

This union of Clovis with the clergy of Gaul threatened to be fatal to the Burgundians. He had already endeavored to turn to account a war between the Burgundian monarchs Gode-

that singular home; and when the nation, at the end of four years, repented of the injury which they had offered to the Merovingian family, he patiently acquiesced in the restoration of the lawful prince." Decline and Fall, vi. 166.)

—TRANSLATOR.

\* The following passages, collected by M. Guizot, (Essais sur l'Hist. de France, p. 103.) show how thoroughly independent they were of their kings. "If thou wilt not go into Burgundy with thy brothers," say the Franks to Theudoric, "we will leave thee there, and march with them." Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 11. — At another time, the Franks choose to march against the Saxons, who sue for peace. "Do not obstinately seek this war, which will be your ruin," says Clotaire I. to them. "If you will go, I will not follow you." At these words his warriors flew upon him, demitished his tent, forced him out of it, overbhelmed him with reproaches and threatened to slay him if he persisted in his refusal. Ibid. l. iv. c. 14. — At first, the title of king was an empty name. Eusebius, bishop of Paris, says of an army collected by the great Theudoric. "In this army there were so many kings, that their number was at least equal to that of those soldiers who could be maintained out of the contributions levied on the district in which it was encamped."

† Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 31. Sigebert and Chilperic do not marry Brunehaut and Galswinth till they have abjured Arianism. — Chlotilda, daughter of Clotaire I., Ingundia, wife of Ermengid, and Britha, wife of the king of Kent, converted their husbands.

‡ Cum pugnatis, vacuatis. St. Aviti epist. in append. ad Greg. Tur.

§ Mitis deprece colla, Sicamber adora quod incendisti, incendio quod adorasti. Greg. Tur. l. i. c. 34.

\* Id. ibid. "And the Roman soldiers, not being able to return to Rome, and not wishing the Arian enemy to succeed, joined with the Armenians and Franks." Thus the Franks combined all the Catholics of Gaul against the Arians.

† A village or fortress between Louvain and Brussels.)

—TRANSLATOR.

‡ Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 9. ap. Mer R. Pr. ii. 106.

§ Many English and German critics have come over to the opinion of the Abbe Dubos that royalty among the Franks had no affinity with the German monarchies, but was a mere institution of the imperial governors, *procuratores*, &c. See Palgrave, Upon the Commonwealth of England, vol. i. 142. — The Franks attempted, though ineffectually, to defend the frontiers against the great invasion of the barbarians, in 406, and at various intervals they obtained grants of land as Roman soldiers. Mommsen i. 174. — Finally, the Roman emperors say in their preface, Mer R. Pr. i. 53. "There is nothing, either in the history or laws of the Franks, which can warrant the inference that the Gauls were deposed of a portion of their lands to form Raitic lands for the Franks."

‡ Gibbon relates the circumstance somewhat differently. — The Franks, who had punished with exile the youthful king of Childeric, elected the Roman general for their king, his vanity, rather than his ambition, was gratified by

griail and Gondebaut, alleging against the latter his Arianism and the murder of Clotilda's father; and without doubt he had been called in by the bishops. Gondebaut humbled himself; amused the bishops by promising to turn Catholic; gave them his children to educate;\* and granted the Romans a milder law than had been hitherto accorded the conquered by any barbarian people. He wound up these concessions by becoming tributary to Clovis.

Alaric II., king of the Visigoths, entertaining a similar dread and distrust of Clovis, endeavored to propitiate him, and sought an interview with him in an island of the Loire. Clovis spoke him fairly, but the instant after convened his Gauls. "It offends me," he said, "that these Arians possess the fairest portion of the land. Let us on them, and with God to aid, expel them. Let us seize their land. We shall do well, for it is very good."† (A.D. 507.)

Far from encountering any obstacle, he seemed to be conducted by a mysterious hand. He was led to a ford in Vienne by a hart.‡ A pillar of fire appeared on the cathedral of Poitiers, for his guidance by night.¶ He sent to St. Martin de Tours¶ to consult the lots;\*\* and they were favorable to him. On his side, he did not overlook the quarter whence this assistance came. He forbade all plundering round Poitiers. Near Tours he struck with his sword a soldier who was foraging on the territory of this town, made sacred by the tomb of St. Martin. "How," said he, "can we hope for victory, if we offend St. Martin?"†† After his victory over Syagrius, one of his warriors refused the king a sacred vase, which he sought to include in his share of the spoil in order to dedicate it to St. Remigius, the patron saint of his own church. A short time afterwards, Clovis, seizing the opportunity of a review of his troops, snatches his *francisque* (Frankish battleaxe) from the soldier, and as he stoops to pick it up, splits his skull with a stroke of his own axe, exclaiming—"Remem-

ber the vase at Soissons."<sup>9</sup> So zealous a defender of the goods of the church could not fail to find her a powerful help towards victory; and, in fact, he overcame Alaric at Vouglé, near Poitiers, advanced as far as Langres, and would have marched further had not the great Theodoric, king of the Italian Ostrogoths, and father-in-law of Alaric II., covered Provence and Spain with an army, and saved the remainder of his kingdom for the infant son of the latter, who, on the mother's side, was his own grandson.

The invasion of the Franks, so evidently desired by the heads of the Gallo-Roman population, in other words, by the bishops, added momentarily to this confused state of things. The historic notices which remain to us of the immediate results of so varied and complicated a revolution are scanty: but nowhere have they been more happily divined and analyzed than in the following passages of M. Guizot's *Cours d'Histoire*, (t. i. p. 297):—

"Invasion, or, more properly speaking, invasions, were essentially partial, local, and momentary events. A band arrived, generally small in number—the most powerful, those which founded kingdoms, for instance, that of Clovis, did not number more than from five to six thousand men, while the entire Burgundian nation did not exceed sixty thousand—it rapidly traversed a narrow line of ground, ravaged a district, attacked a city, and then either withdrew with its booty, or settled within a limited range so as to avoid too great a dispersion. We know the ease and rapidity with which such events take place and pass away. Houses are burnt, lands laid waste, harvests carried off, men slain or led into captivity, and but a brief time after all this mischief has been done, the waves cease, their furrows are effaced, individual sufferings are forgotten, and society returns, apparently at least, into its ancient channel. Such was the course of affairs in Gaul in the fifth century.

"But we also know that human society—that form of it which deserves the name of a people—does not consist of a number of isolated and passing existences thrown into simple juxtaposition. Were it nothing more, the invasions of the barbarians would not have produced the impression traced on the records of the time. For a considerable period, the number both of places and of individuals who suffered from them, was far inferior to that of those untouched by their ravages. But man's social life is not confined to the material space or to the mere moment of time in which it passes. It ramifies into the many relations it has contracted in many localities, and not only into them, but into those which it may contract, or may form an idea of. It embraces not alone the present, but the future. Man lives on a thousand points which he does not inhabit, and

\* *Id. ibid.* c. 31.

† *Gesta regum Francorum*, ap. Scr. R. Fr. ii. 553. Thierry, *Conquête de l'Angl.* i. 43.

‡ *Greg. Tur.* i. ii. c. 37.

¶ (The hart was, of course, white; and the place is still called the Hart's Ford.)—TRANSLATOR.

¶ *Greg. Tur.* i. ii. c. 37.

\*\* *Id. ibid.*

\*\* ("His messengers," says Gibbon, "were instructed to remark the words of the psalm which should happen to be chanted at the precise moment when they entered the church. These words most fortunately expressed the valor and victory of the champions of Heaven, and the application was easily transferred to the new Joshua, the new Gideon, who went forth to battle against the enemies of the Lord." In a note on this passage, Gibbon adds, "This mode of divination, by ascribing as an omen the first sacred words, which in particular circumstances should be presented to the eye or ear, was derived from the Pagans; and the Psalter or Bible was substituted in the poems of Homer and Virgil. From the fourth to the fourteenth century these *sortes sanctorum*, as they are styled, were repeatedly condemned by the decrees of councils, and repeatedly practised by kings, bishops, and saints." Decline and Fall, vol. vi. p. 333.)—TRANSLATOR.

†† *Greg. Tur.* i. ii. c. 37. "Et ubi erit spes victorie, et beatus Martinus offunditur!"

<sup>9</sup> *Greg. Tur.* i. ii. c. 28.

in a thousand moments yet in the womb of time; and if this expansion of his existence suffer compression, if he is compelled to contract himself within the narrow limits of his material and actual existence, and isolate himself both as regards space and time, social life is a truncated and lifeless corpse.

"This was the result of the invasions—of those apparitions of barbarous bands, brief, it is true, and limited, but ever renewed, everywhere possible, and always threatening. They destroyed, 1st, all regular, customary, easy correspondence between different parts of a territory; 2dly, all security and prospect for the future. They broke the bonds which unite the inhabitants of the same country, interrupted the regular pulsations of a whole social existence. They isolated men, and the days of each man. In many places and for many years, the aspect of the country might remain the same; but the organization of society felt the blow, its limbs fell from each other, its muscles were nerveless, the blood no longer circulated freely or surely in its veins, the evil burst out sometimes in one point, sometimes in another—a town was plundered, a road rendered impracticable, a bridge broken down, this or that communication ceased, cultivation was put a stop to in this or that district—in a word, the organic harmony and general activity of the social body were daily interfered with and disturbed, and every day impelled the general paralysis and dissolution.

"The term had come of all those ties by which Rome, after unnumbered efforts, had accomplished the union of the different parts of the globe—of that great system of administration, taxes, recruitment, public works and roads. Of all these, there only remained those portions which could subsist isolated and locally—that is to say, the ruins of municipal government. The people betook themselves to the towns, in which they continued to govern themselves nearly on the same system as before, with the same privileges, and through the medium of the same institutions. A thousand circumstances prove this concentration of society in the towns. One, which has been but little noticed during the Roman government, is the constant recurrence, both in the laws enacted and in history, of 'governors of provinces, officers with consular power, *correctores*, *presidentis*,' who are ever on the scene. In the sixth century their name occurs less frequently, but we still find dukes and counts named as governing provinces. The barbarian kings strove to succeed to the Roman form of government, to keep up the same officers, and direct power into the same channel, but their success is incomplete and disorderly. Their dukes are rather military than political chiefs, the governors of provinces are evidently no longer of the same importance, and play a different part. It is the governors of the towns who figure in history. Most of those counts, whose exactions

under Chilperic, Gontran, and Theodebert, are related by Gregory of Tours, are counts of towns, established, side by side with their bishop, within the precinct of their walls. It would be too much to say that the province has disappeared; but it is disorganized, unsubstantial, and all but a phantom. The city, the primitive element of the Roman world, is almost the sole survivor of its ruin."

The fact is, a new organization is on the eve of gradual formation, of which the city will not be the sole element, and in which the country, which went for nothing in ancient times, will, in its turn, take a place. Centuries will be required to establish this new order of things. Still, from the time of Clovis, it was prepared from afar by the consummation of two important events.

On one hand, the unity of the barbarian army was secured. By a series of treacheries, Clovis effected the death of all the petty kings of the Franks.\* The Church, preoccupied by the idea of unity, applauded their death. "He succeeded in every thing," says Gregory of Tours, "because he walked with his heart upright before God."† St. Avitus, bishop of

\* "He secretly sent word to the son of Sigbert the lame, king of Cologne, 'Thy father grows old, and hails on his bad knot. Were he to die, his kingdom and my friendship would be thine.' . . . Chilperic, buoyed up by these hopes, had his father assassinated. . . . And Clovis sent him word, 'I thank thee for thy good will, and pray thee to show thy treasures to my newswingers, and then take all thyself.' Chilperic said, 'Here is the chest in which my father heaped up his gold.' They replied, 'Plunge thy arm down to the bottom, to see how much it is,' and when he did so, and was stooping down one of them raised his axe and split his skull—Clovis, apprized of the death of Sigbert and his son, repairs to Cologne, assembles the inhabitants, and says, 'I am now concerned in these things. I cannot shed the blood of my relatives, for it is forbidden. But since these things have happened, I will give you counsel, which you can take if you like. Come to me, let me protect you.' The people applaud, shouting and clashing their bucklers, and raising him on the shield, elect him king. He then marched against Chararic . . . made him and his son prisoners, and caused the hair of both to be cut off. Chararic weeping his son said to him, 'This foliage has been cut from a green stem, it will grow and flourish quickly. We bid to God that he who has done this may perish as quickly.' These words being reported to Clovis . . . he ordered both to be beheaded. On their death he seized their kingdom, treasures, and people.—Ragnear was at this time king at Orléans. . . . Clovis, having had bracelets and bangles made of false gold, it was only brass, gilt, gave them to the great vassals of Ragnear that they might conspire against him. . . . Ragnear was defeated, and made prisoner with his son Richard. . . . Clovis said to him, 'Why hast thou degraded thy family by suffering thyself to be killed? Is it not better to have died?' and taking his axe he hewed it on his head. Then turning to Richard he said, 'If dost thou help thy brother, he would not have been in chains.' And he saw him in the same manner. Ragnear was put to death by his orders, in the town of May. . . . Having slain on this day many other kings and his nearest kindred, he extended his authority over the whole of Gaul. On the day of ascending his people he spoke as follows to the relatives whom he had butchered. 'I thought that I was left as a traveller in the midst of strangers, I have no relative to turn to me in the day of adversity.' But this was not the reason at their death. He only held this language through cunning, in order to discover whether he had slain any relative left in order that he might destroy him." Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 42.

† Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 40. *Proterebatur enim quodlibet Iesus homines ejus sub manu ipsorum suspexit regum ejus, et equali simularet recte credere coram eis, et fieret quod placita erant in oculis ejus.*—These sanguinary practices are surprising in an historian who in every other part of his work exhibits great gentleness and humanity of disposition.

Vienne, had in like manner congratulated Gondobaut on the death of his brother—which put an end to the civil war in Burgundy. The deaths of the Frankish, Visigoth, and Roman chiefs, united under one and the same head the whole of western Gaul from Batavia to the Narbonnese.

On the other hand, Clovis allowed the Church the most unbounded right of asylum and protection. At a period that the law had ceased to protect, this recognition of the power of an order which took upon itself the guardianship and security of the conquered, was a great step. Slaves themselves could not be forced from the churches where they had taken refuge. The very houses of the priests were accounted asylums, like the temples, to those who should appear to live with them.\* A bishop had only to make oath that a prisoner was his, to have him immediately given up.

Undoubtedly it was easier for the chief of the barbarians to grant these privileges to the Church, than to cause them to be respected. The case of Attalus, carried into slavery so far from his country, and then rescued as by a miracle,† testifies the insufficiency of ecclesiastical protection. But it was some advance to have the abstract right recognised. The immense property secured by Clovis to the churches, particularly to that of Reims, whose bishop is said to have been his principal counsellor, must have given vast extension to this salutary influence of the Church. To place property in ecclesiastical keeping was to subtract it from violence, brutality, and barbarism.

#### FATE OF THE FAMILY OF CLOVIS.

On the death of Clovis, (A. D. 511,) his four sons, according to the custom of the barbarians, all became kings. Each remained at the head of one of those military lines, which had been traced in Gaul by the successive encampments of the Franks. Theoderic held his residence at Metz—his warriors being settled in Austrasia, or eastern France, and Auvergne. Clotaire kept court at Soissons, Childebert at Paris, and Clodomir at Orleans: the three latter also shared Aquitaine among them.

In point of fact, it was not the land but the army which was divided; and, from its nature, this division could not fail to be an unequal one. The barbarian warriors must often have deserted one chief for the other, and have flocked to him whose courage and military skill promised the greatest share of booty; and, therefore,

when Theodebert, the grandson of Clovis, invaded Italy at the head of a hundred thousand men, it is probable that he was followed by almost all the Franks, and that many other barbarians as well, attracted by them, swelled his ranks.

The Franks acquired so much renown from the rapid conquest of Clovis—with the causes of which we are so imperfectly acquainted—that most of the barbarian tribes chose to ally themselves with them; as it formerly happened to the followers of Attila. The most hostile races of Germany, the Germans of the south and of the north, the Suevi and the Saxons, became federate with the Franks. So did the Bavarians. Alone, in the midst of these nations, the Thuringians rejected this amalgamation, and were overwhelmed.\* At this period, the Gallic Burgundians appeared more capable of resistance than in the time of Clovis. Their new king, St. Sigismund, the pupil of St. Avitus, was orthodox and beloved by his clergy: thus the pretext of Arianism could no longer be advanced. But the sons of Clovis opportunely remembered that forty years previously, their maternal grandfather had been put to death by Sigismund. Clodomir and Clotaire defied him to battle, and threw him into a well, which was then filled up with stones. But Clodomir's victory drew down ruin on his family, for he perished in the engagement, and so left his children without a protector.

While queen Clotilda held her residence at Paris, Childebert, perceiving that all his mother's affections went to the sons of Clodomir, became jealous of them, and fearing that her favor might secure them a share of the kingdom, he privily sent the following message to his brother Clotaire:—'Our mother is taking care of the sons of our brother, and seeks to give them the kingdom. You must come directly to Paris, and we will consult what to do with them—whether to cut off their hair so as to reduce them to the rank of subjects, or to kill them, and make an equal division of our brother's kingdom.' Rejoiced heretofore, Clotaire came to Paris. Childebert had already spread a rumor that the two kings had agreed to raise the children to the throne. They sent then, in their joint name, to the queen, who abode in the same city, and said to her, 'Send us the children, that we may seat them on the throne.' Filled with joy, and unsuspecting of their artifice, after she had given the children to eat and drink, she sent them, saying, 'I shall think that I have not lost my son, if I see you succeed to his kingdom.' The children went, but were immediately seized, and separated from their servants and nurses, and shut up apart—the servants in one place, the children in an-

\* Qui cum illis in domo ipsorum consistere videbantur. . . . De ceteris quidem captivis laiciis, &c. Epist. Clodovai ad episc. Gall. ap. Mer. R. Fr. iv. 54.—This letter was written by Clovis on the occasion of his war with the Goths.

† Greg. Tur. iii. 15.—The story is translated by Augustin Thierry, in his *Lettres sur l'Hist. de France*.—On the condition of the subject in Gaul under the kings of the first race, consult the learned memoir of M. Naudet.

(The English reader will find the story of Attalus in Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. vi. pp. 306, 309.)—*TRANS-LATON*.

\* Greg. Tur. i. iii. c. 7.—In Hess and Franconia, they broke on the wheel, or crushed under the wheels of their wagons, more than two hundred young girls, and then gave their limbs to their dogs and hawks.—See the speech of Theoderic to his soldiers, *ibid*.

other. Then Childebert and Clotaire sent Arcadius, whom we have already mentioned, to the queen, carrying scissars and a bare sword. When he had come to the queen, he showed them to her, saying, 'O most glorious queen, thy sons, our lords, are waiting to know thy will as to the treatment of those children: order whether they shall have their hair cut off, or be slain.' Affrighted at this message, and, at the same time, transported with violent wrath at the sight of that bare sword and scissars, she gave way to her indignation, and, not knowing in her grief what she said, imprudently replied — 'If they are not to be raised to the throne, I had rather see them dead, than shorn of their locks.' But Arcadius, caring little for her grief, and not troubling himself to divine her real wishes, hastily returned to those who had sent him, and said, 'You have the queen's leave to go on with what you have begun; she desires you to fulfil your wishes.' On this, Clotaire, seizing the eldest child by the arm, threw him down, and plunging his dagger into his arm-put, slew him cruelly. At his cries, his brother cast himself at Childebert's feet, and clasping his knees, exclaims with tears, 'Help me, kindest father, that I die not as my brother.' Then Childebert, his face bathed with tears, says to Clotaire, 'I entreat thee, dearest brother, to have the goodness to grant me his life. If thou wilt not kill him, I will give thee for his ransom whatsoever thou shalt ask.' But Clotaire, overwhelming him with reproaches, says, 'Cast him far from thee, or thou shalt certainly die in his stead. 'Tis thou who hast stirred me to this thing, and art thou so ready to break thy pledge?' At these words, Childebert repulsed the child, and flung him towards Clotaire, who caught him, and plunging his dagger in his side, slew him as he had done his brother. They then slew the servants and nurses, and, when they were dead, Clotaire, mounting on horseback, rode off without the slightest remorse at having murdered his nephews, and repaired with Childebert to the faubourgs. The queen, ordering their little bodies to be laid on a litter, conveyed them, with many hymns and an immense train of mourners, to St. Peter's church, where both were interred with like ceremony. One was ten, the other seven years of age.\*

Theoderic, who had not engaged in the expedition to Burgundy, led his followers into Auvergne. "I will lead you," he had told his soldiers, "into a land where you will find as much money as you can covet, and where you may seize in abundance, flocks, slaves, and apparel."† Indeed, this was the only province which had escaped the general plunder of the

West. Tributary, first to the Goths, then to the Franks, it preserved the right of governing itself. The Apollinari, the ancient leaders of the Arvernian tribes, who had valiantly defended their country against the Goths, felt on the approach of the Franks that they would lose by the exchange, and fought on the side of the Goths at Vouglé.‡ But here, as elsewhere, the majority of the clergy favored the Franks. St. Quintin, bishop of Clermont, and the personal enemy of the Apollinari, seems to have delivered the citadel of that town into their hands; and the Franks slew at the very foot of the altar a priest, of whom he thought fit to complain.

The bravest of these Frank kings was Theodebert, son of Theoderic, chief of those eastern Franks, whose ranks were constantly recruited from all the *Wargi* of the German tribes. He flourished at the time the Greeks and Goths were contending for Italy. The whole policy of the Byzantines consisted in opposing to the Romanized barbarians, the Goths, barbarians who had remained utterly barbarous. The victories of Belisarius and of Narses were gained by means of Moors, Slaves, and Huns; both Greeks and Goths equally hoped to turn the Franks to account as auxiliaries. They knew not the men they had called in. (A. D. 539.) The Goths hasten to meet Theodebert on the threshold of Italy. He falls upon them, and cuts them to pieces. The Greeks on this make sure of him; and are massacred in like manner.§ The finest towns of Lombardy are reduced to ashes, and such ruthless waste committed that the Franks are reduced to starvation in the midst of a desert of their own making, and faint under the sun of the south, in the marshy plains of the Po. Numbers perished there; but those who managed to return were so laden with booty as to induce a new expedition, which shortly after set out under the leading of a Frank and a Sueve, overran Italy as far as Sicily, and destroyed more than it gained. The climate did justice on the barbarous invader;¶ and, at the same time, Theodebert died in Gaul,‡ at the moment he was preparing to swoop down on the valley of the Danube, and invade the empire of the East—yet Justinian was his ally, and had ceded him all the rights of the empire over southern Gaul||

\* Greg. Tur. l. iii. Geom. Reg. Franc. c. 17.

† Præcep. de Bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 25.

‡ Theodebert's expedition was not the last attempt made by the Franks on Italy. In 564, King Childebert invaded Italy, which the Lombards, learning, and fearing defeat at his hands, they reconverted him as their lord, made him many presents, and vowed submission and fidelity. Having attained his object, he returned into Gaul, and put an army in movement against Spain. However, he forbore. The year before the emperor Maurice had given him fifty thousand golden sous, to drive the Lombards out of Italy, and when he learned that Childebert had crucified peace with them, he demanded back his money. The king, however, trusting in his own strength, did not even deign him an answer. Greg. Tur. l. vi. c. 62.

§ Grieved by a wild bull, according to Agathias, ap. Scr. R. Fr. t. i. p. 50.

|| Præcep. de Bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 32.

\* Greg. Tur. l. iii. — A third son of Theoderic's escaping, and taking refuge in a monastery, became St. Chindild, or St. Chind.

† *Ubi curum et argentum accipitis, quantum vestro precor deinde rare cupidinis, de qua precor, &c.* Greg. Tur. l. iii. c. 11.



Theodebert's death, and the disastrous fate of the expedition which followed close upon it, stopped the further progress of the Franks; and Italy, shortly afterwards invaded by the Lombards, was thenceforward closed against their invasions. In Spain, they always failed.\* The Saxons soon discarded a profitless alliance, and refused payment of the tribute of five hundred cows which they had voluntarily offered.† Clotaire, who attempted to exact it, sustained a defeat at their hands. Thus the most powerful of the German tribes escaped alliance with the Franks; and here began that hostility between them and the Saxons, which grew in rancor, and constituted for so many centuries the grand struggle of the barbarians. The Saxons, whose further progress on the continent to the westward is henceforward barred by the Franks, while they are pushed on the east by the Slaves, will turn towards the ocean, towards the north, and, becoming daily more friendly with the Northmen, they will infest the coasts of France,‡ and strengthen their English colonies.

The hostility of the Germans proper, to a people subjected to Roman and ecclesiastical influence, was natural. It was to the Church that Clovis was chiefly indebted for his rapid conquests. His successors early chose their counsellors from the Romans, from the conquered;§ and it could hardly have been other-

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Qui nos Romano vincis in eloquio!—*

(The Latin tongue flourishes in thy eloquence, O Theu-

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Another grandson of Clovis, a son of Clotaire's, Chramnes, had for confidant the Pictavin Leo;† for enemy, Cantinus, bishop of Clermont, a creature of the Franks; and for friend, the Bretons, with whom he sought refuge when, after an abortive revolt, he was pursued by his father—who ordered him and his whole family to be burnt in a hut, to which he had fled for concealment.

Clotaire, left sole king of Gaul, (A. D. 568–561,) by the death of his three brothers, was succeeded by his four sons. Sigebert had the eastern encampment, or, to use the term of the chroniclers, the kingdom of Austrasia. He held his residence at Metz; and being thus a neighbor of the German tribes, several of whom had remained in alliance with the Franks, it became probable that he would sooner or later overpower his brothers. Chilperic had Neustria, and was called king of Soissons. Gontran had Burgundy: his capital was Chalon-sur-Saône. The death of Charibert contributed his odd kingdom, which was formed by the junction of Paris and Aquitaine, to swell the portion of the three others. Under these princes, Roman influence was in the ascendant. Their ministers were usually Gauls, Goths, or Romans; names which at that time were almost synonymous. Intercourse with the barbarians had infused into them sparks of their energetic spirit. "King Gontran," says Gregory of Tours, "honored with the patrician Cel-sus, a man tall of stature, stout-shouldered, strong-armed, emphatic in speech, happy in reply, and well read in the law; he became so avaricious as frequently to despoil churches," &c.‡ Sigebert sent an Arvernian as his envoy to Constantinople; and we find among

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\* Greg. Tur. i. iii. c. 38.

† Id. l. iv. c. 41.

‡ Greg. Tur. i. iv. c. 34. Rex Gunthrammus Celsum patriciatu honore donavit, virum procerum statur, in corpore validum, lacerto robustum, in verba tamquam, in responsis opportunum, juris lectione peritum; cui tam diuturne habendi capitula artium, ut sapientie coelestium res audirent, &c.

domestics one Andarchius, who was "familiar with Virgil, the Theodosian code, and laws."<sup>6</sup>

Most of the good or evil of the rule of the Frank kings must henceforward be ascribed to the Romans. They are the revivers of the system of taxation; and they not unfrequently appear with distinction in war. Thus, while the king of Austrasia is defeated by the Avars, he made their prisoner, the Roman Mummo, general of the king of Burgundy, routs the Goths and Lombards, and compels them both to purchase leave to retreat from Italy back to Germany, and to pay for their provisions on the way.<sup>7</sup>

These Gallic ministers of the Frankish monarchs were often of very low birth. The history of the serf Leudastes, who became count of Tours, will serve to illustrate the career of any of them. "Leudastes was born in the land of Rhé, in Poitou, of one Leocadius, who had the care of the vineyards of the treasury. He was placed in the royal service, and the queen's kitchen; but being blear-eyed from his younger days, and the smoke disagreeing with his eyes, he was transferred from the spit to the kneading-trough. Although he seemed like confectioner's work, he ran off and quit the service. He was brought back two or three times, but still running away, was condemned to lose an ear. No credit being able to cover such a mark of infamy, he fled to Jean Marcovef, whom king Charibert, smitten with love of her, had taken to his bed in the arms of her sister. He met with a gracious reception, and was intrusted with the care of the queen's choicest horses. A prey to vanity and pride, he obtained by intrigue the post of master of the stables, in which he conducted himself with utter contempt for everybody. Filled with vanity, plunging into dissipation, easily grasping, and the favorite of his mis-

tress, he wormed himself into all her concerns. After her death, fattened with plunder, he contrived by dint of presents to be continued in the same offices by king Charibert; and, afterwards, as a punishment of the accumulated sins of the people, he was made count of Tours. There, waxing with his dignity into more intolerable pride, he showed himself greedy of gain, haughty in quarrel, and stained with adultery; and by his activity in fomenting disputes, and instituting calumnious charges, he amassed considerable treasure." This intriguing individual, with whom we are only acquainted through the pages of his personal enemy, Gregory of Tours, endeavored, says the historian, to ruin him by charging him with having spoken ill of queen Fredegonda. But the people collected in large numbers; and the king was contented with the bishop's clearing himself by oath, which he did, celebrating the mass on three altars. The assembled bishops even threatened to withhold the sacrament from the king.<sup>8</sup> Leudastes was slain some time after by Fredegonda's own retainers.

#### FREDEGONDA AND BRUNEHAUT. (A. D. 561-612.)

The great and popular names of this period, and which have found a place in men's memories, are those of the queens and not of the kings—those of Fredegonda and of Brunehaut. The latter, the daughter of the king of the Spanish Goths, her mind imbued with Roman cultivation, and her person fraught with grace and winning charms, was carried, by her marriage with Sigebert, into savage Austrasia—that Gallic Germany, which was the scene of one constant invasion. Fredegonda, on the contrary, thoroughly barbaric in her genius, ruled her husband, the poor king of Neustria, a grammarian and theologian, who owed to her crimes the appellation of the Nero of France. She first made him strangle his lawful wife, Galswintha, Brunehaut's sister; and then dispatch his sons-in-law, and his brother-in-law, Sigebert. This fearful woman was surrounded by men devoted to her service, whom she fascinated by her murderous genius, and whose faculties she disturbed by intoxicating beverages.<sup>9</sup> It was through them that she reached her enemies. The ancient devotees of Aquitaine and Germany, the followers of the assassins, who, on a signal from their chief, blindly rushed to kill or perish, were revivified in the retainers of Fredegonda, who, beautiful, and homicidal, and possessed by pagan superstitions,<sup>10</sup>

Greg. Tur. l. iv. c. 28, 47.

Fredegarius speaks of the fiscal tyranny of one Froas, master of the palace to Theuderic in 603, and a favorite of Brunehaut's, and as "swelling the treasury by insidious devices out of men's properties." (C. 27.)

When the Saxons returned, they found their seats occupied.—When Althoin passed into Italy, Clotaire and short settled Merovingians and other people in the territory he quitted. On the return of his followers, in Sigebert's army, they were for driving these intruders out of the country, but the latter offered them a third of the land, saying, "We may live together without fighting." Enraged, now they had formerly possessed the country, they did not listen to talk of peace. The Merovingians offered them, and then two-thirds of the land, and, on their refusal, red them the whole of the land, and all the flocks and herds, provided they would forgo the idea of fighting. They, nevertheless, insisted on battle, and divided among themselves beforehand the wives of the Merovingians, choosing men each liked, as if the latter were already dead. But the mercy of God, which is ever consonant with justice, got them to think of other matters, for in the battle, of twenty six thousand Saxons, twenty thousand were slain, and of the Merovingians, out of six thousand four hundred, only eight, and the rest won the day. The surviving ones, with curses on their heads, swore never to cut or beard or hair until they had taken vengeance. But, after a second time, they were still more completely subdued. "So the war ceased." Greg. Tur. l. v. c. 15. See also Paul Diacon. De Gestis Langobardorum, ap. Muratori, l.

<sup>6</sup> O rex, quid tunc ad te, nisi ut . . . . communione privetur? At ille: Non, inquit, ego nisi audito narravi. Greg. Tur. l. v. c. 50.

<sup>7</sup> No think Valois and D. Reinaut, the editor of Gregory of Tours.—"Iustus magis quam crudelis. Str. R. Fr. p. 310, p. 113.

<sup>8</sup> Greg. Tur. l. viii. c. 28. Fredegonda gives a potion to two priests to instigate them to the murder of Sigebert, (medicamentum potione dicitur, &c.)

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#### FREDEGONDA AND BRUNEHAUT. (A. D. 561-612.)

The great and popular names of this period, and which have found a place in men's memories, are those of the queens and not of the kings—those of Fredegonda and of Brunehaut. The latter, the daughter of the king of the Spanish Goths, her mind imbued with Roman cultivation, and her person fraught with grace and winning charms, was carried, by her marriage with Sigebert, into savage Austrasia—that Gallic Germany, which was the scene of one constant invasion. Fredegonda, on the contrary, thoroughly barbaric in her genius, ruled her husband, the poor king of Neustria, a grammarian and theologian, who owed to her crimes† his appellation of the Nero of France. She first made him strangle his lawful wife, Galswintha, Brunehaut's sister; and then dispatch his sons-in-law, and his brother-in-law, Sigebert. This fearful woman was surrounded by men devoted to her service, whom she fascinated by her murderous genius, and whose faculties she disturbed by intoxicating beverages.‡ It was through them that she reached her enemies. The ancient devotees of Aquitania and Germany, the followers of the assassins, who, on a signal from their chief, blindly rushed to kill or perish, were revived in the retainers of Fredegonda, who, beautiful, and homicidal, and possessed by pagan superstitions,§

\* Greg. Tur. l. iv. c. 39, 47.

† Fredericus speaks of the fiscal tyranny of one Proculus, mayor of the palace to Theodoric in 603, and a favorite of Brunehaut's, and as "swelling the treasury by ingenious devices out of men's properties." C. 37.

‡ When the Saxons returned, they found their seats occupied.—"When Albinus passed into Italy, Gotsaire and Sigebert settled Meris and other people in the territory he had quitted. On the return of his followers, in Sigebert's reign, they were for driving these intruders out of the country, but the latter offered them a third of the land, saying, 'We may live together without fighting.' Enraged, because they had formerly possessed the country, they would not listen to talk of peace. The Meris offered them half, and then two thirds of the land; and, on their refusal, offered them the whole of the land, and all the flocks and herds, provided they would forego the idea of fighting. They nevertheless, insisted on battle and divided among themselves beforehand the wives of the Meris, choosing whom each liked, as if the latter were already dead. But the mercy of God, which is ever consistent with justice, obliged them to think of other matters, for in the battle, out of twenty six thousand Saxons, twenty thousand were slain, and of the Meris, out of six thousand four hundred, only eighty, and the rest won the day. The surviving Saxons, with curses on their heads, swore never to cut either beard or hair, until they had taken vengeance. But, requiring a second time, they were still more completely defeated. So the war ceased." (Greg. Tur. l. v. c. 15. See also Paul Diac. De Gothic Langobardum, ap. Mommsen, l.

\* (1) rex, quid nunc ad te, nunc ut . . . . . communiis privatis! At ille. Non, inquit, ego nunc audis narrant. Greg. Tur. l. v. c. 30.

† So think Valois and D. Rulnart, the editor of Gregory of Tours.—"Iustus magis quam crudelis. Rec. R. Fr. p. 113.

‡ Greg. Tur. l. vii. c. 28. Fredegonda gives a potion to two priests to instigate them to the murder of Sigebert, (medicamentum potione dedit, &c.)

§ A rich freedwoman, magnificently attired, who was possessed by the spirit of Python, made Fredegonda's pre-

appears to us like a Scandinavian Valkyria. She compensated the weakness of Neustria by audacity and crime; made a war of stratagems and assassinations on her powerful rivals; and, perhaps, saved the west of Gaul from a fresh invasion of barbarians.\*

The Germans, indeed, had been called in by Brunehaut's husband,† Sigebert. Chilperic could not make head against their bands; which pushed on as far as Paris, burning every village, and carrying off the men prisoners. Sigebert himself could scarcely restrain these terrible allies, who would have left him nothing to reign over.‡ But just as he had pent up Chilperic in Tournai, and, in imagination king of Neustria, had caused himself to be elevated on the shield, two of Fredegonda's retainers springing from out the crowd, stab him with poisoned

section. Id. i. vii. c. 44.—Claudius promises Fredegonda and Gontran to slay Eberulf, Chilperic's murderer, in the basilica of Tours; and "on his road, as is the use of the barbarians, he began to take auspices, and also questioned many whether the virtue of the blessed Martin was made presently manifest against traitors." c. 39.

Paganism is still very prevalent at this period. In a council at which Sonatus, bishop of Rheims, and forty other bishops were present, it was decreed: "that all who practise augury and other pagan customs, or who assist at the superstitious feasts of the pagans, be at first gently admonished and warned to forsake their ancient errors, but if they neglect so to do, and still hold intercourse with idolaters and sacrificers to idols, they be subjected to a penance proportioned to their fault." Frodoard. l. ii. c. 5.—In Gregory of Tours, (l. vii. c. 15,) St. Wulfila, a hermit of Trèves, relates how he had overthrown (in 585) the Diana of the place, and other idols.—The councils of Lateran, in 402, and of Arles, in 452, prohibit the worshipping of stones, trees, and fountains. In the canons of the council of Nantes, held in the year 658, we find the following: "Bishops and their clergy ought to exert themselves to the utmost, to extirpate and burn the trees consecrated to demons, and which are worshipped by the common people, and held in such veneration that they dare not lop branch or sucker from them. Let the stones likewise which, lured by the deceits of the demons, they worship in ruined and woody places, to which they vow vows and bring offerings, be thoroughly dug up and carried to spots where they can never be found by their worshippers. And be it forbidden all to offer candles or any other offering, except to the Church, to the Lord their God." Birmund. t. iii. Conc. Gallie. See also the twenty-second canon of the council of Tours, in 567, and the Capitularies of Charlemagne, ann. 769.

\* "Remember Fredegonda," says St. Ouen to his friend Eberulf, the defender of Neustria against Austrasia. At first Neustria was the more important of the two. After Clovis, and before the complete annihilation of the royal authority by the Mayors of the Palace, four kings, all kings of Neustria, concentrated the entire Frankish monarchy in their own persons; namely, Clovis I. (A. D. 559-561,) Clotaire II. (613-628,) Dagobert I. (631-638,) and Clotaire II. (655, 656.)—It was in Neustria that Clovis had settled with the then predominant tribe.—Neustria was the more central, Roman, and ecclesiastical; Austrasia was constantly exposed to the varied tide of Germanic emigration. Guizot, Essais sur l'Hist. de France, p. 73.

† Greg. Tur. l. iv. c. 50. Sigebertus rex gentes illas que ultra Rhenum habentur, continuavit . . . et contra fratrem suum Chilpericum ire destinavit.

‡ "The villages round Paris," says Gregory of Tours, "were burnt to the ground. The enemy destroyed the houses with all they contained, and led off the inhabitants into captivity. Sigebert entreated them to desert, but was unable to restrain the fury of the tribes who had come from the other bank of the Rhine. He, therefore, bore all patiently until he could return to his own country. Some of these pagans rose up against him, reproaching him with having shunned exposing his person in battle. However, he mounted his horse, and presenting himself with the utmost intrepidity, appeared them with mild words; but, afterwards, had a number of them stoned." l. iv. c. 50.

knives.\* (A. D. 575.) The people rise on the instant and massacre his ministers—Goths.† At the height of power, and at the very moment of victory, Brunehaut becomes the captive of Chilperic and Fredegonda, who, however, spare her life;‡ and Meroveus, Chilperic's son, falling desperately in love with her, through his agency she effected her escape. His passion blinded him so far as to marry her. He married his death; for his father had him dispatched. Prætextatus, bishop of Rouen, a volatile and imprudent man, who had had the audacity to marry them, was at first protected by Chilperic's scruples; but subsequently Fredegonda contrived to have him disposed of.

Brunehaut withdrew into Austrasia, of which her infant son, Childbert II., was nominal ruler. But the nobles of that kingdom had determined to overbear the Gothic and Roman influence, and were even on the point of slaying the Roman Lupus, duke of Champagne, the only one of them still devoted to Brunehaut. She threw herself into the midst of the armed battalions, and gave him time to escape.§ Feeling their superiority over Romo-Burgundian Gaul, of which Gontran was king, the Austrasian nobles longed to sweep down on the south with their barbarian followers, and promised a share of their conquest to Chilperic. Several of the Burgundian chiefs united, and Chilperic joined them. But his troops were defeated by the valiant patrician Mummolus; whose successes over the Saxons and Lombards had already saved Gontran his kingdom. On the other hand, the freemen of Austrasia rose against the nobles, perhaps incited by Brunehaut, and accused them of betraying their young king. It would appear, indeed, that at this period the Austrasian and Burgundian chiefs had come to a mutual understanding to rid themselves of their Merovingian rulers.

In Neustria, on the contrary, the royal power seems to gain strength. Less warlike than Austrasia, and poorer than Burgundy, Neustria could only subsist by the conquered being allowed a place by the side of the conquerors. Thus Chilperic employs Gallic militia against the Bretons;|| which is the first instance, since the fall of the empire, of the conquered being intrusted with arms. In spite of his natural ferocity, Chilperic would appear to have attempted the reconciliation of the two by directer methods still. In a war with Gontran, he slew one of his own followers for not staying his men from plunder.¶ He also built circuses at

\* Id. *ibid.* c. 52. Duo pueri cum cultiris validis, quos vulgo scrimasaxos vocant, infectis veneno, maleficis a Fredegunde reginâ, utraque ei latera feriunt.

† Greg. Tur. l. iv. c. 32: Ibi et Sigila, qui quondam ex Gothiâ venerat, multum laceratus est.

‡ Id. l. v. c. 1. Chilperic went to Paris to seize Brunehaut's treasures, and banished her to Rouen, and her daughters to Meaux.

§ Id. l. iv. c. 1.

¶ Greg. Tur. l. v. c. 37.

¶ Id. l. vi. c. 31.

ons and Paris,\* and exhibited shows after fashion of the Romans. He was himself a user of verse in Latin,† especially of psalms and prayers. He endeavored, like the emperors Zeno and Anastasius, to impose on shops a *Carpo* of his own drawing up, in which God was named without any reference to the distinction of the three persons. The bishop to whom he showed it was so horrified that he would have torn it in pieces had he been closer to the king— a very convincing proof of his patient policy in regard to the church.

These rude attempts at reviving the imperial government brought in their train a renewal of royal tyranny which had destroyed the empire.

Chilperic ordered a survey‡ of the kingdom, and exacted, says Gregory of Tours, an ounce of wine for each half acre. His exactions, which, perhaps, the terrible struggle had to maintain against Austrasia and barbarians allied with her, rendered impermissible, nevertheless, felt to be intolerably oppressive after so long a remission from taxa-

tion; and, undoubtedly, the execration with which the names of Chilperic and Fredegonda have come to be regarded, arises as much from this cause as from the murders whose horrible details have been handed down to us by Gregory of Tours. It was their own impression, indeed, when their children were carried off by an epidemic disorder, that the curses of the poor had drawn down upon them the wrath of Heaven.

"In those days, king Chilperic fell grievously sick. When recovering, his youngest son, who had not as yet been regenerated by water and the Holy Ghost, fell sick in his turn. Being in extremity, he was baptized. Soon after he grew better; but his eldest brother, named Chlodobert, was seized with the same disorder. His mother Fredegonda, seeing him in danger of death, was touched with remorse, and said to the king—'The Divine mercy has long suffered our crimes, has often visited us with fevers and other ills, and we have not repented. We have already lost sons. The tears of the poor,\* the groans of widows, the sighs of orphans will call down death on these, too, and we shall have none for whom we may enjoy the hope of amassing treasure. We shall heap up treasures, and know not for whom. Our treasures will remain without possessors—fraught with violence and curses. Are not our cellars choked with wine? Are not our granaries full of corn? Is not our treasury crowded with gold, silver, precious stones, collars, and other kingly ornaments? And we are now about to lose what is dearest to us. Now, come, if it be your will, let us burn these unjust registers. Let that content us for our revenue, which contented thy father, king Clotaire.'

"Saying thus, and beating her bosom with clenched fists, the queen demanded the registers which Marcus had brought of the cities which belonged to her, and throwing them into the fire, turned to the king, and said—'What stops thee? Do as thou seest me do; that if we lose our dear children, we may at least escape eternal punishment.' Touched with repentance, the king threw into the fire all the registers of the taxes, and, when they were burnt, sent orders in all directions prohibiting the drawing up of any more for the future. After this, the youngest of their little ones fell exceeding weak and died. They bore him with great grief from their house of Braine to Paris, and buried him in St. Denis' church. Chlodobert was laid upon a litter, and carried to Soissons, to St. Medard's church. They took him to the tomb of the saint, and vowed an offering for him; but, already exhausted and lacking breath, he gave up the ghost in the middle of the night. They

L. v. c. 18. *Apud Parisios atque Parisios circos re preceptis, in eis populo spectaculum prebuitur, sed his veris,*" says Gregory of Tours, "I translate all of me." L. v. c. 45. —However, tradition ascribes to him the following epitaph upon St. Germain des

*eclesie speculum, patris vigor, ara reorum,  
Et pater, et medicus, pastor amicusque gregis,  
victor virtute, fide, corde, ore beatus,  
l'arme telet tumultum, mentis honoris pulvis,  
et cui dura nihil nocuerunt fata sepulchri  
Vis tamen, nam mors quem tulit ipse timet,  
evit adhuc potius post finem: nam qui  
fletule vix fuerit, gemma superam meret,  
puraque in et meritum multis data verba loquatur,  
reddidit et cunctis predestat omnia dona.  
Ince vir apostolicus, repens de carne trophæum,  
hunc triumphali consudet aure thronum."*

Apud Aimoin. L. iii. c. 10. "The strength of his country, refuge of his father and physician, shepherd and delight of his church, blessed in virtue, faith, feelings, and sentiment, the tomb with his mortal remains, the world the enduring home of his mind. The grave has no victory over him. He must live, when death has borne him hence, fears. The just man has been the more for death, for what was an earthen son glitters a gem on high. The dumb, restored to speech, his aid and merit, and the blind, given to the day, proclaim them. The apostolic man, triumphing mortality, now sits by right of conquest on a lofty throne.

Greg. Tur. L. v. c. 45. "The emperor ordered that every part of his kingdom ordering them to be taught, and commanding that all books written in the tongue should be inscribed with punner, and written plain." Greg. Tur. L. v. c. 45.

"In christum pocius se adtingere, in fructu de corpore restitui, intentione quaerit. Id. Ibid. "In Gregory of Tours. L. v. c. 22. his forbearance in a bishop who among other insulting observations, marked that in passing from Constantine's kingdom into his, he passed from heaven into hell. At other times, however, we find him complaining bitterly of the king. The same writer says. L. vi. c. 46. "He held the king in thorough hatred and was often accustomed to say, 'our treasury is impoverished, our money gone to the church; bishops are the only kings; our king is poor and bishops rule the state.'"

Greg. Tur. L. v. c. 29. *Descriptio loci et gravium in regno fuit jussu. . . statutum enim fuerat, ut pueri proprii terra unam amphoram vini per annum, id est jugum centonem 120 pedes redderet. "Many duties were imposed" adds the chronicler, "both on lands of land, and on slaves."*

\* The violence exercised in this reign may be inferred from the manner in which Chilperic raised a dowry for his daughter Riguntha. He caused a multitude of prodigal servants of the crown to be borne off with her to Spain as slaves. Numbers killed themselves to avoid this fate, and the unhappy troop set out, loading the king with imprecations. The tragedy deserves pursuit.—See Greg. Tur. L. vi. c. 65.

buried him in the basilica of the martyrs, St. Crispin and St. Crispinian. There was great lamentation among all the people; the men followed his funeral in mourning, and the women, clad in the same weeds which they wear at the burial of their husbands. King Chilperic then gave large gifts to the churches and to the poor.\* . . .

"After the synod of which I have spoken I had taken leave of the king, but, being unwilling to depart without bidding adieu to Salvius, and embracing him, I went in search of him, and found him in the court of the house of Braine. I told him that I was about returning home, and, on our stepping aside to converse, he said to me—'Seest thou not what I see, above that roof?'—'I see,' was my reply, 'a small building which the king has had raised above it.' 'And nothing else?' 'Nothing,' I said. Then, supposing that he was speaking jestingly, I added—'If thou seest any thing more, tell me.' Heaving a deep sigh, he said, 'I see the sword of Divine wrath drawn and suspended over that house.' And truly the bishop's words were those of truth, for, twenty days afterward, as we have shown, the king lost his two sons."†

Shortly afterwards Chilperic himself perished, (A. D. 584;) assassinated, according to some, by a lover of Fredegonda's; according to others, by emissaries of Brunehault's, who so avenged both her husbands, Sigebert and Meroveus. Chilperic's widow, his infant son, the Church, and all the enemies of Austrasia and the barbarians, then turned for succor to the king of Burgundy, the good Gontran, who was, indeed, the best of the Merovingian monarchs, for not more than two or three murders could be objected to him. Addicted to women and pleasure, he seemed softened by intercourse with the Romans of the south, and churchmen. To the latter, he showed extreme respect. "He was," says Fredegarius, "like a priest among priests."‡

Gontran declared himself the protector of Fredegonda, and of her son Clotaire II. § whom Fredegonda deposed on oath, and made twelve Frank warriors swear the same, to be truly Chilperic's son. The good man seems to be cast the comic part in the terrible drama of Merovingian history. Fredegonda played with his simplicity. || The death of his three brothers

seems to have taken strong hold of his imagination. He swore to pursue Chilperic's murderer to the ninth generation, "in order to put a stop to the wicked custom of killing kings." He believed his own life to be in danger. "It happened that one day, after the deacon had proclaimed silence for the hearing of the mass, the king, turning to the people, said—'I pray you, all ye men and women here present, to be ever faithful to me, and not to slay me, as you have latterly slain my brothers. So that I may at least live for three years to rear my nephews whom I have adopted as my sons, for fear it should happen—which, may the everlasting God deign to avert, that after my death ye perish with these little ones, for there would no strong man of our family be left to defend you.'"

All the people addressed prayers to the Lord, that he would be pleased to preserve Gontran. In fact, he alone could protect Burgundy and Neustria against Austrasia, Gaul against Germany, the Church and civilization against the barbarians. The bishop of Tours declared loudly for Gontran. "We sent word," (it is Gregory himself who is speaking,) "to the bishop and citizens of Poitiers, that Gontran was now father of Sigebert's and Chilperic's two sons, and that he was master of the whole kingdom, as was his father Clotaire before him."†

Poitiers, the rival of Tours, did not follow its lead, but preferred recognising the king of Austrasia, as too far distant to be troublesome. The men of the south, the men of Aquitaine and Provence, thought that in the decay of the Merovingian family, represented by an old man and two children, they might elect a king who would be dependent upon them. They, therefore, summoned from Constantinople one Gondovald, who boasted to be descended from the Frank monarchs. The history of this attempt, which is given at length by Gregory of Tours, makes us acquainted to the life with the nobles of the south of Gaul, the Mummoluses and Gontran-Bosons—individuals of equivocal and double origin and policy, half Roman, half barbarian—and their relations with the enemies of Burgundy and Neustria, with the Greeks of Byzantium, and the Germans of Austrasia.

#### EPISODE OF GONDOVALD. (A. D. 584-5.)

"Gondovald, who gave out that he was a son of king Clotaire's, had arrived at Marseilles from Constantinople. His origin was, briefly, as follows. Born in Gaul, he had been carefully brought up and educated; and, according to the custom of the kings of the country, wore his curled locks hanging down his shoulders. He was presented to king Childebert by his mother, who said—'This is thy nephew, king Clotaire's son; as his father hates him, take

\* Greg. Tur. I. v. c. 35.

† Ibid. cap. ult.

‡ Gunttharimus rex . . . cum sacerdotibus utique sacerdotibus ad instar se ostendebat. Fredeg. ap. Ferr. R. Fr. c. II. p. 414.—A woman cures her son of quartan fever by making him drink water in which a fringe of Gontran's cloak had been soaked. Greg. Tur. I. ix.

§ Patrocinio suo fovet. Greg. Tur. I. vii. c. 7.

|| Greg. Tur. I. vii. c. 7: "Gontran protected Fredegonda, and often asked her to his table, promising that he would be her fast friend. On one of these occasions, the queen rising up and taking her leave, the king stayed her, pressing her to take more, when she said to him, 'Pray, give me leave, my lord, for, after the fashion of women, I must withdraw in order to lie in.' He was stupefied at this speech; for only four months before she had brought a son into the world: however, he suffered her to withdraw."

\* Greg. Tur. I. vii. c. 8.

† M. Béd. c. 12.

him with thee, for he is thy flesh.' Having no son, king Childebert took him, and kept him near him. The news being told king Clotaire, he sent to his brother, saying—'Send the young man, that he may be with me.' His brother sent him at once; and, when Clotaire saw him, he ordered his long hair to be cut off, saying, 'He is no son of mine.' On Clotaire's death, king Charibert received him. But Sigebert sent for him, and having had his hair cut off again, dismissed him to the city of Agrippina, now called Cologne. On his hair growing, he escaped thence, and repaired to Narses, who then governed Italy. There he took a wife, begot sons, and left that country for Constantmople. Long after this, he was invited, so runs the tale, to Gaul; and, landing at Marseilles, was received by bishop Theodore, who gave him horses, and he repaired to duke Mummolus. Mummolus, as we have said, at that time had his residence at Avignon. But displeased hereat, duke Gontran-Boson seized bishop Theodore, and had him carefully watched, accusing him of having introduced a stranger into Gaul, for the purpose of subjecting the kingdom of the Franks to the emperor. Theodore is said to have produced a letter, signed by the great of king Childebert's court, saying—I have done nothing of myself, but only what was commanded by our masters and lords.' . . . Gondovald sought refuge in an island, and awaited the result. Duke Gontran-Boson divided Gondovald's treasures with one of king Gontran's dukes, and carried off, they say, into Auvergne an immense quantity of gold, silver, and other things."

Before deciding for or against the pretender, the king of Austrasia required his uncle Gontran to restore those towns which had belonged to Sigebert. "King Childebert sent to king Gontran the Bishop Euzidius, Gontran-Boson, Sigewald, and many others. When they had come, the bishop said, 'We thank Almighty God, most pious king, that after many troubles he has restored thee the countries which belong to thy kingdom.' The king replied, 'All thanks be, indeed, to the King of kings, the Lord of lords, who, in his mercy, has deigned to bring these things to pass, for we owe none to thee, who, by thy treacherous counsels and perjuries, didst raise disturbances throughout my whole kingdom this past year, who hast never kept faith with any one, whose craft is everywhere notorious, and who everywhere conductest thyself not as a bishop, but as the enemy of our kingdom.' At these words, the bishop, choking with rage, was silent. One of the deputies said, 'Thy nephew Childebert begs thee to restore the cities which belonged to his father,' to whom Gontran replied, 'I have already told you that those towns are mine by treaty, and that therefore I will not give them up.' Another deputy said, 'Thy nephew prays thee to deliver into his hands the sorceress Fredegonda, who has caused the death of many

kings, in order that he may have vengeance upon her for the death of his father, his uncle, and his cousins!' The king answered, 'I cannot put her in his power, for her son is a king: nor do I believe all you say against her.' Then Gontran-Boson drew near the king as if to remind him of something; and, as there was a rumor that Gondovald had just been proclaimed king, Gontran, cutting him short, said, 'Enemy of our country and our throne, who hast before this gone to the East expressly to place on our throne a *Skip-sea*,' (so the king called Gondovald,) O thou, who art always perfidious, and who never keepest faith!" Boson answered, 'Thou, lord and king, art seated on the royal throne, and no one dares return thee a reply. I aver my innocence in this business. If there be any equal of mine, who in secret thinks me guilty of this crime, let him charge me with it in public. Then, most pious king, refer the whole to the judgment of God. Let him decide, when he shall see us in the lists.' As every one kept silence after he had spoken, the king said, 'This business calls on all warriors to chase from our frontiers a stranger whose father turned the mill, nay, to say truth, who was a wool-comber.' Now, though it may very well be that a man may follow both these trades at once, one of the deputies replied to this taunt of the king's—'Thou assertest, then, that this man had two fathers, a wool-comber and a miller. Cease, O king, such silly talk. Never has one man been known to have two fathers, save in spiritual matters.' Many laughing at these words, another deputy said, 'We take our leave, O king; since thou wilt not restore thy nephew's cities, we know that the axe is whole which took off thy brothers' heads, and it will soon send thy brains skipping.'" Thus they withdrew with scandal. The king, fired with wrath at this insult, ordered dung, decayed vegetables, straw, rotten hay, and stinking mud out of the streets, to be flung upon them as they were going away; and the deputies went off, covered with filth, and loaded with insults and reproaches.

Gontran's answer united the Austrasians, with the Aquitanians, in favor of Gondovald. The nobles of the south welcomed him;† and

† *Un Ballon*

As Gondovald was seeking for help in every direction, some one told him that a certain Eastern monarch, having carried off the thumb of the holy martyr, Sergius, had it imbedded in his right arm; and that, when he wanted to repulse his enemies, he had only to raise his arm confidently, when, as it overcame by the power of the martyr, they instantly took to flight. Gondovald eagerly inquired whether there were any one in the place who had been judged worthy to receive any of the saint's relics. Bishop Bertrand named a merchant called Euphras, whom he listed for once, concealing his wealth, he had formerly caused him to submit to the torture in order to compel him to enter the church, but Euphras passed out on the city, and returned when his blood grew warm. So the bishop said, 'There is a certain Syrian named Euphras, who has made his house into a church, and placed in it the relics of that saint through which many miracles have been worked; for, when the city of Bordeaux was a prey to a violent conflagration, his house, though surrounded with flames, was untouched.' Moreover Mummolus hastened to the Syrian's



with their aid, he made rapid head. He soon saw himself master of Toulouse, Bordeaux, Perigueux, and of Angoulême: and received in the name of the king of Austrasia the allegiance of the towns which had been Sigebert's. The danger of the aged Burgundian monarch became imminent. He knew that Brunehaut, Childebert, and the nobles of Austrasia, favored Gondovald; that Fredegonda herself had been tempted to treat with him; that the bishop of Reims was secretly, and all the southern bishops openly for him. This defection of the Roman ecclesiastical party, of whom he had thought himself certain, compelled Gontran to court the Austrasians. He adopted his nephew Childebert, named him his heir, complied with his demands, and promised Brunehaut that he would leave her five of the principal cities of Aquitaine, with which her sister had been dowried, as anciently belonging to the Goths.

Gondovald's party was discouraged by the reconciliation of the kings of Burgundy and Austrasia; and the Aquitanians were as quick to desert as they had been to welcome him. He was constrained to shut himself up in the town of Comminges, with those nobles who had most compromised themselves, but who waited their opportunity to give him up, and make their peace at his expense. One of them, indeed, did not delay so long; but fled, taking Gondovald's treasures along with him.

"Many ascended the hill and often accosted Gondovald, heaping reproaches upon him and saying,—*'Art thou the painter who, in king Clotaire's time, daubed the walls and ceilings of the oratories? Art thou he whom the Gauls used to call Skip-sea? Art thou he, who, for thy pretensions, hast so often had thy locks shorn and been banished by the kings of the Franks? Tell us at least, most miserable man, who brought thee hither, who inspired thee with such height of audacity as to approach the frontiers of our lords and kings? If any one summoned thee, name him aloud. See, death stares thee in the face, and the ditch thou hast craved, and into which thou wilt have cast thyself,*

house with Bishop Bertrand, forced his way into it, and ordered the holy relics to be produced. Euphron refused; but, thinking that a snare was maliciously laid for him, he said, 'Leave an old man alone, and insult not a saint: take these hundred pieces of gold, and depart.' Mummolus persisting, Euphron offered him two hundred; but even this sum could not tempt him to retire without seeing the relics. Then Mummolus ordered a ladder to be placed against the wall, (the relics were concealed in a shrine at the top of the wall, over against the altar,) and ordered the deacon to mount it, who, doing so, was seized with such a fit of trembling, when he laid hands on the shrine, that it was thought he would not descend alive. However, he brought it down; and Mummolus, on opening it, finding the bone of the saint's finger, did not fear attempting to cut it. Placing one knife upon the relic, he struck this with another; and, after having broken it with much ado and many blows, the bone, which had been cut in three, disappeared. The thing was not agreeable to the martyr, as the event showed.—*"These Romans of the south held holy men and things in much less respect than their northern brethren. A little further on, we read that on a bishop's insulting the pretender at table, dukes Mummolus and Didier fell upon the priest and beat him. Greg. Tur. l. vii. ap. Scr. B. Fr. t. ii. p. 322.*

yawns for thee. Count us thy satellites; name those who invited thee.' Gondovald, hearing these words, drew nigh and said from the top of the gate—*'That my father Clotaire hated me, is what all know; that my head was shorn by him and by my brother is also known. It was on this account that I withdrew into Italy, and betook myself to the prefect Narces. There I married, and begot two sons. My wife dying, I took my children with me and went to Constantinople; where I lived, most kindly entertained by the emperors. Some years ago, on Gontran-Boson's coming to Constantinople, I anxiously inquired of him how my brothers prospered, and learned that our family was much lessened, and that there only remained Childebert, my brother's son, and Gontran, my brother: that king Chilperic's sons were dead as well as he, that he had left only an infant, that my brother Gontran had no child, and that my nephew Childebert was not distinguished by courage. Then, after Gontran-Boson had clearly set forth all these things to me, he invited me, saying—*"Come, for all the nobles of Childebert's kingdom invite thee, and none will dare to wag his tongue against thee, for we all know thee to be Clotaire's son, and there is none left in Gaul to govern the kingdom except thou come."* I made large presents to Gontran-Boson; and received his oath in twelve holy spots, to the end that I might come safely hither. I came to Marseilles, was most kindly received by the bishop, who had had letters from the chief nobles of my nephew's kingdom, and proceeded to Avignon, to the patrician Mummolus. But Gontran-Boson, forswearing himself, deprived me of my treasures, and kept me in his power. Acknowledge me, then, to be king, no less than my brother Gontran. Nevertheless, if you are possessed with such lively hatred, lead me, at least, to your king, and if he recognise me for his brother, let him do by me as he may think fit. Should you deny me this, suffer me to return whence I came. I will go without injury to any one. That you may know what I say is true, question Radegonda at Poitiers, and Ingiltrude at Tours, who will confirm to you the truth of my words.'* As he spoke thus, his speech was received of many with insults and reproaches. . . .

"Mummolus, bishop Sagittarius, and Wadde went unto Gondovald, and said to him—*'Thou knowest the oaths by which we are bound to thee. Listen, now, to wholesome counsel. Betake thee from this city, and present thyself before thy brother as thou hast often asked to do. We have already spoken with these men, and they say that the king wishes not to lose thy support, for there are but few remaining of your race.'* But Gondovald, perceiving their deceit, says to them, all bathed with tears—*'Your invitation brought me to Gaul. Of my treasures, which comprised immense sums of gold and silver, and different objects, one-half is in Avignon; Gontran-Boson has robbed me of the*

other. As for myself, reposing, next to God, all my hopes in you, I have confided in your counsels, and have always wished to govern through you. Now, if you are deceiving me, answer it to God, in whose hands I leave my cause.' To this Mummolus gave answer, 'We only tell you the truth, and here are brave warriors waiting at the gate. Take off, now, my golden baldric which thou hast on, that thou mayest not seem to proceed in too great state, and take thy sword, and give me back mine.' Gondovald said, 'All I gather from thy words, is that thou art stripping me of what I received and wore in token of friendship for thee.' But Mummolus solemnly swore that no harm should befall him. When he had passed through the gate, Gondovald was received by Ollo, count of Bourges, and by Boson. Mummolus withdrew with his followers into the town, and barred the gate with every precaution. Seeing himself abandoned to his enemies, Gondovald raised his hands and eyes to heaven, and said—'Eternal Judge, and true avenger of the innocent, God, from whom proceedeth all justice, whom falsehood offends, in whom is neither craft nor any guile, to thee I resign myself, beseeching thee quickly to avenge me on those who have betrayed an innocent man into the hands of his enemies.' Thus saying, he made the sign of the cross, and rode off with those whose names are mentioned above. When they were at a distance from the gate, as the valley under the town slopes rapidly, a push from Ollo unseated him, when the latter cried out, 'There's your *Skip-sea*, who calls himself the brother and the son of a king!' Hurling his javelin, he sought to transfix him, but his cuirass warded the blow. Gondovald getting up and endeavoring to make for the hill-side, Boson dashed in his head with a stone, and he instantly fell, and died. The whole of them then hastened up, and piercing him with their lances, bound his feet with a cord, and dragged him all round the camp: when, plucking off his hair and beard, they left him unburied on the spot where he had been slain."

Contran, reassured by Gondovald's death, would have made the bishops dearly pay for the countenance they had afforded him, had he not been himself prevented by death.

This event, laying Burgundy open to the king of Austrasia, seemed as a necessary consequence to give him possession of Neustria. Nevertheless, it refused submission; and the Austrasians invading it were astonished at the sight of a moving forest advancing against them (it was the Neustrian army under the cover of boughs) and fled. This was the last success of Fredegunda and of her lover, Landeric, who is said to have been Chilperic's substitute. She

died shortly after. Childebert had died before her. The whole of Gaul thus devolved upon three children:—Childebert's two sons, named Theodebert II. and Theoderic II., and Chilperic's son, Clotaire II. The latter was overborne by the other two. He found himself constrained to cede to the Burgundians his possessions between the Seine and Loire, and to the Austrasians the countries between the Seine, Oise, and Austrasia. But it was not long before he derived from the dissensions of the conquerors more than he had lost.

The aged Brunehaut conceived the plan of reigning herself, by plunging her grandson, Theodebert, into a vortex of dissipation; and her plan succeeded only too well. The weak prince was soon governed by a young female slave, who managed to have Brunehaut banished. Taking refuge with Theoderic in Burgundy, in a country where Roman influence was in the ascendant, she enjoyed still greater power. She made and unmade the mayors of the palace, compassed the death of Bertuald, who had received her with kindness, installed her lover Protadius\* in his place, and when this favorite was torn in pieces by the people, had still credit enough to raise one, Claudius, to power. Her rule was at first inglorious. The Austrasians, and their allies, the Germans, wrested from the kingdom of Burgundy the Sundgau, the Turgau, Alsace, and Champagne, and laid waste the whole country between Geneva and Neuchâtel. The people of the south seem to have been drawn together and united by the terror of these invasions.

#### THEODERIC'S INVASION OF AUSTRASIA. (A. D. 612.)

"In the seventeenth year of his reign, in the month of March," says Fredegarius, "king Theoderic collected an army at Langres, from all the provinces of his kingdom, and marching through Andelot on the city of Toul, he took the castle of Nex. Theodebert, with his Austrasians, encountered him in the plain of Toul, and was defeated. The Franks lost many brave men in the battle. Theodebert fled through the territory of Metz, crossed the Voages, and did not stop till he reached Cologne, closely pursued by Theoderic and his army. Leonisius, bishop of Metz, a holy and apostolic man, loving Theoderic's valor, and hating Theodebert's folly, came out to meet Theoderic, and said—'Finish what thou hast begun, for your advantage requires you to find out and pursue the cause of evil. There is a country fable that the wolf having one day stationed himself on a hill, as his sons were about to begin their prowl, called out to them—Far as you can see, and in every direction, you have no friends, save your own kind. Finish, then, what you have begun.'

"Theoderic, having traversed the forest of

\* So in Shakespeare—"I looked towards Rimean, and anon, methought, the wood began to move." *Macbeth*, act v.—The Kent men used the same stratagem when marching against William the Conqueror, after the battle of Hastings.

\* Fredeg. *Subl.* c. 34.

Ardennes, encamped at Tolbiac; whither Theodebert hastened with such Saxons, Thuringians, and other dwellers beyond the Rhine as he had been able to collect, to give him battle. They say, that so bloody a battle was never before fought either by the Franks, or any other people. . . . Here Theoderic was again conqueror, for God was with him; and Theodebert's army was mowed down with the sword from Tolbiac to Cologne; the ground being, in some spots, literally covered with the slain. Theoderic reached Cologne the same day, where he found Theodebert's treasures. He sent on his chamberlain, Berthaire, in pursuit of Theodebert, who fled beyond the Rhine, accompanied by a few retainers; but was overtaken, and brought before Theoderic, stripped of his royal robes. Theoderic gave his spoils, his horse, and all his royal equipage, to Berthaire; and sent Theodebert, loaded with chains, to Châlons." It is related in the Chronicle of St. Benignus, that his grandmother Brunehaut at first had him ordained priest, but shortly afterwards caused him to be made away with. "By Theoderic's orders, one of his soldiers, lifting up Theodebert's infant son by his foot, beat his brains out against a stone."<sup>o</sup>

The union of Austrasia and Burgundy under Theoderic, or rather under Brunehaut, seemed to threaten Neustria with certain ruin; nor would this posture of affairs have been altered even by the death of Theoderic and the accession of his three infant sons, had Clotaire's enemies been united. But Austrasia was ashamed and irritated by her recent defeat; and, even in Burgundy, Brunehaut was no longer supported by the Roman and ecclesiastical party—to be sure of which it was necessary to have the whole of the ecclesiastics at one's side, to gain them over at any price, and to divide all power with them. The assassination of St. Didier, bishop of Vienne, who had endeavored to wean Theoderic from the mistresses with whom his grandmother surrounded him, and restore his wife to his arms, had alienated the entire church from Brunehaut. With equal freedom, the Irish saint, St. Columbanus, the restorer of monastic life—the bold missionary who reformed kings as well as people, refused his blessing to Theoderic's sons: "They are," he said, "the offspring of incontinence and crime." Driven from Luxeuil and Austrasia, he took refuge with Clotaire II.; and his sacred presence seemed to stamp the cause of Neustria as legitimate.

Brunehaut was utterly deserted. The Austrasian nobles hated her as one of the Goths, the Romans, (the two words were almost synonymous;) and the priests and people regarded her with horror, as the persecutor of the saints.†

Though till this period hostile to German influence, she was obliged to have recourse to the assistance of Germans, of barbarians, in order to make head against Clotaire. Arnolph, bishop of Metz, and his brother Pepin (Pipin) went over to him before the engagement: the rest allowed themselves to be beaten, and Clotaire made a pretence of pursuing them. They had been gained over beforehand; and Warnachaire, mayor of the palace, had stipulated for the enjoyment of that office during his lifetime. The aged Brunehaut, the daughter, sister, mother, and grandmother of so many kings, was treated with atrocious barbarity. She was fastened by the hair, a foot, and an arm to the tail of a wild horse, which dragged her to pieces. In addition to her own crimes, she was reproached with those of Fredegonda, and was upbraided with being the murderess of ten kings; but her greatest crime in the eyes of barbarians undoubtedly was the having restored, under any shape, the administrative government of the empire. Fiscal laws, the forms of justice, and the supremacy of craft over strength, were insurmountable objections in the minds of the people to the idea of the ancient empire, which the Gothic kings had endeavored to restore. Brunehaut, their daughter, had followed in their steps. She founded numerous churches and monasteries—the monasteries at that time were also schools. She favored the missions sent by the pope for the conversion of the British Anglo-Saxons. This use of the money which she had wrung from her subjects by so many odious means, was not without glory and grandeur. So profound was the impression left by her long reign, that that left by the empire seems to have been weakened in the north of Gaul; and the people ascribed to the famous queen of Austrasia a multiplicity of Roman monuments. Remains of Roman ways, still met with in Belgium and the north of France, are called Brunehaut's causeways; and near Bourges was shown Brunehaut's castle, at Etampes her tower, near Tournay Brunehaut's stone, and Brunehaut's fort near Cahors.

Under Fredegonda, Neustria had resisted; under her son, she conquered—a nominal conquest I grant, since she only owed it to the hate of the Austrasians for Brunehaut, and won by weakness, since it was the conquest of the older races, of the Gallo-Romans, and of the priests. The very year after Clotaire's victory, (A. D. 614,) the bishops were summoned to the assembly of the Leuds, and they collected from the whole of Gaul to the number of seventy-nine. 'Twas the enthronizing of the Church. The two aristocracies, the lay and ecclesiastical, drew up a *perpetual constitution*. Several articles of singular liberality indicate the ecclesiastical hand. The judges are forbid to condemn a free man, or even a slave, without a

testimorum advenarum, Columbanus videlicet et Galli, regis laici corpulent, etc.

<sup>o</sup> Fredegarii Schol. c. 38, ap. Ser. R. Fr. pp. 429, 429.

† Monach. S. Galli. l. ii. ap. Ser. R. Fr. t. v. p. 121: Cum a regno Romanorum . . . Franci vel Galli defecissent . . . ipsique reges Gallorum vel Francorum propter interfec-tionem S. Ihsiderii Viennensis episcopi, et expulsi-onem sanc-

hearing. The disturber of the public is to be punished with death. The Leuds are to be repossessed of the estates, of which they had been deprived in the civil wars. The election of bishops is secured to the people. Priests are to be judged by the bishops alone. The taxes imposed by Chilperic and his brothers are abolished,\* (a regulation by which the bishops, who had become large proprietors, would profit more than any one.) Thus begins with Clotaire II., that dominion of the Church, which will be consolidated under the Merovingians, and will suffer no interruption except from the tyranny of Charles Martel.

We know little of Clotaire II., more of Dagobert. Wise, just, and a lover of justice, Dagobert begins his reign by making the tour of his dominions, according to the custom of the barbarian monarchs. Raised to the throne of Austrasia in the lifetime of his father, he did not long retain his Austrasian ministers. He soon laid on the shelf the two leading men of the country, Arnolph, archbishop of Metz, and his brother, Pepin, who succeeded him, and summoned the Neustrian, Ega. Surrounded by Roman ministers, by the goldsmith, St. Eloi, and the referendary St. Ouen, he busies himself with founding convents, and designing ornaments for churches.† For the first time, his scribes commit the laws of the barbarians to writing—laws written when they are beginning to be obsolete. The Solomon of the Franks, like his prototype of the Jews, peoples his palaces with lovely women,‡ and is divided between his concubines and his priests.

This pacific prince is the natural friend of the Greeks; and as the ally of the emperor Heraclius, interposes in the affairs of the Lombards and Visigoths. Amidst the precarious old age of all the barbarian nations, the decay of the Franks is still surrounded with a shadow of glory.

Nevertheless, the weakness concealed under this outside show, is easily perceptible. Even while Clotaire lived, Austrasia had resumed the provinces of which she had been stripped, would have a king of her own, and Dagobert, who came to the throne at fifteen years of age, was in fact only an instrument in the hands of Pepin and Arnolph. On his becoming king of Neustria, Austrasia still demands a separate government, and has for king, his son, the young Sigebert. Clotaire II. allows the Lombards to redeem their tribute by paying down a sum of money.§ The Saxons, defeated, it is said, by the Franks, yet forget to pay Dago-

bert the five hundred cows which they had paid annually up to this time. The Venda, delivered from the Avars by the Frank Samo, a merchant warrior whom they adopted as their chief,\* throw off Dagobert's yoke, and defeat the Franks, Bavarians, and Lombards, who had combined against them. The fugitive Avars themselves settle forcibly in Bavaria, and Dagobert frees himself from them only by base treachery.† The submission of the Bretons and Gascons, indeed, seems to have been voluntary, and to have been produced more through their respect for the priests than the dread of arms. Their duke, St. Judicael, declines an invitation to the king's table in favor of one from St. Ouen.‡

The priest, in fact, was now king. The Church had silently made her way in the midst of the tumult of barbaric invasions, which had threatened universal destruction; and strong, patient, and industrious, she had so grasped the whole of the new body politic as thoroughly to interfuse herself with it. Early abandoning speculation for action, she had rejected the bold theories of Pelagianism, and adjourned the great question of human liberty. The savage conquerors of the empire required to have not liberty but submission preached to them, to induce them to bow their necks to the yoke of civilization and the Church.

The Church, coming in the place of the municipal government, left the city at the approach of the barbarians, and issued forth as arbiter betwixt them and the conquered. Once beyond the walls, she took up her abode in the country. Daughter of the city, she yet perceived that the city was not all in all. She created rural bishops,§ extended her saving protection to all, and shielded even those she did not command with the protecting sign of the tonsure. She became one immense asylum; an asylum for the conquered, for the Romans, for the serfs of the Romans. The latter rushed by crowds into the church, which more than once was obliged to close her doors upon them—there would have been none left to till the land. No

to that extent that he destroyed all the males who were taller than the sword which he then happened to wear."

\* *Fredegar. c. 46.* "A certain man, named Samo, a Frank by birth, from Sens, who had associated many merchants with him, went to trade among the Slavs; by name Venda. The Slavs had entered upon a war with the Avars. Chuni by name. The Chuni came to winter yearly among the Slaves, and used to lie with the wives and daughters of the Slaves. . . . The Venda recognizing Samo's services, chose him for king, and he took twelve wives from among the Venda."

† *Fredegar. c. 72.* "When they were scattered for the winter throughout the houses of the Bavarians, Dagobert, by the advice of the Franks orders the latter to rise up each man in the night time on an appointed night, and to slay his guests with their wives and children—and this was forthwith done."

‡ *Fredegar. c. 70.*

§ *Tar. xapov delivovce.*—In the Capitularies of Charlemagne they are called *Episcopi villani*.—*Hieronymus* upm. 33, c. 16, calls them "Villani."—The canon of the Arabian *Nirone* Synod say, "The *Theropocopus* holds the place of bishop over villages, monasteries, and the priests of villages."—*see Ducange, t. ii.*

\* Capital *Revue* t. i. p. 21, et ap. *Ser. R. Fr.* iv. 119.

† *Grégoire Dagob. c. 17* seq.

‡ *Fredegar. c. 60.* *Luxurie super modum deducta, tres habuit ad istas Neustromis reginas maxime et plurimas concubinas. . . . Nomina concubinarum eo quod plures fuissent interest huc et illic inseri.*

§ *Fredegar. c. 45.* *Chronic. Minor. comito. ap. Ser. R. Fr.* ii. 631.

|| *Grégoire Dagob. c. 1.* ap. *Ser. R. Fr.* ii. 50. "Clotaire then left that memorable proof of his power to posterity, that when the Saxons rebelled against him, he chastised them

less was she an asylum for the conquerors; who sought a retreat in her bosom from the disorders of barbarian life, and from their own passions and violences, from which they suffered equally with the conquered. Thus serfs rose to the priesthood, the sons of kings and dukes sank to be bishops, and great and little met in Jesus Christ. At the same time the land was diverted from profane uses by the vast endowments which were showered on the men of peace, on the poor, on the slave. What they had taken, that the barbarians gave. They found that they had conquered for the Church.

So was a right destiny fulfilled. Both as an asylum and a school, the Church needed wealth. In order to be listened to by the nobles, it was essential that the bishops should address them as their equals. In order to raise the barbarians to her own level, the Church had to become herself material and barbarous: to win over these men of flesh she had to become fleshly. As the prophet who stretched himself out upon the child in order to bring it to life again, the Church made herself little in order to incubate this new world.

The bishops of the south are too civilized, rhetorical, and ratiocinative,\* to have much effect on the men of the first race. The ancient metropolitan sees of Arles, Vienne, and even of Lyons and Bourges, lose their influence. The real bishops and true patriarchs of France are those of Reims and Tours. St. Martin of Tours is the oracle of the barbarians, and what Delphi was to Greece—*umbilicus terrarum, orbis apotheca*.

St. Martin is guarantee to all treaties. He is momentarily consulted by the kings on their business, and even their crimes. When Chilperic pursues his hapless son, Meroveus, he places a paper on the tomb of the saint, inquiring of him whether he would be allowed to drag him from the asylum of the basilica. The paper, says Gregory of Tours, remained blank. For the most part, these claimants of the shelter of the Church were as fierce and violent as their pursuers, and often proved very embarrassing to the bishop, becoming the tyrants of the asylum which protected them. It is worth while to turn to the pages of the good bishop of Tours for the history of that Eberulf who seeks to kill Gregory himself, and who strikes the priests when they are slow in bringing him wine. The servants of this ruffian, who had sought refuge in the basilica along with him, scandalize the whole of the clergy by prying too curiously into the sacred paintings which adorned its walls.†

\* Cloaire was about to reward St. Dunstons for his frequent services in concealing his spies during Childobert's lifetime, by raising him to the see of Avignon, when the saint prays him—"Not to send a simple man like himself to be baited by sophistical senators and philosophic judges." On which Cloaire made him bishop of Mass. Greg. Tur. l. vi. c. 8.

† Greg. Tur. vii. 31, seq.

Tours, Reims, and all their dependences, are tax-free.\* Reims owns estates in the furthest parts of the land, in Austrasia and in Aquitaine. Every crime committed by a barbarian king brings a new donative to the Church—and who could blame such gifts? There is no one who does not desire to be given to the Church—it is to be as if enfranchised. The bishops have no scruple to invite, and to increase by pious frauds the grants of the kings. The testimony of all the inhabitants of the country is at their service if required. At need, all will swear that such or such an estate or village was formerly granted by Clovis or by the good Gontran, to the adjoining monastery or bishopric, which has only been despoiled of it by impious violence. Thus, the understanding between the priests and the people must daily strip the barbarian of some of his spoils, and turn his credulity, devotion, or remorse, to account. Under Dagobert, grants of the kind are referred to Clovis; under Pepin the Short, to Dagobert. The latter gives at one sweep twenty-seven burghs to the abbey of St. Denis.† His son, says the worthy Sigobert of Glanbours, founded twelve monasteries, and gave St. Remacius, bishop of Tongres, a square twelve leagues long and twelve broad, out of the forest of Ardenne.‡

#### FAMOUS GRANT OF CLOVIS.

The most curious of these grants is that of Clovis to St. Remigius, reproduced, or, most probably, fabricated in Dagobert's reign:—

"Clovis had taken up his residence at Seisons. This prince had great pleasure in the company and converse of St. Remigius; but as the holy man had no other resting-place near the city than a small property formerly given to St. Nicasius, the king offered to grant him all the ground which he could encircle, while he himself was taking his nooning; complying in this with the prayer of the queen and the petition of the inhabitants, who complained of being overburdened with exactions and contributions, and who therefore preferred paying the church of Reims to holding of the king. The blessed St. Remigius then set out; and to this day there may be seen the traces that he left, and the boundaries which he marked. On his way, the holy man was turned back by a miller who did not wish his mill to fall within the enclosure. 'My friend,' said the man of God mildly to him, 'think it not ill that we should possess this mill in common.' The miller again refusing, the wheel of the mill instantly turned backward, when he forthwith ran after the saint, crying, 'Come, servant of God, and

\* Scr. R. Fr. ii. 81.

† Gesta Dagoberti, c. 25: in archive ipso ecclesie . . . viginti et septem villarum nomina, &c.

‡ Vita S. Sigoberti Austrac. c. 5. ap. Scr. R. Fr. i. 682: Tradidit ei ex ipso foresta decem leucas in latitudine, octiduum in longitudine.

let us have the mill together.' 'No,' replied the saint, 'it shall be neither thine nor mine.' Straightway, the ground disappeared, and opened into such an abyss, that a mill could never be built there again.

"Again, as the saint was near a small wood, and its owners sought to hinder him from including it in his domain, 'Well,' he exclaimed, 'may leaf never fly, nor branch fall, out of this wood into my precincts!' And, indeed, by the will of God, such was the case, as long as there was a wood there, although it was close to the sacred territory.

"Thence, proceeding on his way, he arrived at Chavignos, and wanted to enclose it, but was hindered by the inhabitants. Driven off one while, returning another, but always equanimous and peaceable, he went on his way, tracing the boundaries as they now exist. Finding himself at last completely foiled, he is rumored to have said to them, '*Work on forever, and remain poor and wretched*'—as they are to this day by the virtue and power of his word. When king Clovis had risen from his mourning, he gave to St. Remigius, under his royal seal, all the land which he had walked round. Of the estates so enclosed, the best are Lully and Coccy, which are enjoyed in peace by the church of Reims to this day.

"A very powerful man, named Eulogus, convicted of the crime of high treason against king Clovis, one day implored the intercession of St. Remigius; and the holy man obtained him his pardon, and saved his property from confiscation. Eulogus, in return for this service, offered his generous patron his village of Epernay in perpetuity; but the blessed bishop would not accept a temporal reward for his good deed. However, seeing that Eulogus was sinking with shame, and was bent on withdrawing from the world, feeling he could no longer mingle with it, as he owed his life, to the dishonor of his house, to the royal clemency alone, he gave him a wise counsel, saying, that if he desired to be perfect, he should sell all he had and give it to the poor, and follow Jesus Christ. Then, valuing it, and taking out of the treasure of the church five thousand pounds of silver, he gave them to Eulogus, and so purchased his property for the church—thus leaving to all priests and bishops this good example, that when they intercede for those who throw themselves into the bosom of the Church, or into the arms of the servants of God, and render them any service, they should never do it with a view to temporal benefit, nor take as their wage perishable goods, but on the contrary, as the Lord hath taught, give for nothing as they have received for nothing.\*

"St. Rigobert obtained from king Dagobert a patent of exemption for his Church, reminding him that under all the Frank kings, his

predecessors, from the days of St. Remigius and of king Clovis, baptized by that saint, it had ever been free and exempt from all public service and charge. The king, then, desiring to ratify or renew this privilege, with the advice of his nobles, and in the same form as the kings, his predecessors, ordained that all goods, villages, and men, belonging to the holy church of Reims, or to the basilica of St. Remigius, situate or lying as well in Champagne, in the town or faubourgs of Reims, as in Austrasia, Neustria, Burgundy, the country of Marseilles, Rouergue, Gévaudan, Auvergne, Touraine, Poitou, Limousin, or elsewhere in his countries and kingdoms, should be forever exempt from all charge; that no public judge should dare to enter the lands of these two holy churches of God to sojourn there, give judgment, or levy any tax; in short, that they should ever preserve the immunities and privileges granted them by his predecessors. . . . .

"This venerable bishop was on terms of great friendship with Pepin, mayor of the palace, and was in the habit of sending meats that he had blessed to him, by way of benediction. Now, at this time, Pepin was sojourning in the village of Gernicourt, and learning from the bishop that the place was to his liking, he offered it to him, adding, besides, that he would give him all the ground that he could make the tour of, while he was resting at mid-day. Rigobert, following the example of St. Remigius, set forth and ordered the boundaries, which are seen to this day, to be laid down, and so marked out the enclosure, as to obviate all dispute. Pepin, on awakening, finding him returned, confirmed to him the grant of the land which he had just encompassed; and, in memorable proof of the road which he traced, the grass where he trod is greener and richer than anywhere round about. Another miracle not less worthy of notice, which the Lord deigns to work here, undoubtedly in token of the merits of his servant, is that from the time of the grant to the holy bishop, neither tempest nor hail has wrought damage on his domain; and when all the adjoining country is beat down and spoiled, the storm stops at the boundaries of the church, not daring to cross them."†

Thus, every thing favored the absorption of society by the Church. Romans and barbarians, slaves and freemen, man and land, all docked to her and took refuge in her maternal bosom. Whatsoever she received from without the Church ameliorated; but she could not effect this without, at the same time, proportionally deteriorating herself. With riches, a spirit of worldliness took possession of the clergy; and power brought with it the barbarism which was then its inseparable adjunct. The slaves who became priests, retained the dissimulation and cowardice, which are the vices of slaves. The sons of barbarians who

\* "Freely ye have received, freely give." *Matt. x. 8.*—TRANSLATOR.

† *Prodrom. l. l. c. 36; l. ii. c. 11.*

became bishops, often remained barbarians. A violent and gross spirit pervaded the Church. The monastic schools of Lerins, St. Maixent, Reomé, and the island of Barbe had declined in renown; the episcopal schools of Autun, Vienne, Poitiers, Bourges, and Auxerre remained—but unnoted. Councils were held more and more seldom; from fifty-four in the sixth century, and twenty in the seventh, they dwindled down to seven only in the first half of the eighth century.

#### THE CELTIC CHURCH.

The spiritual genius of the Church found shelter with the monks; and the monastic state was an asylum for her, as she had been for society. The monasteries of Ireland and Scotland, better preserved from intermixture with the Germans, attempted to reform the Gallic clergy. Thus, in the first age of the Church, the spark which enlightened the whole west, had proceeded from Pelagius; and the Breton Faustus, who held the same doctrines with more moderation, opened the glorious school of Lerins. In the second age, it was still a Celt, but this time an Irishman, St. Columbanus, who undertook the reformation of Gaul. A word as to the Celtic church.

The Cymry of Britain and Wales—rationalists, and the Gaël of Ireland—poets and mystics, nevertheless exhibit throughout their entire ecclesiastical history one common character—the spirit of independence and opposition to Rome. They enjoyed a better understanding with the Greeks; and notwithstanding distance, revolutions, and manifold misfortunes, they long preserved relations with the churches of Constantinople and Alexandria. Pelagius is already a true son of Origen; and four centuries after him, the Irish Scotus translates the Greek fathers, and adopts the pantheism of Alexandria. In the seventh century, too, St. Columbanus defends the Greek time of holding Easter against the pope of Rome:—"The Irish," these are his words, "are better astronomers than you Romans."<sup>\*</sup> It was a disciple of his, also an Irishman, Virgil, bishop of Salzburg, who first affirmed the rotundity of the earth and the existence of the Antipodes. All the sciences were at this period cultivated with much renown in the Scotch and Irish monasteries. Their monks, called *Culdees*,<sup>†</sup> recognised hardly more of the hierarchical state than the modern Scotch presbyterians. They lived in societies of twelve, under an abbot of their own election;<sup>‡</sup> and their bishop, according to the strict etymological sense of the word, was only their overseer. Celibacy does not seem

to have been strictly observed in this church;<sup>\*</sup> which was, moreover, distinguished by a particular form of tonsure, and other singularities. Baptism was in Ireland performed with milk.<sup>†</sup>

The most celebrated establishment of the Culdees was that of Iona; founded as almost all their establishments were, on the ruins of the Druidical schools—Iona, the burial-place of seventy Scottish kings, the mother of monks, and the oracle of the West in the seventh and eighth centuries. She was the city of the dead, as Arles in Gaul, and Thebes in Egypt.

The war which the emperors had to wage against the numerous usurpers, who issued out of Britain in the latter ages of the empire,<sup>‡</sup> was continued by the popes against the Celtic heresy, against Pelagius, against the Scottish and Irish church. To this church, Greek in language and in spirit, Rome often opposed Greeks. As early as the commencement of the fifth century, she dispatched as her champion, Palladius, a Platonist of Alexandria;<sup>§</sup> but his doctrines were soon discovered to be as heterodox as those he denounced. Safer men were then sent—St. Lupus, St. Germain of Auxerre,<sup>||</sup> and his three disciples—Dabriceus, Iltnus, and St. Patricius, (Patrick,) the great Irish apostle. Of all the fables with which the life of the latter has been plentifully bedecked, the most incredible is the assertion that he found no knowledge of the Scriptures in a country which we have seen in so short a time covered with monasteries, and supplying the whole western world with missionaries. A truce was put to these religious quarrels by the invasion of the Saxons; but as soon as they were firmly established, the pope dispatched

<sup>\*</sup> The wives and children of the Culdees claimed a share of the gifts offered on the altar. Low, p. 305.

<sup>†</sup> Carpenter, Suppl. au Gloss. de Domange. In *Hyemath* hoc adhibetur fuisse ad baptizandos divites filios, qui dum baptizabantur, toties est bened. abbas Petrusburg. t. I. p. 28. (Infants were thrice plunged in water, or in milk, if the parents were wealthy. The children of the rich were also baptized at home. The Council of Osnab. a. n. 1571, ordains baptism to be performed in the church.) We learn that the child might be baptized in the mother's womb, from the words, (Ex Concil. Neocomaricensi in vet. Fursacensis.) "Fragrans mulier baptizatur, et postea infans." *Ibidem* bishops were common in Ireland. O'Halloran, vol. III.—In the ninth century, the Bretons appropriated to the Anglo-Breton Church in their liturgy and discipline. Louis the Debonnaire, observing that the monks of the Abbey of Landevenec wore their tonsure after the form of the Insular Bretons, ordered them to conform in this, as in all other things, to the decisions of the Roman Church. D. Lehnens. Preuves, II. 26. D. Morice, Preuves, I. 222.

<sup>‡</sup> St. Jerome styles Britain—"a province fertile in tyrants."

<sup>§</sup> Low, under the year 451, following *Æneas Gemonius*, in *Theophrastus*.

<sup>||</sup> St. Lupus was born at Toul, married the sister of St. Hilary, the bishop of Arles; was a monk at Lerins, and then bishop of Troyes. St. Germain, born at Auxerre, was at first duke of the troops of the Armorican and Nervian marches. On his return to Auxerre, he addicted himself wholly to hunting; and raised trophies to commemorate his success in the chase. St. Amator, bishop of that town, banished him, then converted him, and ordained him priest in his own diocese. St. Genevieve and St. Patrick were his disciples. St. Germain and St. Martin—the hunter and the soldier—were the two most popular saints of France. St. Hubert, however, subsequently became the patron saint of hunters.

<sup>\*</sup> There are two spots in the Isle of Anglesey still called the Astronomer's Ring, (*corrige-trwydd*), and the Astronomer's Town, (*cor-adrin*). Rowland, *Mona Antiqua*, p. 84. Low, *Hist. of Scotland*, p. 277.

<sup>†</sup> God's solitaires. *Dens*, and *celars*, and *cells*, have analogous roots in Latin and Celtic.

<sup>‡</sup> Domange, II.—Low, p. 315.

St. Augustin, a monk of the Benedictine order, for the conversion of Britain. The Romish missionaries succeeded with the Anglo-Saxons, and began that spiritual conquest which was to have such great results; while from the monastery of Iona, founded exactly at this same period by St. Colomba, there issued his celebrated disciple, St. Columbanus,\* the boldness of whose zeal against Brunehaut has been already related. For a moment Gaul was re-attached to the principles of the Irish church, by this ardent and impetuous missionary.

The fall of the children of Sigebert and Brunehaut, and the reunion of Austrasia with Neustria, presented a favorable opportunity. In Neustria, and throughout the whole south of Gaul, as the traces of invasion disappeared, the Germans melted into the Gallic and Roman population. The vigor of the ancient races revived. Neustria had repulsed Austrasia under Fredegunda, and had annexed that province to herself under Clotaire—which prince, as well as his son, Dagobert, less Franks than Romans, must have favored the progress of the Celtic church, whose discipline and learning put to shame the barbarism into which her Gallic sister had sunk.

When St. Columbanus first visited Gaul, he had twelve companions only; but he seems to have been followed by a swarm of monks, who peopled the monasteries founded by these first apostles. We see the saint at first settling in the deepest solitudes of the Vosges, on the ruins of a pagan temple;† a circumstance which his biographer notices to have occurred with regard to all the religious houses which he founded. The nobles of this part of Gaul soon sent their children thither;‡ but he was disturbed by the jealousy of the bishops, to whom the strangeness of the Irish rites lent a colorable cause of attack.§ His bold remonstrances to Theoderic and Brunehaut brought on his expulsion from Luxeuil: but, led out of Gaul by the Loire, he re-entered it by the dominions of Clotaire II., who gave him an honorable reception. It was, indeed, of immense advantage to this prince to appear in the eyes

of the people as the protector of the saints, persecuted by his enemies. From France Columbanus passed into Switzerland, where his disciple, St. Gall, founded the famous monastery of this name. He finally settled in Italy with the Bavarian Agilulf, king of the Lombards, and built himself a retreat at Bobbio, where he remained till his death, notwithstanding the entreaties of the victorious Clotaire that he would return to him.\* It was from this spot that he addressed to the pope his eloquent but fantastical letters on the union of the Romish and Irish churches, in the name of the king and queen of the Lombards, at whose request he states that he writes. Perhaps, the opinions which he expresses on the superiority of the latter church were entertained by Clotaire and his son Dagobert likewise; since these princes raised in every direction monasteries after his rule. The Austrasian race of the Carolingians, on the contrary, sides devotedly with the pope, and makes all the monasteries conform to the rule of St. Benedict.

From the great schools of Luxeuil and Bobbio sprang the founders of multitudinous abbeys—St. Gall, mentioned above; Saints Magnus and Theodore, the first abbots of Kempten and Fuesen, near Augsburg; St. Attalus of Bobbio; St. Romaric of Remiremont; St. Omer, St. Bertin, St. Amand, the three apostles of Flanders; and St. Wandril, related to the Carolingians, and founder of the great school of Fontenelle in Normandy, which in its turn was to be the metropolis of numerous others. It was Clotaire II. who raised St. Amand to the episcopal bench; and Dagobert had his son baptized by this saint. Dagobert's minister, St. Eloi, founded Solignac in Limousin, whence proceeded St. Remachus, the great bishop of Lausanne. He had said one day to Dagobert—"My lord, grant me this gift that I may make it into a ladder, by which you and I may ascend to heaven."†

Simultaneously with these schools, learned virgins opened others for those of their own sex. Not to mention the schools of Poitiers, of Arles, and of Maubeuge—where St. Aldegondia wrote her revelations,‡ the abbess of Nivelles, St. Gertrude, had repaired to Ireland§ for the advantages of study; and St. Bertilla, abbess of Chelles, was so celebrated, that numerous disciples of both sexes flocked around her from all parts of Gaul and of Great Britain.¶

What was the new rule to which this crowd of monasteries was subjected? The Benedictines ask no better than to persuade us that it

\* St. Columbanus explains the mystical affinity of his name with the *jeune* and *heros* of the Scriptures, signifying—*young*. *Reb. Max. PP. iii. 28. 31.*

† *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. i. 12. Vita S. Columb. abbasque fore equit. Invenitque castrum . . . Luxeuium . . . .* *Ita magnam lapideum domus vicinis cultus denotant, quæ cultu miserabili ritibus potius vetustis pagano- rum temporibus honorabant.*

‡ *Ibid. S. solitudo liter. unique concurrere n. t. t. t. t. t.*

§ The eloquent reply to a council, assembled in judgment on him, has been handed down to us. *Reb. Max. PP. iii. 28. 31.* "I only beseech of your goodness that as I am not the author of these differences, with regard to Easter, but have come hither for the sake of God and of Christ the Master of us all, you would peacefully and charitably allow me to live silently in these forests, near the abode of our seventeen deceased brothers, as it has been hitherto allowed me to live among you these twelve years. My prayer is, that this earth of Gaul may receive together in its bosom those who, if found deserving, the kingdom of heaven will together receive. I confess the secrets of my conscience—that I hold to the traditions of my own land, &c."

\* *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. i. 21.*

† *Georg. Dagoberti c. 17. sup. ap. Per. R. Fr. ii. 395. Marti. Figa. Vita. Ibid. iii. 552. 556. Hanc mihi, domino mi rex serenissimus concedit quo possim et mihi et illi sedem construere per quam invenimus ad celestia regna uterque ascendere.*

‡ This work is lost.

§ *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. i. 654. 655.*

¶ *Ibid. iii. 24. 25.*

\* *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. i. prelat.*—It was the interest of the Church of Rome to suppress the writings of an enemy,



was that of St. Benedict; and the very passages they quote clearly prove the contrary. For instance, we find nuns entreating St. Donatus, a disciple of St. Columbanus, who had been made bishop of Besançon, to draw up for them a code of rules, founded on those of St. Cæsarius of Arles, of St. Benedict, and of St. Columbanus. St. Projectus did the same for other nuns. The rules, therefore, were not identical.

The rule of St. Columbanus, which is opposed in this point to that of St. Benedict, does not make regular labor obligatory, but compels the monk to the repetition of an enormous number of prayers. Generally speaking, it does not bear that imprint of decision, so highly characteristic of the other. It similarly enjoins obedience, but does not leave punishment to the abbot's discretion; specifying with minute and curious precision the penalty for each offence. There is much in this strange penal code to scandalize the modern reader. It prescribes "a year's penance for the monk who has lost a consecrated wafer—for the monk who has fallen with a woman two days' bread and water, but only one day's if he knew it not to be a sin."<sup>6</sup> Its general tendency is mystical, the legislator paying more regard to the thoughts than the acts. "We must estimate," are his words, "a monk's chastity by his thoughts; what avails his being a virgin in body, if he be not one in mind!"<sup>†</sup>

This reform, doubly remarkable, both by its brilliancy and its connection with the awaken-

ing of the conquered races in Gaul, was, however, far from satisfying the real wants of the world. Pious practices and mystical impulses were not the only things needed, when barbarism pressed so heavily on man, and a new invasion threatened on the Rhine. St. Benedict understood better what the epoch required—a humbler and more laborious monachism, to clear the land, left to run waste and uncultivated, and to clear as well the mind of the barbarians. Far from opposing Rome, the natural centre of Roman and ecclesiastical civilization, it was required to rally around her. But the Irish church, animated by an untameable spirit of individuality and of opposition, agreed neither with Rome nor with herself. St. Gall, the principal disciple of St. Columbanus, refused to follow him into Italy, remained in Switzerland, and labored there independently of his master.\* St. Columbanus occupied himself in Italy with combating the Arianism of the East—*which was turning to a bygone world and the past, instead of looking towards Germany and the future.* While on the Rhine, he at one time entertained the idea of converting the Suevi, and, afterwards, thought of undertaking that of the Slaves; but he was dissuaded in a dream by an angel, who, tracing a map of the world, pointed out Italy to him.† This want of sympathy with the Germans, and of relish for the obscure task of converting them, is the condemnation of St. Columbanus, and of the Celtic church. The Anglo-Saxon missionaries, submissive disciples of Rome, proceeded, with the aid of the Austrasian dynasty, to gather in Germany that harvest, which Ireland could not, or would not gather.‡

#### EQUAL WEAKNESS OF THE CELTIC CHURCH AND OF THE MONARCHY.

The powerlessness of the Celtic church, its want of unity, is paralleled by that of the monarchy which at this period nominally prevailed throughout Gaul, and whose death-struggle ap-

who had left in the memory of the people so great a reputation for sanctity, and thus most of St. Columbanus's works have perished. Some were still to be found in the sixteenth century at Besançon and Bobbio; but are said to have been transferred to the libraries of Rome and Milan.

\* Bibl. Max. PP. xii. p. 2. *Si quis monachus dormierit in una domo cum muliere, duos dies in pane et aqua; si nocivum quod non debet, unum diem.*

(Surely, the author's translation strains the point. The text says—"For the monk who shall sleep in one (or the same) house with a woman," &c.; which is certainly not identical with sinning with a woman. Besides, the context, "if he knew not that he was committing a sin," seems conclusive as to the meaning. No monk could be so ignorant as not to know that he had undertaken the vow of chastity.)

—TRANSLATOR.

† Id. *ibid.* *Castitas vera monachi in cogitationibus judicatur . . . et quid prodest virgo corporis, si non sit virgo mente!*—The basis of the discipline is absolute obedience until death. "What limit shall we prescribe to obedience? Death, assuredly, since Christ obeyed his Father, for our sake, until death." What is the measure of prayer: *Erat vera orandi traditio, ut possibilibus ad hoc destinatis sine fastidio voti prevaleat.*—"A year's penance for him who loses a consecrated wafer; six months for him who suffers it to be eaten by mice; twenty days for him who lets it turn red; forty days for him who contemptuously flings it into water; twenty days for him who brings it up through weakness of stomach; but, if through illness, ten days. He who neglects his Amen to the Benedictus, who speaks when eating, who forgets to make the sign of the cross on his spoon, (qui non signaverit cochlear quo lambit), or on a lantern lighted by a younger brother, is to receive six or twelve stripes, as the case may be, repeat twelve psalms, &c.—A hundred stripes for him who does a work apart; ten for him who strikes the table with his knife, or spills his beer; fifty for him who does not kneel to prayer, who has sung badly, has coughed while chanting the psalms, who has smiled during prayer-time, or who amuses himself by story-telling.—He who relates a sin for which he has already done penance, is to be put on bread and water for a . . ." (Is this to hinder one from recalling the feeling of temptations?)

\* To excuse himself from following Columbanus into Italy, St. Gall pretended that he was laboring under fever.—"St. Columbanus, judging that he was detained by the liking he had taken to the country, and a wish to labor there, and so shunned the fatigue of longer travel, said to him, 'I know, my brother, that it is a burden to thee to go through such great labors for me, and I take leave of thee, solemnly charging thee not to presume to any man, so long as I dwell in the flesh.' " A bear waited on St. Gall in his solitude, and brought him wood for his fire. St. Gall gives him a loaf—"By this covenant, have the mountains and hills around in common with me." A poetic symbol of the alliance between man and living nature, in the desert.

† *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. sec. II. Cogitatio in montem Irault, at Vesetorum, qui et Slavi dicuntur, terminus est.* Angustinus Domini ei per visum apparuit, parvoque ambo, velut in paginâ solent stylo orbis describere circums, mundi compagem monstravit, &c.

‡ The Bollandists very justly observe, that there is the same difference between the rule of St. Columbanus and that of St. Benedict, as between those of the Franciscans and Dominicans. It is the opposition between the law and grace. The order of St. Benedict was to prevail, not, over the RATIONALISM of the Frisians; St. Gall, over the SUPERSTITION of St. Columbanus. It gave rise to FANN LANCE; the want of which was the great sore of the crumbling empire.

pears to begin with the demise of Dagobert; under whom, it is probable that the influence of the ecclesiastics was superior to that of the nobles. The priests by whom we see him surrounded, must have followed the traditions of the ancient Neustrian government in the struggle of that country with Austrasia; that is to say, with the country of the barbarians, and of the aristocracy. When the famous mayor of the palace, Ebroin, sent to consult St. Ouen, the bishop of Rouen, Dagobert's old minister instantly answered—"Remember Fredegunda."\*

The nobles at first missed their game in Austrasia, under the third Sigebert, the son of Dagobert. The mayor, Pepin, had been succeeded by his son Grimoald; and the latter, at Sigebert's death, had attempted to make one of his own children king. He was seconded by Dido, bishop of Poitiers, uncle to the famous St. Leger—both uncle and nephew being the heads of the party of the nobility of the south. The rightful king was but three years old, and such a child was easily put out of the way—Dido took him over to Ireland. But the freemen of Austrasia plotted against Grimoald, arrested him, and sent him to Paris, to the king of Neustria, Clovis II., a son of Dagobert, who put both him and his son to death.

The three kingdoms were thus united under Clovis II., or rather, under Erchinoald, mayor of the palace of Neustria. During the minority of that monarch's three sons, this very Erchinoald, and, after him, the famous Ebroin, filled the same office, supporting themselves with the name and sacred character of Bathilda, widow of Clovis—a Saxon slave, whom he had raised to the throne. These mayors, the rivals of the nobility, set up against the latter—to the satisfaction of the people—a slave and a saint.

What was the exact nature of this office of *mayors of the palace*? M. Sismondi cannot believe the mayor to have been originally a royal officer; but sees in him a popular magistrate, instituted for the protection of freemen, like the justiza of Arragon. This compound of tribune and judge may have been called *mordom*, the judge of murder; and these German words may have been easily confounded with the name of *major domus*, and so the mayors, ship likened to the office of the ancient count of the imperial palace. No doubt the mayor was often elected, and even at an early period—in time of a minority, or when the royal authority was enfeebled. But there can also be no doubt that he was chosen by the monarch, at least, up to Dagobert's time.† These fa-

miliar with the spirit of the German *family*, will not be surprised at finding in the mayor an officer of the palace; since, according to its sentiments and feelings, domesticity gives nobility. All offices considered servile by the southern nations, are accounted honorable by the northern; and, in truth, they are elevated among the latter by personal devotion. In the *Nibelungen*, the master of the kitchen, Rumolt, is one of the leading warriors. At the coronation feasts of the emperors, the electors deemed it honorable to be the bearers of the oat-beer, and to lay the dishes on the table. Among the German nations, whoever is great in the palace is great with the people. The *greatest man* (major) of the palace, as a thing of course, is the first among the leuds, their chief in war, their judge in peace. Now, at a period when the freemen were interested in being under royal protection, (*in trustee regia*), and to become antrustions and leuds—the judge of the leuds must gradually have become judge of the people.\*

elect Gogo to the office." Greg. Tur. *epitom.* c. 58.—A. D. 628. "On the death of Gunduld, king Dagobert appointed the illustrious Erconaldus, *major domus*."—A. D. 636. "When Erconald deceased, the Franks, after doubt, determine on making Ebroin, in the height of his honor, *major domo* in the royal palace." (Dagobert was dead, and they had elected Clovis III. king.) *Gesta Reg. Fr.* c. 42, 43.—A. D. 638. "Clovis II., met by the nobles and leuds of Burgundy at Troyes, having asked them whom they would wish to elect as successor in his high rank to Warnacharius, they all, paying their court to the king, unanimously denied that they had any desire to choose the *major domus*." *Fredegar.* c. 54. *ap. Ser. R. Fr.* II. 435.—A. D. 641. "Fluorhatus, a Frank by birth, is honorably raised to the high post of *major domus*, by queen Nantchild, having been elected to it by the bishops and all the dukes." *Id. c.* 59 *ibid.* 447.—M. Peritz, in his work entitled *Geschichte der Merovingischen Hausmeier*, (1819), has collected the several styles by which the mayors of the palace were designated, viz.:—*Major domus regis, domus regalis, domus, domus palatii, domus in palatio, palatii, in aula, Senes domus, Princeps domus, Princeps palatii, Præpositus palatii, Præfectus domus regis, Præfectus palatii, Præfectus aulae, Rector palatii, Nutritus et bajulus regis, Fredegar. c. 54, Rector aulae, imo totius regni, gubernator palatii, Moderator palatii, Dux palatii, Custos palatii et tutor regni, Subregulus*—Thus we see the mayor becoming almost the king; and to express governing the kingdom, the phrase used was governing the palace.—"Bathilda regina, que cum Chlotario filio Francorum regabat palatium," queen Bathilda governed the palace of the Franks together with her son, Clovis.

\* "The usurpation of the mayors closely resembles that of the great officers in some of the Asiatic monarchies. In the twelfth century the sovereign power in Japan was engrossed by the general in chief, and only the ecclesiastical supremacy left to the king.—Towards the end of the seventeenth century the rajah of Mattarah, chief of the Mahratta empire, was set aside by the chief minister, the *poohnah*, who made his office hereditary in his own family, and reduced the power of the prince to a mere name. This happened to the second rajah in succession after Bessager the founder of that empire.—So too in Tonquin, the *chuvua* appears to be the real governor, and the king a nominal functionary.—Again, at Bagdad, in the ninth century, the calif was only the nominal sovereign, the *Ameer ul Omrah*, a Turkish general ruling in his name. The incident and effeminate habits of the Eastern princes in all these cases have produced the same effects with the weakness of the Merovingian kings, and the usurpers have in both Asia and Europe been enabled to accomplish their designs by their influence with the soldiery, or the support of the chiefs, or both. The superstitious regard for the reigning family appears to have in each instance produced the same effect, of preventing, for a length of time, an open and avowed usurpation." Lord Brougham's *Political Philosophy*, &c. II. p. 373.—TRANSLATOR.

\* *Gesta Reg. Fr.* c. 45. Ad bestum Audendum dicitur quod et consili daret, intermedium. At ille per intermedium hoc adum scripto digne no, ut. De Fredegunda tunc observant in mercurium. At ille, ingenuus ut erat in telusit.

† *Vita S. Leodegarii, c. 1* *et ap. Ser. R. Fr.* II. 611, *seq.*—*Fredegar. contin. ibid.* 430.

‡ *Ser. R. Fr.* II. 469.

§ "When Sigebert was a child, and all the Austrasians chose Erchinoald, *major domus*, on his disapproval, they

The mayor Ebroin undertook impossibilities. At a time when the universal tendency was towards separation, he sought to establish unity; and when the nobles were in every direction asserting their independent power, he endeavored to found royalty. His plans would have been useful, had they been practicable. He appointed dukes and other chief officers to different provinces from those in which lay their possessions, slaves, and clients.\* Isolated by this means from their personal sources of power, they would have been mere dependents on the king, and could not have rendered their offices hereditary in their families. In addition to this stroke of policy, Ebroin seems to have striven to consolidate the different laws and customs of the nations composing the Frankish empire: an attempt which was regarded as tyrannical,† and which at the time, in fact, was so.

Hence Austrasia slipped out of Ebroin's hands—demanding a king, mayor, and government of her own. The nobles, too, of Austrasia and Burgundy—among others, St. Leger, bishop of Autun, the nephew of Dido, bishop of Poitiers, (both friends of the Pepins,‡) march against Ebroin in the name of the young Childeric II., king of Austrasia.§ Ebroin, deserted by the Neustrian nobles, is compelled to enter the monastery of Luxeuil. St. Leger was little advantaged by the revolution which he had aided in bringing about. He was accused, wrongfully or rightfully, of having aspired to the throne, in concert with the Roman Victor, the sovereign patrician of Marseilles, who was at Childeric's court on matters of business.¶ The northern nobles inspired the latter with a natural mistrust of the leader of the nobles of the south; and St. Leger was confined in the same monastery that he had imprisoned Ebroin in. This treatment evidences the improvement in manners; for, under the first Merovingian monarchs, such a suspicion would have infallibly drawn down capital punishment.

However, the Austrasian Childeric had hardly breathed the air of Neustria before he, too, became offensive to the nobles. In a fit of

passion, he had one of them, named Bodilo, beaten with rods; and this treatment of one of their number as a slave exasperated the whole body. Childeric II. was assassinated in the forest of Chelles; and the murderers did not even spare his pregnant wife and infant son.\*

Ebroin and St. Leger left Luxeuil, apparently reconciled; but they soon parted to take advantage of the two revolutions which had just been brought about in Austrasia and Neustria. The parts were changed. While St. Leger and the nobles triumphed in Neustria through Childeric's death, the freemen of Austrasia had sent to Ireland for that child (Dagobert II.) whom the Pepins had formerly removed to a distance in the hope of securing the throne for themselves; and, placing Ebroin at the head of an army, they brought him in triumph back to Neustria, where he had St. Leger degraded, blinded, and finally put to death, (A. D. 673,) on the charge of having counselled Childeric's murder. At this very moment, another Merovingian was slain in Austrasia by the friends of St. Leger; where the two Pepins and Martin, grandsons of Arnulf, bishop of Metz, and nephews of Grimoald, had Dagobert II., the freemen's king, that is, the king chosen by the party allied with Ebroin, condemned by a council and poniarded. Ebroin avenged Dagobert, as he had avenged Childeric. He allured Martin to a conference, at which he had him assassinated; and was himself slain soon afterwards by a noble Frank, whom he had threatened with death.†

This remarkable man had, like Fredegunda, successfully defended western France, and retarded for twenty years the triumph of the Austrasian nobles. His death delivered Neustria into their hands, his successors being defeated by Pepin at Testry, between St. Quentin and Peronne.‡

At first, no change of dynasty followed this victory of the nobles over the popular party, of German over Roman Gaul. Pepin adopted the very king, in whose name Ebroin and his successors had fought. However, the battle of Testry may be considered the fall of the family of Clovis; for it matters little that it still retains the title of king in some obscure monastic retreat. Henceforward, the name of the Merovingian princes will only be cited as the symbol of a party; and they will soon cease to be employed even as instruments. The last stage of decay is come.

According to an old legend, Clovis's father had carried off Basina, the wife of the king of Thuringia:—"She said to him on the first

\* Vita S. Leodegarii, c. 1. ap. Scr. R. Fr. II. 612.

† Ibid. "The universal cry to king Childeric is, that he should shape his laws for his three kingdoms, so that the laws or customs of each should be preserved and respected, as they were by the judges in time past."

‡ Vita S. Leodeg. *passim*.

§ With the differences betwixt St. Leger and Ebroin was mixed up a national quarrel—a rivalry between two cities. St. Leger, bishop of Autun, had the bishop of Lyons on his side, (Vita 1<sup>o</sup> S. Leodeg. c. 8. 11.) and against him the bishops of Valence and Châlons, (c. 9.) which two cities made war in this manner on their rivals, the two capitals of Burgundy.—When St. Leger had voluntarily surrendered to his enemies, Autun was nevertheless obliged to ransom herself. The bishop of Lyons would also have been forced to fly, had not the Lyonnese taken up arms in his defence, (c. 11.) It is clear that the cities bore an active part in the quarrel.

¶ Vita S. Leodeg. c. 5. Vir quidam nobilis, Hictor vocatus nomine, qui tunc reprobata fascibus Patriciatum Mississile . . . ad Hildericum regem pro quidam causâ advenerat. . . . Mendacem fabulam de Leodegario et Hictore confingunt, quasi idcirco insimul fuissent conjuncti ut regiam dominationem everterent, et potestatis jura stituerent superant.

\* Gest. Reg. Fr. c. 45.

† Vita 1<sup>o</sup> S. Leodeg. c. 16. "He took opportunities of fleeing a certain nobleman, at the time at the head of the tax-department, so as to strip him of almost all his goods; and he then threatened him with death as well."—M. de Sismondi does not seem to have given this passage its exact signification.

‡ Annal. Metenses, A. D. 680.—Cassin. Fredeg. c. 100.—Cassin. Metenses. ap. Scr. R. Fr. II. 628.

night, when they were in bed together, 'Let us refrain; rise, and what thou shalt see in the court-yard of the palace, that thou shalt tell to thy servant.' Having risen, he saw as it were lions, unicorns, and leopards walking about. He returned, and told what he had seen. The woman then said to him—'Go again, and return to thy servant.' He went, and saw this time bears and wolves. The third time, he saw dogs and other sorry beasts. They passed the night chastely, and when they rose Basina said to him—'What thou hast seen with thy eyes is based on truth. A lion will be born to us—the leopard and the unicorn typify his brave sons. Of them, will be born bears and wolves for courage and greed. The dogs signify the last kings, and the crowd of petty beasts those who shall harass the people left unprotected by their kings.'"<sup>\*</sup>

The Merovingians, indeed, rapidly degenerate. Of the four sons of Clovis, one alone, Clotaire, leaves issue. Of Clotaire's four sons, but one has children. They who come after, die almost all young. It would appear as if they were a peculiar race; for every Merovingian is a father at fifteen, and decrepit at thirty years of age. Most indeed do not live so long. Charibert II. died when twenty-five; Sigebert II. when twenty-six; Clovis II. when twenty-three; Childeric II. when twenty-four; Clotaire III. when eighteen; and Dagobert II. when twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age, &c. The symbol of the race are the *nerveless* ones of Jumièges—those young princes whose joints have been divided, and who are borne in a boat by the river's current towards the ocean, but are saved and sheltered in a monastery.

Who has cut the nerves and bruised the bones of these children of barbaric kings!—naught else than the precocious entrance of their fathers into the riches and luxuries of that world of Rome which they invaded. Civilization bestows on man knowledge and gratifications; and knowledge and the pursuits of intellectual life counterbalance in cultivated minds the enervating effects of these gratifications. But barbarians suddenly transported into a state of civilization for which they are unprepared, only clutch at its gratifications. There is nothing surprising, therefore, in their being absorbed by it, and melting away in it, so to speak, as snow before a blazing fire.

The poor old historian Fredegarius, in his rude language, sorrows over this decay of the Merovingian world. After stating that he will attempt to continue Gregory of Tours, he goes on to say—"Would that I were gifted with such a portion of eloquence, that I might be

but a little equal to the task. But where the fountain is not ever flowing, the jar will still fail to be filled. The world is growing old, and our faculties are on the decline, nor can any one of this day—nor would he presume to affect it—be like the orators of past times."<sup>†</sup>

## CHAPTER II.

### THE CARLOVINGIANS.—EIGHTH, NINTH, AND TENTH CENTURIES.

"THE man of God (St. Columbanus) having gone unto Theodebert and advised him—putting aside arrogance and presumption—to turn priest, enter the bosom of the Church, and humble himself to holy religion, lest, in addition to the loss of his temporal kingdom, he should forfeit life eternal—the king, and those who were with him, were moved to laughter, saying, that such a thing as a Merovingian, raised to the throne, turning priest, had never been heard of. And all being highly offended at his words, the saint added, 'He despises the honorable post of priest; well, he shall be one in spite of himself.'"<sup>‡</sup>

### ECCLESIASTICAL ORIGIN OF THE CARLOVINGIANS.

The foregoing illustrates one of the main distinctions between the first and second races. The Merovingians enter the Church in their own despite; the Carolingians voluntarily. The head of the latter family is Arnulf, bishop of Metz, and his son Chlodulf succeeds to that see. Arnulf's brother is abbot of Bobbio; his grandson, St. Wandrill. The whole family is closely united with St. Leger. Carloman, brother of Pepin le Bref, enters Monte-Cassino as monk; his two other brothers are, one, archbishop of Rouen; the other, abbot of St. Denis. Charlemagne's cousins—Adalhard, Wala, and Bernard, are monks. Drogo, Louis the Debonnaire's brother, is bishop of Metz; and three other brothers of his are monks or priests. The great saint of the south, St. Gulielmus of Toulouse, is both cousin and preceptor of Charlemagne's eldest son. This ecclesiastical turn of the Carolingians explains their strict union with the pope, and their predilection for the order of St. Benedict.

Arnulf is said to have been born of an Aquitanian father, and Suevian mother; § and his

\* Greg. Tur. epitom. ap. Scr. R. Fr. II. 397.—Basina has the gift of second sight, like Brunhild in the Yggdrasil; and, like her, throws herself into the arms of the bravest—"I know your worth, how valiant you are, and therefore am come to dwell with thee. Knowest thou not, that if I had known any worthier than thou beyond the sea, him and his emblems would I have sought?" Id. II. 169.

† Fredegarius, ap. Scr. R. Fr. II. 414. *Optavimus et ego ut mihi succumberet talis discordia, ut vel paululum esset ad iustitiam. Sed carius habuitur, ubi non est parvitas agere. Mandus jam concepit, idcirco prudenter arces in nobis sepevit, nec quinquam potuit hujus temporis, nec parvitas concubitus procedentibus esse committit.*

‡ Alphonse enim nunquam ex auditis Merovingum, in regno sublimatum, voluntarium clericum fuisse. Detestatus ergo omnibus, etc. Vita S. Columb. in Actis Ord. S. Ben. ser. II. p. 17.

§ Is a life of St. Arnold, by one Umno, who asserts that

father is made out to be one of the Ferreoli, and son-in-law of Clotaire the First—a genealogy which appears to have been fabricated in order to connect the Carolingians, on the one hand, with the Merovingian dynasty, and, on the other, with the most illustrious family of Roman Gaul.\* However this may be, I can easily suppose that from the frequent intermarriages of the Austrasians and Aquitanians,† the Carolingians in reality sprang from both races.

This episcopal house of Metz‡ combined two advantages, which were certain to secure it the monarchy. On the one hand, it was bound up with the Church; on the other, it was settled in the most Germanized country of Gaul. Besides, fortune in every way favored it. Royalty had become a cipher; the freemen daily decreased in numbers; the great alone, the leuds and bishops, grew in power and strength. In such a state of things, the chief authority must naturally pass into the hands of him who was at once one of the large proprietors, and the chief of the leuds; and it furthermore became a natural consequence that these various requisites should centre in one of the great episcopal and Austrasian families, that is to say, in a family at once friendly to the Church and the barbarians. That Church which had summoned Clovis and his Franks against the Goths, necessarily favored the Austrasians against Neustria, when the latter, under an Ebroin, sought to organize a lay power in counterpoise to the clergy.

The battle of Teutry, which was the victory of the nobles over the royal authority, or at least over the name of king, served to complete, proclaim, and legitimate the dissolution of the empire; so that all the nations must have seen in it the judgment of God upon its unity. The

south—Aquitaine and Burgundy—ceased to be France; and, as early as Charles Martel's time, these countries were termed *Roman*: he penetrated, say the Chronicles, even into Burgundy. Eastward and northward, there was no reason why the German dukes, why the Frisians, Saxons, Suevi, and Bavarians, should submit to the duke of the Austrasians, who, perhaps, could not have conquered without them. Pepin found himself isolated by his very victory; and he at once sought to support himself by means of the very party which he had overcome, that of Ebroin, whose object was the maintenance of the unity of Gaul. He married his son to a powerful matron, widow of the last mayor, and dear to the party of the freemen.\* Abroad, he endeavored to bring back under Frankish influence, the German tribes who had thrown it off—the Frisians in the north, the Suevi in the south. But his endeavors fell far short of restoring the unity of the empire. His death but rendered matters worse. He was succeeded in the mayoralty, nominally, by his grandson Theobald, in reality by his widow Plectrude; and the king, Dagobert III., still a child, was subjected to a mayor, who was also a child, and both to a woman. The Neustrians easily freed themselves. Austrasia was left a prey to the first spoiler. She was laid waste by the Frisians and Neustrians, and the Saxons overran her German possessions.

#### CHARLES MARTEL. (A. D. 716-741.)

Trampled on by every nation, the Austrasians put aside Plectrude and her son, and drew out of prison a bastard son of Pepin's, the valiant Carl, surnamed Martel, (the Hammer,) to whom Pepin had left nothing—as an accursed scion, odious to the Church, being sullied with the blood of a martyr. St. Lambert, bishop of Liege, had one day, at the royal table, expressed his contempt for Alpaide, Carl's mother, and Pepin's mistress. Alpaide's brother broke into the episcopal mansion, and slew the bishop at his prayers. Grimoald, Pepin's son and heir, having gone on a pilgrimage to St. Lambert's tomb, was slain there; undoubtedly, by friends of Alpaide's. Carl himself was notoriously hostile to the Church; and, from his Pagan name of *Martel*, I should doubt his being a Christian. We know that the hammer is the attribute of Thor—the sign of Pagan compact, as well as that of property and of barbaric conquest.† This circumstance would explain how an empire, exhausted under preceding reigns, could suddenly furnish such armies both against the Saxons and the Saracens. These very men, lured to take up arms under Carl, by the attraction of the wealth of the Church which he lavished upon them, might very well adopt by degrees the belief of their new country, and

he undertakes it by command of Charlemagne, his genealogy is so given:—*Carolus . . . cui fuerat tritavus Arnulfus regem Chlotharium; cuius filium, Balthildem nomine, Anspertus, vir Aquitanicus prepositus divitiis et genere, in matrimonium accepit, de qua Burgisum genuit, patrem B. huius Arnulfi.*—And further on, *Natus est B. Arnulfus Aquitanico patre; Suevia matre in castro Lacedani (Lay, diocese of Tulle) in comitatu Calvimontensi.*

\* See Lefebvre, *Disquisition*, et Valous, *R. Fr. I. viii. and xvii.* We read in an old life of St. Ferreol—"The holy Ferreolus was born at Narbonne, and of noble parentage; his father, Anspertus, being of high senatorial descent, received in marriage Bithil, daughter of Clotaire, king of the Franks.—The monk *Ægidius*, in his additions to the history of the bishops of Utrecht, compiled by Abbot Hariger, says that Bodegiall or Boggis, Anspert's son, held five duchies in Aquitaine. According to this genealogy, the wars of Charles Martel with Eudes, and of Pepin with Hunald, were wars between relatives.

† See the important charter of 845. (*Hist. du Lang. i. preuves*, p. 65, and notes, p. 668.) Boggis and Bertrand, dukes of Aquitaine, married Oda and Bithgerta, Austrasians. Eudes, son of Boggis, married Waltrude, an Austrasian. These marriages afforded St. Hubert, Eudes' brother, the opportunity of settling in Austrasia, under Pepin's protection, and founding there the bishopric of Liege.

‡ Within a century and a half the Carolingian house gave three bishops to Metz—Arnulf, Chrodulf, and Drogon. The bishops in these days being often married before they took orders, had no difficulty in transmitting their sees to their sons and grandsons. Thus the Apollinaris laid hereditary claim to the bishopric of Clermont. Gregory of Tours (*l. v. c. 38*, ap. *Scr. R. Fr. II. 364*) says of one who endeavored to supplant him in that see—"The wretch did not know that all the bishops of Tours have been chosen out of our family, with but five exceptions."

\* *Annal. Met. ap. Scr. R. Fr. II. 682.*

† See the Second Part.

a generation of soldiers for Pepin led Charlemagne. In this thoroughly ecclesiastical family of the Carolingians, the basely proscribed Carl, or Charles Martel, has a distinct physiognomy of his own, every un-Christian one.\*

First, the Neustrians, defeated by him at near Cambrai, summoned to their aid Aquitanians, who, since the dissolution of the Frankish empire, constituted a formidable

force. Eudes, their duke, advanced as far as Poitiers, and there formed a junction with the Aquitanians, who, notwithstanding his aid, lost the battle. Perhaps he might have prosecuted the war with advantage, had he not had an enshrouding fog, the Saracens, who, after conquering Spain, had seized Languedoc. Confident in the speed and indefatigable vigor of their African barbs, their innumerable cavalry sallied forth from the Roman and Gothic provinces of Narbonne, of which they had possession, upon the north, as far as Poitou and Bur-

gundy. The astonishing celerity of these Arabs, who pricked into every quarter, seem to multiply them. They soon made their numbers in larger numbers; and it began to be thought that, according to their usual practice, they had turned great part of the south of France into a desert, they would finally settle there, having sustained a defeat by them, had he not to his former antagonists, the Franks. A counter took place near Poitiers between the light African cavalry and the heavy battalions of the Franks, (A. D. 732 :) when the first, by their powerlessness against the mass of the latter, drew off during the night, so that loss it is impossible to say. But the opinion of the chroniclers of the period was decided by this solemn trial of prowess between the Franks of the north and those of the south; they concluded that the two races could not be hostile to each other without wholesale slaughter. Charles Martel pushed on to Languedoc,

failed to take Narbonne, entered Nîmes, and endeavored to burn the amphitheatre, which had been converted into a fortress. Marks of the fire are yet to be seen on its walls.

But danger did not threaten on the southern border alone. Invasions from the German side were much more formidable than this of the Saracens. The latter had settled in Spain; and intestine divisions soon kept them there. But the Frisians, Saxons, and Germans, were constantly attracted to the Rhine by the wealth of Gaul and the memory of their ancient invasions; and Charles Martel had to make repeated expeditions before he could repel and drive them within their own bounds. What soldiers did he use in these expeditions? The probability is that he must have recruited his armies in Germany. By distributing the spoils of the bishops and abbots of Neustria and Burgundy,\* he had a ready means of drawing warriors to his standard. Now, to get Germans to act against Germans, it behooved to make them Christians; and this explains how Charles finally became the friend of the popes, and their support against the Lombards. The pontifical missions created in Germany a Christian population friendly to the Franks. Each horde must have been divided: the Pagan portion would obstinately cling to the paternal soil, and their primitive life of the tribe; while the Christians supplied the armies of Charles Martel, Pepin, and Charlemagne.

\* Chronic. Viridun. ap. Ser. R. Fr. III. 364. "He so profusely lavished the public treasure, and was so liberal to his soldiers—whom it was the custom to call *soldarii*, (*soldarii*, *soldarii*?) we have seen that the *devoti* of Aquitaine were so called,) that not the treasure of the kingdom, not the plunder of cities, nor the spoiling of churches and monasteries, nor the tribute of the provinces, sufficed him. He even dared, when these sources failed, to seize the Church lands, and give them to his fellow-soldiers," &c.—*Frederick*, I. II. c. 12. "When Charles Martel had overcome his enemies, he expelled from his side the pious Rigobert, his godfather, who had held him on the holy baptismal font, and gave the bishopric of Reims to one Milo, who was no further a churchman than the tunic made him, but who had served him in war. This Charles Martel, the offspring of a slave, a concubine—as we read in the annals of the Frank kings—more audacious than all the kings his predecessors, gave not only the bishopric of Reims, but many others in the kingdom of France, to laymen and counts; so as to deprive the bishops of all power over the goods and affairs of the Church. But all the harm he had wrought on this holy man, and on the other churches of Christ, the Lord, by a just judgment, caused to revert on his own head. For we read in the writings of the Fathers, that St. Fulcherius, formerly bishop of Orleans, whose body rests in St. Trunk's monastery, being one day at prayer, absorbed in the meditation of heavenly things, was rapt into the other world, and there, through revelation of the Lord, saw Charles tormented in the lowest hell. When he inquired the cause of the angel who conducted him, the latter replied, that by the sentence of the saints who, on the last day, would hold the balance together with the Lord, he was condemned to everlasting punishment for having laid hands on their possessions. St. Fulcherius, on his return to this world, hastened to relate what he had seen to St. Boniface, who had been deputed by the holy see to re-establish canonical discipline in France, and to St. Fulbert, abbot of St. Denis, and the head of King Pepin's chaplain; telling them, in proof of the truth of what he related of Charles Martel, that, on searching his tomb, they would not find his body; and, in fact, when they went to his place of burial, and opened his tomb, a serpent issued out of it, and the tomb was found empty and blackened as if scorched by fire."

According to some authorities, France, at this period, was on the verge of lapsing into Paganism (see p. 32, ann. 742). "The Franks, as our report, have not held a synod for more than eighty years; have had no archbishop, nor have anywhere renewed the canons of the church."—*Hincmar*, I. c. 19. "In Carl's days, Christianity was almost extinct in the German, Belgic, and Gallic provinces; and, that in the eastern parts many worshipped idols, almost unheeded."

732, they took Caracassonne, levied a contribution on, and destroyed Autun. Chronic. Moutier ap. Ser. I. 636. In 731, they burnt the church of St. Hilary, etc. (Frederick, Contin. lib. 454.—*Gesta Reg. Fr.* I.)

According to Paul Diaconus, I. vi. the Saracens lost one hundred and seventy-five thousand men. Isidore described the war in barbarous Latin two and twenty lines for the battle. Part of his description is in rhyme, as in annotations, the annotation is also met with some of the Moderns, composed about the year

Abderraman multitudinem repletem  
Sui exercitus prospectum terrorem,  
Mittunt Vavurum dierum,  
Et fretum et plana periculis,  
Trans Francorum latus expeditur, &c.  
*Isidore*, *Recessus*, ap. Ser. R. Fr. II. 732.

The instrument of this great revolution was St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany. The Anglo-Saxon church, to which he belonged, was not like those of Ireland, of Gaul, or of Spain, the sister and equal of that of Rome, but the child of the popes. By this church, Roman in spirit,\* German in tongue, Rome laid her hand on Germany. St. Columbanus had disdained preaching to the Suevi. The Celts, in their hard spirit of opposition to the German race, could not be the instruments of its conversion. A more plastic and sympathetic element than the Celtic church, was required to win to Christianity the latest arrived barbarians. They had to be told of Christ in the name of Rome; that great name which had filled their ears for so many centuries. To convert Germany, the disinterested genius of Germany herself† was required to set the

world the example of submission to the hierarchy, and to teach it to resign itself for a second time to Roman centralization.

Winfried (this is the German name of Boniface) resigned himself unreservedly to the pope, and, under their auspices, plunged through barbarous nations into the vast pagan world of Germany. He was the Columbus and the Cortes of this unknown world; into which he penetrated with no other arms than his intrepid faith and the name of Rome. This heroic man, who crossed so often the sea, the Rhine, and the Alps, was the bond of the nations. It was through him that the Franks came to an understanding with Rome, and with the tribes of Germany. It was he, who by religion and civilization attached these roving tribes to the soil, and unconsciously prepared the road for the armies of Charlemagne, as the missionaries of the sixteenth century opened America to those of Charles the Fifth. He reared on the Rhine the metropolis of German Christianity—the church of Mentz, the church of the empire; and, farther on, the church of Cologne—the church of relics and the Holy city of the Low Countries. The young school of Fulda, founded by him in the heart of German barbarism, became the light of the West; and taught its masters. First archbishop of Mentz—he chose to hold of the pope the government of this new Christian world which he had himself called into existence. By his oath, he devoted himself and his successors to the prince of the apostles, “who alone has the right of bestowing the pallium on bishops.”‡ There is nothing servile in this submission. In his simplicity the good Winfried inquires of the pope whether it be true that he breaks the canons, and incurs the guilt of simony; and entreats him to put a stop to the pagan ceremonies still celebrated by the Roman people, to the great scandal of the Germans. But his chief hatred is to the Scots, (the name equally given to the Scotch and Irish,) and he especially condemns their allowing priests to marry. At one time he denounces to the pope the famous Virgil, bishop of Salzburg;§ at another, a priest named Samson, who disguised baptism. Clement, another Irishman,

\* Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. sec. III. Pope Zachary writes to St. Boniface—“The province in which you were born and brought up, where, among the Angles and Saxons in the island of Britain, the first preachers were sent from the apostolic see, Augustin, Laurence, Justus, and Honorius; and lately, in your time, Theodore, a Greco-Roman, a man of science, and taught philosophy at Athens, who received his ordination at Rome, was elevated by the pallium, and sent to the aforesaid Britain to judge and govern,” &c., &c.—“Theodore,” says Warton, (*Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, Dissertation II. p. 93, 94.) “originally a Greek priest, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, and sent into England by Pope Vitellian, in the year 668. He was skilled in the metrical art, astronomy, arithmetic, church-music, and the Greek and Latin languages. The new prelate brought with him a large library, as it was called and esteemed, consisting of numerous Greek and Latin authors; among which were Homer, in a large volume, written on paper with most exquisite elegance, the homilies of St. Chrysostom on parchment, the psalter, and Josephus’s *Hypomnesticon*, all in Greek. Theodore was accompanied into England by Adrian, a Neapolitan monk and a native of Africa, who was equally skilled in sacred and profane learning, and at the same time appointed to the abbey of St. Austlin’s at Canterbury. Bede informs us, that Adrian requested Pope Vitellian to confer the archbishopric on Theodore, and that the pope consented, on condition that Adrian, who had been twice in France, and on this account was better acquainted with the nature and difficulties of so long a journey, would conduct Theodore into Britain. They were both escorted to the city of Canterbury by Benedict Biscop, a native of Northumberland, and a monk, who had formerly been acquainted with them in a visit which he made to Rome. Benedict seems, at this time, to have been one of the most distinguished of the Saxon ecclesiastics. Availing himself of the advice of these two learned strangers, under their direction and assistance he procured workmen from France, and built the monastery of Weremouth in Northumberland. The church he constructed of stone after the manner of the Roman architecture, and adorned its walls and roof with pictures, which he purchased at Rome, representing, among other sacred subjects, the Virgin Mary, the twelve apostles, the evangelical history, and the visions of the Apocalypse. The windows were glazed by artists brought from France.” A leader of the choir was brought from St. Peter’s, Rome. (Beda, *Hist. Abbat. Winton.*) Alcuin and Aldhelm were pupils of Theodore and Adrian. Aldhelm, a relative of king Ina’s, was, according to Camden, the first Saxon who wrote in Latin. He sang himself his *Cantiones Sacerdotice* to the people in the streets. William of Malmesbury styles him “a Greek in penetration, a Roman in elegance, and an Englishman in pomp.”

† It may seem astonishing that the example should have been set by the Saxons, who, on their native soil of Germany, so long rejected Christianity; and who, at the voice of Luther, were the first to shake off the yoke of Rome. But those Saxons, transplanted into Britain, had forsaken the descendants of the Aul, to follow military leaders. The necessities of their distant expeditions, and the novelties of conquest, had made them different men; and besides, the idea of converting their ancient country was a kind of patriotism that must have been tempting to these new Chris-

\* Boniface. Epist. 105. “In our synod we have proclaimed and professed our desire to preserve the Catholic faith and unity, and submission to the Roman church, to the end of our life—to be subjected to St. Peter and his vicar. . . . And that metropolitans should seek their pallia from that see; and that in every way we should strive to follow the precepts of Peter, according to the canons, so that we may be among the sheep of whom he is shepherd.”

† The pope replied—“You say that you are told we corrupt the canons and reject the traditions of the Fathers; and, moreover, (which he far from us!) that we are guilty of simony with our pastors, seeking and receiving presents for the gift of the pallium. But, dearest brother, we pray thee never to write such things again.” . . . SS. Ord. S. Bened. sec. III. 75.

‡ Acta SS. Ord. S. Ben. sec. III. 300, 300:—

Protulit in lucem quoniam mater Eboracensis primus, Institut, docuit, nutrit . . . amavit.

(Ireland gave him birth, informed, taught, cherished, and loved him.)

§ It was he who first asserted the reality of the south.

the Gaul Adalbert likewise trouble the church. Adalbert having erected oratories & crosses near fountains, (perhaps by the silent Druidical altars,) the people flock ther and desert the churches.\* This Adalbert is so revered, that his nails and hair become the subject of dispute as relics. Authorized by a letter which he has received from Jesus Christ, he invokes angels of unknown names. He knows the sins of men beforehand, and will not listen to their confession. Winfried, the implacable enemy of the Celtic church, prevails on Carloman and Pepin to imprison Adalbert. His fierce and rugged aspect is at the least disinterested. After having ended nine bishoprics and as many monasteries, when at the height of his glory and in the twenty-third year of his age, he resigned the bishopric of Mentz to his disciple Lullus, & returned a simple missionary to the woods & marshes of pagan Frisia, where, forty years before, he had been the first to preach the Gospel. He found martyrdom there.†

Four years before his death (A. D. 752) he consecrated Pepin king, in the name of the pope of Rome, and so transferred the crown to a new dynasty. This son of Charles Martel, sole mayor by the retirement of one of his brothers to Monte-Cassino, and by the flight of the other, was the darling of the Church. He legitimised her for the spoiliations of Charles Martel; and was the only support of the pope against the Lombards. Hence he was employed to bring to a conclusion the long farce acted by the mayors of the palace since Dagobert's death, and to assume the title of king. He was near a hundred years since the Merovingians, confined in their villa of Maumagne, in some monastery, had preserved a vain shadow of royalty.‡ Hardly at any other period than spring, on the occasion of opening the camp de Mars, was the idol drawn from his sanctuary, and the people shown their king. Lent and grave, this long-haired and bearded march (whatever his age, these were the indispensable ensigns of royalty) appeared, slowly dragged on the German car by yoked oxen, as that of the goddess Hertha §. In all the mercurious revolutions which took place in their time, whether conquered or conquering, there was no underment little change. They passed

from the palace to the cloister, without observing the difference. Often, indeed, the victorious mayor would quit his king for the conquered king, if the latter were the more personable of the two. Generally, these poor kings soon died off. Frail and feeble, the last descendants of an enervated race, they bore the penalty of their fathers' excesses. But this very youthfulness, this state of repose, and this innocence must have inspired the people with a profound idea of royal sanctity and kingly right. The king must have early appeared to them as an irreproachable being—perhaps, as the companion of their miseries, who, had he the power, would relieve them. The very silence of imbecility did not lessen their respect; the secret of the future seemed enveloped in it. It is still a common belief in many countries that idiots are divinely favored; just as the pagans formerly recognised the divinity in brutes.

After the Merovingians, says Eginhard, the Franks chose for themselves two kings;\*, and, indeed, this duality is everywhere apparent at the commencement of the Carolingian dynasty. Commonly, two brothers reign together, as Pepin and Martin, Pepin and Carloman, Carloman and Charlemagne. When there happens to be a third brother, (Grifon, to wit, brother of Pepin-le-Bref,) he is excluded from the division.

This monarchy of Pepin's, founded by the priests, was devoted to the priests. The descendant of Bishop Arnulf, and kinsman of so many bishops and saints, allowed great influence to the prelates.

In all directions, the enemies of the Franks were at the same time the enemies of the Church—the pagan Saxons, the Lombards, persecutors of the pope—the Aquitanians, the spoilers of the property of the Church. Pepin's chief war was against Aquitaine. He only made one campaign in Saxony, by which he secured the missionaries the power of preaching there; and left the rest to the work of time. Two campaigns sufficed for the subjection of the Lombards; against whom Pope Stephen came himself to implore the assistance of the Franks. Pepin forced the Alps, took Pavia, and compelled the Lombard, Astolph, to surrender—not to the Greek empire—but to St. Peter and the pope;‡ the towns of Ravenna, Felmia, of the Pentapolis, and of the duchy of Rome.

\* St. Boniface writes to pope Zacharias—"My greatest wish was with two inveterate heretics one called Adalbert, a Giant by birth, the other named Clement, a Priest." At quoque Adalberti cruciatus et Clementis in campis, ut finem . . . unguibus quoque et capillis dedit ad hominum mandum et portandum cum requiescebat Petrus principis monasterium. St. Bonif. Epist. 145.

Acta SS. sec. III. Eginhard, Annal ap. Ser. R. Fr. v.

Take the p-muff king at Rome the caliph at Bagdad in decay of the caliphate, or the daimy at Japan. Is not this so to the germ of Lord Bringham's remarks, and p. 91? Tacetation.

Crise postea barba submissa, . . . quorumque cum erat aspectus, dicit, quod habus junctis, bubulis rursus se agere trahuntur. Eginhard, Vita Karoli Magni, c. 1. Ser. R. Fr. v. 90.

\* "The Franks, in a solemn general assembly, chose two kings, but with the express provision that they divide the kingdom between themselves equally." Eginhard, Vita Karoli M. c. 3 ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 90.

† He exacted, besides a tribute of three hundred horses, Annal Met. ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 126. The horse was the animal chiefly sacrificed by the Persians and Germans. Pope Zachary, epist. 102, advises Boniface to put a stop to the eating of horse flesh—no doubt, meaning as a sacrificial meat.

‡ To the emperor's protests he replied, that he had undertaken the war for the love of St. Peter, and the remission of his sins. He sent a deed of gift of the states given to the blessed Peter and the holy Roman see, and to be held forever by all justified of the apostolic see." Annetus, Biblioth. ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 3.



The Lombards and the Greeks must have been little to be feared, when Pepin thought these provinces safe in the unarmed hands of a priest.

The war with Aquitaine was a very different matter; and its duration is easily explained. Backed by the western Pyrenees, which were and still are occupied by the ancient Iberians, Vasques, Guasques, or Basques, (Eusques,) the population of this country was constantly recruited from the mountains. Agricultural by taste and disposition, but robbers by their position, the Vasques had long been pent up in their rocks, first by the Romans, then by the Goths. The Franks expelled the latter, but did not fill their place, often failing against this mountain race. At length they appointed duke Genialis—no doubt a Roman of Aquitaine—to observe them, (about A.D. 600.\*) However, these mountain giants† descended by degrees among the smaller race of the Béarnois; and, in their large red capes, and shod with the hairy *abarca*, advanced—men, women, children, and flocks—towards the north: the *landes* are, in fact, a vast road. Eldest born of the old world, they came to claim their share of the beautiful plains, seized by so many successive usurpers—Gauls, Romans, and Germans. Thus, in the seventh century, when the Neustrian empire fell to pieces, Aquitania was renovated by the Vasques, as Austrasia was by successive immigrations from Germany. The name accompanied either people, and grew in extent with them—the north being called France, the south, Vasconia, Gascony; which last reached to the Adour, next to the Garonne, and, for a moment, to the Loire. Then came the shock.

According to doubtful traditions, the Aquitanian Amandus had grown powerful in these countries, about the year 698, overcoming the Franks by means of the Vasques, and the latter, again, by means of the Franks. He married his daughter to Charibert, Dagobert's brother;‡ and after his son-in-law's death, protected Aquitaine, in the name of his orphan grandsons, against their uncle Dagobert. Perhaps Charibert's marriage is only a fable invented at a later period in order to connect the great families of Aquitaine with the first race. However, shortly afterward, we find three Aquitanian dukes marrying three Austrasian princesses.

Eudes and Hubert were great-grandsons of Amandus. Hubert passed first into Neustria, where Ebroin ruled, and thence into Austrasia—the birthplace of his aunt and grandmother. Here he attached himself to Pepin. Passionately fond of hunting, he used to range through the immense forest of Ardennes; when

the apparition of a miraculous stag determined him to quit the world for the Church. He was the disciple and successor of St. Lambert at Maestricht, and founded the bishopric of Liege. He is the patron of hunters from Picardy to the Rhine.

The career of his brother Eudes was very different. Once, when master of Aquitaine as far as the Loire, and master of Neustria, through having Chilperic II. in his power, he, for a moment, thought himself king of the whole of Gaul. But it was the fate of the different dynasties of Toulouse, as we shall hereafter see, to be ever crushed between Spain and northern France. Eudes, having been defeated by Charles Martel, and fearing the Saracens, who threatened his rear, gave up Chilperic to him. Conquering the Saracens before Toulouse, but menaced, in turn, by the Franks, he treated with the infidels; and the emir Munuz, having rendered himself independent in the north of Spain, and being with regard to the caliph's lieutenants precisely in the same situation as Eudes was in relation to Charles Martel, Eudes allied himself with him, and gave him his daughter in marriage.\* This strange alliance, which was then unexampled, is an early proof of that religious indifference of which Gascony and Guienne offer so many instances. The versatile and witty people of these provinces, look too keenly to the affairs of this world to be over-buried with those of the other. The country of Henry IV., of Montaigne, and of Montaigne, is not a land of saints.

This politic and impious alliance turned out ill. Munuz was blocked up in a fortress by Abder-Rahman, the caliph's lieutenant, and only avoided captivity by death. He threw himself from the top of a rock. The poor Frenchman was sent a present to the seraglio of the caliph of Damascus. The Arabs crossed the Pyrenees, and Eudes was defeated as his son-in-law had been. But the Franks themselves joined him, and Charles Martel aided him to overcome them at Poitiers, (A. D. 732.) Then Aquitaine, proved incapable of defending itself, became a kind of dependency on the Franks.

Hunald, the son of Eudes, and the hero of his race, could not resign himself to this humiliation, and began a desperate struggle with Pepin-le-Bref and Carloman, in which he sought to interest all the enemies of the Franks, whether open or secret; and he sought allies even as far as Saxony and Bavaria. The Franks laid waste Berry with fire and sword, turned Auvergne, and just as they had forced Hunald to recross the Loire, were recalled by the invasion of the Saxons and the Germans. Hu-

\* Seeing that the Franks were discomfited by them in the early stage of their empire, I much doubt their having submitted to a tribute, as *Fredegarius avarus*, (*Fredegar. Scholast.* c. 31.) under the feeble successors of Brunehaut.

† The Vasques are exceedingly tall, particularly compared with the Béarnois.

‡ See *l'Hist. Gén. du Languedoc*, l. 602.

\* *Isidore Pacensis*, ap. *Scr. E. Fr.* l. 721. "Eudes married his daughter to him in order to save off the attacks of the Arabs, and win them over to his interests."

† *Annal. Met.* ap. *Scr. E. Fr.* l. 637. "The Bretons brought Saxons, Alemanni, and Slaves along with them. . . Hunald, crossing the Loire, burnt Chartres. This he did at the suggestion of Ogilva, with whom he had entered into a defensive alliance against the Franks."

nald passed the Loire once more, and burnt Chartres. Perhaps he would have carried his successes further; but he seems to have been betrayed by his brother Hatto, who governed Poitou under him. Here we see the origin of the future ills of Aquitaine—the rivalry of Poitiers and Toulouse.

Hunald yielded; but took vengeance on his brother. He had his eyes torn out, and then immured himself in a monastery in the isle of Rhé,\* by way of expiation. His son, Guaifer, (A. D. 745,) found an ally in Grifon, Pepin's younger brother, as Pepin had himself done in Hunald's brother. But the war of the south did not begin in earnest till 750, after Pepin had vanquished the Lombards. This was the epoch of the division of the caliphate. Alphonso, the Catholic, intrenched in the Asturias, revived there the monarchy of the Goths. The Goths of Septimania (all Languedoc, with the exception of Toulouse) likewise rose to recover their independence; and the Saracens, in occupation of the country, were soon constrained to take refuge in Narbonne. A Gothic chief got himself acknowledged lord of Nîmes, Maguelonne, Agde, and Beziers.† But the Goths were unable to force Narbonne, and called in the Franks: who, unused to sieges, might have remained before the town forever, had not the Christian inhabitants massacred the Saracens, and opened its gates. Pepin swore to respect the laws and franchises of the country.‡

He then renewed the war successfully against the Aquitanians, whom he was now enabled to turn on the eastern flank. "After the country had rested from war for two years, king Pepin sent deputies to Guaifer, prince of Aquitaine, to ask him to restore to the churches of his kingdom the lands belonging to them in Aquitaine. He sought the full and free enjoyment of their estates by the churches, together with that of all the immunities heretofore secured to them; and that Guaifer should pay, according to the law, the price of the lives of certain Goths, whom he had killed against all rule of right. Finally, he required that Guaifer should give up those of Pepin's followers who had fled into Aquitaine. All which demands Guaifer disdainfully refused."§

The war was slow, bloody, and destructive. Several times, the Basques and Aquitanians, by bold inroads, pushed as far as Autun and even as Châlons. But the Franks, better dis-

ciplined and marching in imposing masses, inflicted much greater injury upon them. They ravaged the whole of Berry with fire, burning down trees and houses, and that more than once. Next, they forced their way into Auvergne, took its strongholds, and traversed and burnt the Limousin. Then, with the same regularity, they burnt the Quercy, and cut down the vines which formed the wealth of Aquitaine. "Prince Guaifer, seeing that the king of the Franks, by the help of his machines, had taken the fort of Clermont, as well as Bourges, the capital of Aquitaine and a strongly fortified city, despaired henceforward of resisting him, and ordered the walls of all the cities in Aquitaine belonging to him—of Poitiers, Limoges, Saintes, Périgueux, Angoulême, and many others—to be thrown down."¶

The unfortunate Guaifer withdrew into the wild fastnesses of the mountains. But every year saw his followers drop off. His count of Auvergne fell in battle; his count of Poitiers was slain by retainers of the abbey of St. Martin of Tours.‡ His uncle, Remistan, who had first deserted and then returned to his banners, was taken and hanged by the Franks. And, finally, he was himself murdered by his own adherents; who, in their fickleness of disposition, had doubtless grown weary of a glorious, but hopeless war. Pepin, triumphant through treachery, saw himself at length sole master of the whole of Gaul, all-powerful in Italy by the humiliation of the Lombards, and all-powerful in the Church by the friendship of the popes and bishops—to whom he transferred almost the whole legislative authority. His reform of the Church through the exertions of St. Boniface, and his innumerable translations of relics, of which he despoiled Italy to enrich France, won for him infinite honor. On solemn occasions of the kind he would himself appear bearing the relics on his shoulders—as he did those of St. Austremon and of St. Germain des Prés.‡

#### ACCESSION OF CHARLEMAGNE. (A. D. 768-9.)

Charles,§ Pepin's son and successor, was

\* Ibid. 6. Pictavis, Lemodina, Pantonia, Poterova, Equodina, et reliqua quam plures civitates et castella, omnesque muros eorum in terram prostravit, etc.

† Ibid. 6. Comes Pictavensis, dum Turoniam infestam predaret, ab hominibus Vulfardi abbatis monasterii S. Martini interceptus est.

‡ Secunda M. Austremonii Translatio, ap. Rev. R. Fr. v. 433.

§ "The king, like king David, forgetful of the royal purple, in his joy bedewed his costly robes with tears, and danced (exultabat) before the relics of the blessed martyr, himself even bearing the most sacred limbs on his shoulders. And it was the winter season."—Translat. S. Germani Pictavis, ibid. 68. . . . mittentes, tam ipso quam optimatore ab ipso electi, manus ad ferendum. . . .

¶ CHARLEMAGNE is commonly said to be the translation of CAROLUS MAGNUS—"Challemaiers vant autant cumme grant Charles." (Chron. de St. Denis, l. i. c. 4.)—However, Charlemagne is only a corruption of Carolus, KARL, MARY, the strong man. In the (Chronicles of St. Denis we find Challeo and Challemaiers for Charles and Charlemagne, (name being the French corruption of man, so leon mureo leon, &c.) A still more decisive proof occurs in the (Chron.

\* Ibid. In monasterium quod Radis insula situm est in Brava.

† Chron. Molesme, ap. Rev. R. Fr. v. 40.

‡ Ibid. 69. Dato sacramento Gothi qui ibi erant, ut si civitatem partibus traderent Pipini regis Francorum, permitterent eam legem suam habere.

§ Gesta. Frederic, ap. Rev. R. Fr. v. 4.—See, also, Eginhard, Annal. ibid. 199. Cum res que ad ecclesiam . . . pertinebant, reddere soliminet. . . . Spondet se ecclesiam sua jura redditurum, etc.

¶ Gesta. Frederic, ap. Rev. R. Fr. v. 5, 6, 7. Wulfstien cum exercitu magno et plurimorum Wascorum, qui ultra Garannam commorantur, qui antiquitus vocati sunt Vasci, etc.

soon left sole possessor of the empire by the death of his brother Carloman, as Pepin Heriathal had been by the death of Martin, and Pepin-le-Bref by the retirement of the first Carloman. The two brothers had easily stifled the war, which was rekindled in Aquitaine by the aged Hunald, who, emerging from the monastery in which he had immured himself for three-and-twenty years, vainly attempted to avenge his son and liberate his country. He was betrayed by a son of the very brother whom he had deprived of his eyes. This unconquerable man, however, even then did not yield, but managed to take refuge in Italy with the king of the Lombards, Didier, to whom his son-in-law, Charles, had contumeliously returned his daughter, and who, by way of reprisal, supported Charles's nephews, and threatened to see them in possession of their rights. The king of the Franks invaded Italy, and laid siege to Pavia and Verona, which offered a lengthened resistance. Hunald had thrown himself into the first-named town, and compelled the inhabitants to hold out until they stoned him.\* Didier's son fled to Constantinople; and the Lombards could only retain the duchy of Beneventum, that is, the central part of what constitutes the present kingdom of Naples: the sea-ports were in the hands of the Greeks. Charles then took the title of king of the Lombards.

The empire of the Franks was already old and worn out when it fell into Charlemagne's hands; but then all the surrounding nations were weakened. Neustria was reduced to nothingness, and the Lombards were little better off—divided for some time between Pavia, Milan, and Beneventum, they had never altogether recovered themselves. The Saxons, who, it is to be granted, were truly formidable, were attacked from behind by the Slaves. The unity of the empire of the Saracens was destroyed the very year Pepin came to the throne by the isolation of Spain from Africa; and Spain was herself weakened by the schism that divided the Caliphate, and which left Aquitaine undisturbed on the side of the Pyrenees. Thus two nations remained standing in this general decay of the West; weak indeed, but still less weak than the rest—the Aquitanians and the Austrasian Franks. The last could not fail to gain the upper hand. More united than the Saxons, less fiery and fickle than the Aquitanians, they were better disciplined than both. "The

Franks," says M. de Sismondi, (t. ii. p. 267.) "had preserved some of the habits of the Roman militia, in which their ancestors had so long served." They were, indeed, of all the barbarians, the most capable of discipline, and whose character was stamped with the least individuality, the least originality, and the least of the poetic element.\* The sixty years of warfare which fill the annals of Pepin and of Charlemagne, exhibit few victories, but regular and periodic ravages. The Franks wore out their enemies rather than subdued them, and by persevering broke down their spirit and elasticity. A defeat—the battle of Roncesvalles—is the most popular reminiscence that remains of these wars. It matters not: conquerors or conquered, they made deserts, and in these deserts they reared some strong place,† and thence pushed on further, for they had already begun to build. The barbarians had journeyed long and far enough. They desired stability; and the world rested, at least, through weariness.

The length, too, of the reigns of Pepin and Charlemagne, was favorable to the fixation of this floating world. To a series of monarchs who die at from fifteen to twenty years of age, there succeeded two whose joint reigns fill up close upon a century. (From 741 to 814 A. D.) These had time to build and to found. They collected and brought together the scattered elements of preceding ages. They inherited all; and, at the same time, blotted out the memory of all that had preceded them. It happened to Charlemagne as to Louis XIV.—every thing was dated from the *great reign*; institutions, national glory, all was referred to it. The very tribes that opposed him refer their laws to him: laws coeval, indeed, with the German race itself.‡ In reality, the senility and decrepitude of the barbarian world were favorable to the glory of his reign; since as that world expired, all of remaining life rushed in full tide to France as to the heart. Distinguished men from every country flocked to the court of the king of the Franks. Three heads of schools, three reformers in learning or in manners, created a passing movement in it—Clement from Ireland, Alcuin from the Anglo-Saxons, St. Benedict of Aniane from Gothia or Languedoc. Thus each nation paid it its tribute; and we may cite, besides these, the Lombard Paul Warnefrid, the Gotho-Italian Theodulf, and the Spaniard Agobart. The fortunate Charlemagne profited by all. Surrounded by these foreign priests who were the light of the Church, and son, nephew, and grandson of bishops and of

nicle of Theophanes, who calls Carloman, Καρυσλλάμαρος. Scr. R. Fr. v. 107. Both brothers, then, bore the same name.—In the tenth century, Charles the Bald gained the surname of Great through the ignorance of the Latin monks, as his grandfather had done. Epitaph. ap. Scr. R. Fr. vii. 322.

. . . Nomen qui nomine duxit  
De Magni Magnas, de Caroli Carolus.

In the same way the Greeks mistook the name of Elagabalus, of which they would make Heliogabalus, from the Greek Helios, the sun.

\* Hiebert Chronik. ap. Scr. R. Fr. v. 376. Ibiq. non multo post lapidibus obrutus male perit.

\* This is very striking in their jurisprudence. They adopt, almost indifferently, most of the symbols—each of which is peculiar to each German tribe. See Grimm, *Alterthümer*, *passim*.

† Fronsac (Francum or Frontiacum) in Aquitaine (Eginh. Annal. ap. Scr. R. Fr. v. 301); and, in Saxony, the town designated in the Chronicles by the name of *Ordo Karoli*, (Annal. Franc. *ibid.* p. 14,) a fort on the Lippe, (p. 28,) Ehrenburg, etc.

‡ See Jac. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, l. v.

as well as sure of the pope whom his had protected against the Greeks and 'da, he disposed of bishoprics and abbeys even gave them to laymen. But he ended the institution of tithes,\* and freed church from secular jurisdiction.† This and Solomon of the Franks found him more priest than the priests, and was thus ng.

Wars of Italy, and the fall itself of the n of the Lombards, were only episodes signs of Pepin and Charlemagne. The war of the first was, as we have seen, the Aquitanians, that of Charles against the Saxons. There is nothing to show that the rose, as has been alleged, from the fear of invasion. Undoubtedly the Germans were continually immigrating across the Rhine, and fortune in large numbers in the riches of the West. They were so many, forever strengthening and renewing ties of the Franks. But as regards the n of whole tribes, such as took place in earlier times of the Roman empire, there is no reason to suppose that such a fact accompanied the elevation of the second race, nor that it threatened with a repetition of the scourge of the invasion of Charlemagne.

The real cause of the war was the violent clash of the Frank and Saxon races: an clash which each day added to in proportion as the Franks became more Roman, and daily since they had been newly organized

by the ecclesiastical hand of the Carolingians. The success of St. Boniface had inspired the latter with hopes, that the missionaries would gradually gain over and subdue Germany for them. But the difference between the two people was too great to allow of their amalgamating. The progress of the Franks in civilization had latterly been too rapid. The men of the Red land,‡ as the Saxons proudly styled themselves, dispersed, according to the free bent of their character, over their marches, in the deep glades of those forests, where the squirrel could bound from tree to tree for seven leagues without descending, and neither knowing nor desiring any other barrier than the vague limits of their gau, —held in horror the boundaries and mansions of Charlemagne. The Scandinavians and Lombards, like the Romans, divided their lands with due regard to the set of the east. But there is no trace of such a custom in Germany. Territorial divisions, censuses, and all the instruments of order, government, and tyranny, were feared by the Saxons. Divided by the Asiatics themselves into three people and twelve tribes, they sought no other division. Their marches were not altogether wastes. Town and prairie are synonymous in the old languages of the north:§ the prairie was their city. The stranger passing through the march was not to ride upon his plough; he was to respect the land and turn up the share.

These fierce and free tribes were all the more attached to their old beliefs, by the hatred and jealousy with which the Franks inspired them. The missionaries that the latter would weary them with, had the imprudence to threaten them with the arms of the great empire:¶ and St. Libuin, who uttered the menace, would have been torn in pieces, but for the interference of the Saxon elders. This, however, did not hinder the young men from burning down the church, built by the Franks at Davenport.‡ Perhaps glad of the excuse to expedite by force of arms the conversion of their barbarous neighbors, the Franks marched straight against the principal sanctuary of the Saxons, where was their chief idol, and with which were connected the dearest remembrances of Germany—the Herman-saul,¶ a mysterious symbol, in which might be seen the image of the world or of one's country, of a god or of a hero. This statue, armed cap-a-pie, bore in its left hand a balance, in its right a flag, on which figured the rose.

Salut. ann. 779. c. 7. "Of tithes—each must give a tenth to be disposed of as the pontiff (other readings the bishop) wills."—Capitularies de Maxon. ann. 779. c. 1. "Whatever taxes be paid into the treasury, let the tenth be given to the churches and the clergy."—All are to give a tenth of their substance, as well nobles as freemen, and the lands as free, also, Capit. Francofurt. ann. 794. c. 23. —As the year 567, we find mention of tithes in a pastoral letter of the bishops of Touraine. They are the subject of enactment in a Constitution of Clovis, and in the Council of Maçon, held in 585. Durange, ii. 289.

Waddington in his History of the Church, (p. 231.) in respect to the question from Charlemagne's edict given above, namely—"That every one should give a tenth, and that it should be disposed of according to the orders of his bishop"—This must be understood as a limitation, since the tripartite division of tithes to be properly ascribed to Charlemagne; that half for the bishop and clergy, a second for the third for the fabric of the Church. It seems unnecessary that part of these was at first intended for the maintenance of a resident clergy. Parochial divisions, such as they are, were still not very common though they may be the endorsement of churches by individuals as early as the time of Justinian. The rural churches were, in the same, chapels dependent on the neighboring cathedral, were served by itinerant ministers of the bishop's seat. It was some time before any of them obtained legal recognition and burial: but these were indeed used by a fixed share of the tithes, and appear to have played in each case the independence of the Church residence of a minister. —Thomassin.

Salut. add. ad leg. Langob. ann. 701. c. 1. "It is our law that neither abbot, nor presbyter, nor deacon, nor any priest whatever, be brought before public and secular tribunals, but be delivered to his bishop."—Capit. Aquilon. ann. 740. c. 27. 1. Francofurt. ann. 794. c. 4. "Our lord the king hereby synod decree, that the bishops are to execute in their parishes. . . . Our counts also must attend and of the bishops."

\* See Grimm, Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer.

† Id. p. 538.

‡ Id. p. 519.

§ St. Libuin Vita apud Pagi, Crit. 772. § 2.—Diamond, ii. 234.

¶ Ibid.—They attempted to burn down a church which St. Boniface had built at Fritzlar, in Hesse. But when he built it, the saint had prophesied that it would never be destroyed by fire. Two angels, clad in white, descended to protect it, and a Saxon, who had knelt down to blow the fire, was found dead in the same attitude, and with his cheeks still puffed out. Annales de Fulde, ap. Scr. B. B. v. 325.

¶ A column or statue of Germany, or of Arminius.

on its buckler a lion, lording it over the other animals, and at its feet a field sown with flowers. All the spots in the vicinity were consecrated by the remembrance of the first and great victory of the Germans over the empire.\*

If the Franks had borne in mind their German origin, they would have respected this sacred spot. They violated it, and dashed in pieces the national symbol. A miracle sanctified this easy victory. A spring of water gushed out on purpose to refresh the soldiers of Charlemagne.† The Saxons, surprised in their forests, gave a dozen hostages—one, each tribe. But they soon thought better of the matter, and ravaged Hesse. It would be wrong from this and numerous facts of the same kind, to charge the Saxons with perfidy. Independently of the instability of purpose peculiar to barbarians, the probability is, that those who submitted to the law of the conqueror, were generally that part of the population which was fixed to the soil by its weakness—the women and aged men. The young, flying into the marshes and mountains in the northern cantons, would return and renew the war. They were only to be kept under by dwelling in the midst of them. Therefore, Charles took up his residence on the Rhine, at Aix-la-Chapelle, to whose hot baths he was also partial, and built and fortified in Saxony itself the castle of Ehresburg.‡

The year following (A. D. 775) he crossed the Weser; when the Saxon Angarians submitted to him, as did part of the Westphalians. He devoted the winter to chastising the Lombard dukes, who had recalled Didier's son. The ensuing spring, the assembly or counsel of Worms took a solemn oath to prosecute the war until the Saxons should be converted. Under the Carolingians the bishops are known to have taken the lead in these assemblies. Charles penetrated as far as the sources of the Lippe, and built a fort there.§ The Saxons appeared to give way. All of them who abided in their settlements suffered themselves to be baptized without difficulty; and, indeed, this ceremony, of which, undoubtedly, they hardly understood the meaning, never seems

to have inspired the barbarians with any particular repugnance. More proud than fanatical, they, perhaps, prized their religion much less than their resistance would lead us to conclude. In the reign of Louis the Debonnaire, (the Meek,) the Northmen flocked in crowds to be baptized, the only difficulty being to find white dresses enough for the proselytes; some of whom would be baptized three times in order to gain three dresses.\*

Thus, while Charlemagne supposes his work finished, and is baptizing the Saxons by thousands at Paderborn, Witikind, the leader of the Westphalians, returns with his warriors who had taken refuge in the north, and even with Northmen who then, for the first time, meet the Franks. Defeated in Hesse, he withdraws into his forests, and retires among the Danes—but soon to re-appear.

This was in the very year 778, when the arms of Charlemagne received so memorable a check at Roncesvalles. The weakness of the Saracens, the friendship of the petty Christian kings, and the prayers of the revolted emirs of the north of Spain, had favored the progress of the Franks, who had pushed as far as the Ebro, and had erected their encampments in Spain into a new province, under the names of the March of Gascony and March of Gothia. On the east they were completely successful, being supported by the Goths: but, on the west, the Basques, Hunald's and Guaifer's old soldiers, and the kings of Navarre and the Asturias, who saw Charlemagne taking possession of the country, and securing all the forts in the hands of the Franks, took up arms under Lope, Guaifer's son† The Franks being attacked by these mountaineers on their return, sustained a considerable loss in those difficult *pors*, those gigantic ladders, only to be scaled in single file, either on foot or on a mule's back, where the rocks tower above, and seem ever on the point of crushing the violators of this solemn limit of the two worlds.‡

The defeat of Roncesvalles is said only to have been a rear-guard affair. However, Eginhard confesses that the Franks lost many men in it, with several of their most distinguished chiefs, and, among them, the famous Roland. It may be that the Saracens took a share in the engagement, and that

\* Stapfer. art. Arminius in the Biographie Universelle. "The neighborhood of Bethmold is still full of the recollection of this memorable event. The field at the foot of the Teutberg is still called Winfeld, or Victory Field, and is crossed by the Rodenbeck or Stream of Blood, and the Knochenhack or Stream of Bones—recalling the bones found six years after the defeat of Varus by the soldiers of Germanicus. (Close by, is Feldrom, the Field of the Romans: a little further, near Pymont, is Herminenberg, or the Hill of Arminius, crowned by the ruins of a castle, called Harminsburg. On the borders of the Weser, in the same county of Lippe, is Varenholz, the wood of Varus."

† Eginhard. Annal. Ap. Rer. E. Fr. v. 301. Ne diutius nisi confectis laboraret exercitus, divinitus factum creditur ut quadam die, cum juxta morem temporis meridiano cuncti quiescerent, prope montem qui castris erat contiguus tanta vis aquarum in convexitate cuspideis torrentis eruperit, ut exercitus cuncto sufficeret.—Pertz Saxonicæ Annal. i. 1.

‡ Annal. Franc. ibid. 37.—Reedificavit ipsum castellum, et basilicam ibidem construxit. Annal. Fuld. ibid. 283. Broeburum reedificat.

§ Annal. Franc. ibid. 39. Et fecit castellum super fluvium Lippa.

\* On one occasion that some Northmen were being baptized, there was a deficiency of linen dresses, and an indifferently made shirt was given to one of them. Looking at it for some time with great indignation, he said to the emperor—"I have been washed here twenty times, and have always had given me fine linen, white as snow. Is a sack like this fit for a warrior or a wiseherd? Were I not ashamed to go naked, having now no dress of my own and spurning yours, I would turn my back upon your cloak and your Christ." Monachus. S. Galli, l. ii. c. 39, ap. Rer. E. Fr. v. 134.—The Avars, Charlemagne's allies, perceiving that he feasted their Christian countrymen in the hall, while the rest sat at the door, received baptism in numbers in order to have a seat at the imperial table as well. Pertz Critica, ad ann. 304.

† Rimond confounds him with Lope, a son of Hunald's, p. 361.

‡ See book the third of this History.

at began by them on the Ebro, was by the Basques in the mountains. The the famous Roland receives no other ion from Eginhard than is contained in ds—*Rolandus prefectus Britannici* (Roland, Prefect of the Bretagne

The immense breach that opens the s under the towers of Marbore, whence ight could desery, at will, Toulouse or sa, is, as is well known, only a stroke nd's sword. His horn was long pret Blaye, on the Garonne; that horn on eording to the poet, he blew so furious —when, having broken his good sword d, he summoned the heedless Charle- and the traitor, Ganelon of Mentz,— burst the veins of his neck. The in this eminently national poem, is a

ollowing year (779) was still more glo- the king of the Franks. He invaded ons, who were again in arms, and find- y concentrated on Buckholz, fell upon ddefeated them there. Resting on the ie boundary between the Saxons and rea, he busied himself in settling the which he fancied he had conquered. eceiving the oaths of the Saxons at i, he had them baptized by thousands, rged the abbot of Fulda to establish a system of conversion, of religious con-

An army of priests succeeded his f soldiers. The whole land, say the les, was partitioned out between the nd the bishops.† Eight large and pow- hropies were created in succession—

Halberstadt, Verden, Bremen, Mundeheim, Osnaburgh, and Paderborn, 780-802)—foundations at once eccle- and military, where the most docile of fa will take the title of counts to execute

and Vita Karoli ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 93.—See also Annal. stud. 309. Hist. Sax. l. i. c. 113.—s de Hist. Denis, l. i. c. 4.—No mention is made of t in the other Charlemagne—in the Carolingian s the Count of Flandre, and the excellent thesis rin, *essai de l'histoire de Rouen*, 1822; professor dity of Leuven.

sh after a of the most of them as hostages, and on in the keeping of Vitor, archbishop of Reims, as reported the greatest confidence, and who had

After the fall of many of our dominions royal from in Charlemagne. Prefect Hist. Romens. l. ii. c. 1. scription of Louis in this manner states that the side Charlemagne managed to make the bishops his liege lords. He est. l. i. c. 1. throughout Aquitaine f abbots and many others—who are called *Franks* punish were entrusted to them the care of the the defence of the frontiers, and the government al terms." Astrucum Vita Ludov. Pic. 3. ap

vi. 99. Here we see the abbots discharging mil- ions. Charlemagne summons a platoon abbot to well armed men and virtuous for three months. apud 21. ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 633.

R. Murm. Abbat. Fuld. ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 447. assumptis universis sacerdotibus, abbatibus t. ut in illis possessionibus in parochias s. d. v. 10. These parts mention besto

quits of law. It was ed procurandum committitur me. ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 36. Distingue ipson for prophytibus et episcopis omnes et abbates, ut in urant et producant.—Item Chron. Moutier. l. i. d.

against their brothers the orders of the bishops. Tribunals instituted throughout the country will pursue backsliders, and severely teach them the gravity of the vows so often taken and violated; and to these tribunals has been ascribed the origin of the famous Weimic courts, which in reality only date from between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.\* We have already seen the willingness of the German nations to refer their institutions to Charlemagne; and, perhaps, the terrible secrecy of these proceedings may have vaguely recalled to men's minds the inquisitorial proceedings enforced in former days against their ancestors by the priests of Charlemagne's day. Or, if it still be contended that the Weimic courts are a remains of ancient German institutions, the probability is that these tribunals of freemen, who struck in the dark a culprit stronger than the law, were first established for the punishment of traitors who passed over to the foreigner, forsaking their country and their gods, and who, under his protection, braved the ancient laws of their country. But they did not brave the arrow which whistled in their ears from unseen hands; and more than one turned pale in the morning when he saw nailed to his door the funeral sign that summoned him to appear before the invisible tribunal.

While the priests reign, convert, and judge, and securely pursue their murderous education of the barbarians, Witkind (A. D. 782) again swoops down from the north to destroy their work. The Saxons crowd round him, defeat Charlemagne's lieutenants near Sonnetthal, (the Valley of the Sun,) and, when the slow moving masses of the Frankish army come up, disperse as quickly as they had drawn together. Four thousand five hundred of them remained, who probably having their families to provide for, could not follow Witkind in his rapid retreat. The king of the Franks burnt and destroyed all before him until they were given up; and his counsellors, being churchmen, imbued with notions derived from the Roman form of administration, and constituting a government at once of priests and jurists, coldly cruel, and uninformed by any touch of generosity or knowledge of the barbarian character—saw in these captive Saxons so many criminals guilty of high treason, and judged them by the letter of the law. They were all beheaded in one day at Verden.† Their countrymen, who endeavored to avenge them, were themselves defeated and massacred at Bethmold and near Osnaburgh. The conquerors, whose operations were often suspended in this humid region by rains, inundations, and the impossibility of forcing a way from the depth of the mud, de-

\* Grimm Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer.

† Eginh. ann. v. 206. Ceterum, qui, permissioni ejus Witkindi morem gerentes, tantum facinus pergerunt, neque ad unum trahit, jussu regis omnes una die decollati sunt. Huiusmodi vindicta perpetrata, rex in hiberna concessit.—Annal. Fuld. p. 329. Annal. Met. p. 344.

terminated to prosecute the war through the winter; and the forests stripped of their leaves, and the marshes frozen over, no longer screening the fugitives—each isolated in his hut, with his wife and children, falls the prey of the soldiery, like the deer crouching in its lair over the tender hind.

Saxony remained undisturbed for eight years—Witkind having surrendered; but, nevertheless, the Franks were not left tranquil, the nations dependent on them being any thing but resigned. Nay, the Thuringians drew the sword in the very palace against the Franks, who, on the occasion of the marriage of one of their chiefs, sought to subject them to the Salic law.\* For this, and other causes with which we are unacquainted, a conspiracy was formed against Charlemagne by the nobles; who were, besides, excessively irritated by the pride and cruelty of his young wife Fastrade,† to whom a husband of fifty could refuse nothing. On the discovery of the plot, the conspirators were so far from seeking to deny it, that one of them audaciously exclaimed, "Had my counsel been taken, thou wouldest never have passed the Rhine alive." The only punishment imposed upon them by the easy-mannered monarch, was to order them to undertake distant pilgrimages to tombs of the saints—but he had every one of them murdered on his journey.‡ Some years after this, a natural son of Charlemagne's joined in a conspiracy with some nobles to dethrone his father.§

Abroad, too, the tributary princes conspired. The Bavarians and Lombards were almost one and the same people, the first having long given kings to the second. Tassillo, duke of Bavaria, had married a daughter of Didier's—sister to that wife whom Charlemagne had ignominiously sent back to her father; and, by this connection, had become brother-in-law of the Lombard duke of Beneventum. The latter was on friendly terms with the Greeks, who were masters of the sea, and Tassillo called in the Slaves and Avars. Some movements at the same time among the Bretons and Saracens gave them additional hope.¶ But Tassillo was surrounded by three armies; and, on his surrendering himself, was cited as a common criminal before the assembly of Ingelheim, found guilty, and sentenced to death. He was final-

ly forced to submit to the tonsure, and shut up in the monastery of Jumièges. Bavaria lost her independence as a nation, as did the kingdom of the Lombards—with the exception of the mountain duchy of Beneventum, which Charlemagne was never able to subdue, but which he weakened and disturbed by raising a rival to Didier's son, whom the Greeks had brought back.

Charlemagne thus had one more tributary, and one more war. It was the same in Germany. For having advanced to the Elbe, and being thus in presence of the Slaves, he found himself constrained to interfere in their quarrels, and to second the Abodrites against the Wiltzi, (or Weletabi.) The Slaves placed hostages in his hands; and the empire, always extending its limits, but always growing weaker, appears to have gained the whole of the country between the Elbe and the Oder.

Between the Slaves settled on the Baltic and those on the Adriatic, and beyond Bavaria, which, as we have just seen, had become a mere province, Charlemagne encountered the Avars, whose indefatigable cavalry, intrenched in the marshes of Hungary, swept thence at pleasure upon the Slaves and the Greek empire. Every winter, says the historian, they used to go and lie with the wives of the Slaves. Their camp, or *ring*, was a huge village of wood, covering a whole province, and encircled by hedges of trees with their branches interlaced. Here was amassed the plunder of centuries, the spoils of the Byzantines—a strange heap of the most brilliant objects, and, at the same time, the most useless to barbarians; a fantastical museum of robberies. According to an old soldier of Charlemagne's, this camp must have been twelve or fifteen leagues in circumference,\* like the eastern cities, like Nineveh or Babylon. Such is the Tartar habit—the people collected into one camp, while part are scattered over desert pastures. The visitor of the chagan of the Turks in the sixth century, found the barbarian sitting on a golden throne in the midst of the desert. The chagan of the Avars, in his wooden village, rested on beds of massive gold, which he forced from the weakness of the emperors of Constantinople.†

These barbarians, now neighbors of the Franks, sought to exact tribute from them as they had done from the Greeks. Charlemagne attacked them with three separate armies, and

\* . . . . . *Secundum legem Francorum. Annal. Nazar. ap. Per. R. Fr. v. 11.*

† *Eginh. Kar. M. c. 30, ibid. 97. Harum conjunctionum Fastrade crudelitas causa et origo exitiæ creditur; et idcirco in ambabus (conjunctionibus) contra regem conspirationem est, quia uxoris crudelitati consentiens a sui nature benignitate ac soliti mansuetudine immunitur exorbitasse videbatur.*—*Eginh. Annal. ibid. 210.* "Charlemagne's eldest son, Pepin, and certain Franks conspired against him, alleging that they could not endure the cruelty of queen Fastrade. . . . . Fardolph, a Lombard, having detected the plot, was rewarded with the monastery of St. Denys."

‡ *Annal. Nazar. ap. Per. R. Fr. v. 12.*

§ *Annal. Franc. ibid. 65. Filius regis Pippinus, ex concubina Himildrudâ, cum aliquibus comitibus Francorum consiliatur . . . .*

¶ *Eginh. Kar. M. c. 10. Thunuit (ann. 786) et Brittones qui . . . . dicto audientes non erant.*

\* *Monach. S. Galli, l. ii. c. 2.* "The country of the Huns was encircled by nine circles. One circle was as wide as is the distance between Tours and Constance. The streets and houses were so far apart, that a shout could hardly be heard from one to the other. Over against these buildings, and between these impregnable enclosures, gates of so great width were constructed. Likewise from the second circle, formed like the first, it was twenty German, which are equal to forty Italian miles, to the third; and so on to the ninth, only each circle being much smaller than the one before it. They had heaped up in these fortifications, for two hundred years and more, riches of every kind from all the western countries, almost stripping the whole west."

† *Erc. Menandri, p. 105-104. Theophrast. lib. 8. c. 26, 17—Gibbon, ch. 42, 43.*

advancing as far as the Raab, burnt the few habitations he met with ; but what did the burning of these huts signify to the Avars ? Charlemagne's cavalry was worn out in seeking through his desert region an invisible enemy, encou- rering in his stead marshy plains, bogs, and over- owing rivers ; among which the Frank army met all its horses.\*

We say the Frank army : but the Frank na- tion is like Theseus' ship, for, renewed piece y piece, scarcely any thing remains of its origi- nal self. Charlemagne's armies were recruited in Frisia and in Saxony quite as much as in Austrasia, and it was these nations which real- ly suffered from the losses sustained by the Franks. They had not only to bear the yoke of the clergy, but, what was intolerable to these barbarians, were forced to forsake the dress, manners, and language of their fathers, to bury themselves in the battalions of the Franks, their enemies, and to conquer and die for them. And they seldom saw their country again, being sent three or four hundred leagues off against the Spanish Moors, or the Lombards of Bene- ventum. Death being their fate, the Saxons referred facing it in their own land. They massacred Charlemagne's lieutenants, burnt the churches, expelled or slaughtered the priests, and returned enthusiastically to the worship of their old gods. They made common cause with the Avars, instead of furnishing an army against them. The same year, the army of the aliph Hixem, finding Aquitaine drained of its garrisons, passed the Ebro, crossed the *marches* and the Pyrenees, burnt the faubourgs of Nar-bonne, defeated with great slaughter the troops drawn together by William (au Court-Nes) count of Toulouse and regent of Aquitaine, and then withdrew into Spain, carrying off with him a whole nation of prisoners, and laden with rich spoils with which the caliph adorned his magnificent mosque of Cordova.† The world was in arms against Charlemagne, and even nature herself. When he received this disastrous news he was in Suabia, hurrying on the works of a canal which was designed to connect the Rhine with the Danube, and which, in case of invasion, would have facilitated the defence of the empire. But the humidity of the ground and the constant rains prevented its being carried into execution ;‡ and so with the

great bridge of Mentz, which was to have secured the communication between France and Germany, and was burnt down by the boatmen on either side of the river.

Notwithstanding these various reverses, Charlemagne soon resumed the ascendant over enemies at such distant points from each other. He determined to unpeople Saxony, since he could not subdue it. Encamping on the Weser, and perhaps, by way of convincing the Saxons that he would not relax his hold on them, call- ing his camp Heerstall, after the name of the patrimonial castle of the Carolingians on the Meuse, he thence carried his inroads on every side, and forced, from more than one canton, as many as a third of the inhabitants to be deliver- ed up to him. These flocks of captives were then driven southward and westward, and set- tled in strange lands, in the midst of Christian and hostile populations, and speaking a different tongue. In like manner, the Babylonian and Persian monarchs had transported the Jews to the Tigris, and the people of Chalcis to the shores of the Persian gulf ; and so had Probus transported colonies of Franks and Frisians as far as the shores of the Euxine sea.

At the same time, a son of Charlemagne's, taking advantage of a civil war among the Avars, invaded them on the south with an army of Bavarians and Lombards. He crossed the Danube and the Theiss, and at length laid his hands on that precious *ring*, in whose enclosure slumbered such vast riches. So great was the booty, says the annalist, the Franks were poor in comparison with what they became from that moment. It would seem as if this hoarding race had lost its life with the gold over which it brooded—like the dragon of Scandinavian poetry, for it at once fell into a state of pitiable weakness. Its chagan turned Christian ; and they who remained Pagans, were constrained to eat out of wooden platters along with the dogs, at the gates of the bishops sent to convert them.\* Some years afterwards, they humbly sought from Charlemagne refuge in Bavaria, alleging their inability to make head against the Slaves, whom they formerly had the upper hand of.

Now, at last, Charlemagne began to hope that he should enjoy some rest. To judge by the extent of his dominion, if not by his real strength, he must have been the most powerful monarch at this time on the face of the globe. Why then should he not accomplish what Theodorice had been unable to effect—the resurrection of the Roman empire ? Such seems to have been the thought of the priestly counsellors by whom he was surrounded. In the year 800, Charle-

magne was sure to be filled up by an equal quantity in the night. While engaged in this undertaking two very un- pleasant pieces of news were brought to him : first, that the Saxons were everywhere up in arms ; secondly, that the Bulgarians had invaded Septimania, encountered the counts and guards of that frontier, slain numbers of the Franks, and returned home in triumph.†

\* Pagi Critica, ad ann. 694, p. 326.—Giamondi, ii. 492.

\* Pagi Critica, ad ann. 800, p. 135.  
† Charlemagne's Memoirs, v. 74.—Hist. du Languedoc, i. 11.  
‡ M. de Combe Histoire de la domination des Arabes et des fautes en Espagne translated from the Arabic into Span- ish. 1. 1. of the French translation p. 264.  
§ Eginh. Annal. ad ann. 793. The king had been per- suaded that by forming between the Rednitz and the Alt-Elbe a canal large enough for vessels, navigation might easily be carried on between the Rhine and the Danube, one of these rivers falling into the Danube and the other into the Sea. Charlemagne immediately repaired to this district with the whole of his court, and collected an immense number of labourers whom he kept at work the whole of the summer. They dug about two thousand paces of the canal, with a width of three hundred yards but unsuccessfully. The work came to nothing, owing to the marshy nature of the soil which was rendered worse, even, by continual rains, so that whatever earth was dug out in the day-time, its



terminated to prosecute the war through the winter; and the forests stripped of their leaves, and the marshes frozen over, no longer screening the fugitives—each isolated in his hut, with his wife and children, falls the prey of the soldiery, like the deer crouching in its lair over the tender hind.

Saxony remained undisturbed for eight years—Witkind having surrendered; but, nevertheless, the Franks were not left tranquil, the nations dependent on them being any thing but resigned. Nay, the Thuringians drew the sword in the very palace against the Franks, who, on the occasion of the marriage of one of their chiefs, sought to subject them to the Salic law.\* For this, and other causes with which we are unacquainted, a conspiracy was formed against Charlemagne by the nobles; who were, besides, excessively irritated by the pride and cruelty of his young wife Fastrade,† to whom a husband of fifty could refuse nothing. On the discovery of the plot, the conspirators were so far from seeking to deny it, that one of them audaciously exclaimed, "Had my counsel been taken, thou wouldest never have passed the Rhine alive." The only punishment imposed upon them by the easy-mannered monarch, was to order them to undertake distant pilgrimages to tombs of the saints—but he had every one of them murdered on his journey.‡ Some years after this, a natural son of Charlemagne's joined in a conspiracy with some nobles to dethrone his father.§

Abroad, too, the tributary princes conspired. The Bavarians and Lombards were almost one and the same people, the first having long given kings to the second. Tassillo, duke of Bavaria, had married a daughter of Didier's—sister to that wife whom Charlemagne had ignominiously sent back to her father; and, by this connection, had become brother-in-law of the Lombard duke of Beneventum. The latter was on friendly terms with the Greeks, who were masters of the sea, and Tassillo called in the Slaves and Avars. Some movements at the same time among the Bretons and Saracens gave them additional hope.¶ But Tassillo was surrounded by three armies; and, on his surrendering himself, was cited as a common criminal before the assembly of Ingelheim, found guilty, and sentenced to death. He was final-

ly forced to submit to the tonsure, and shut up in the monastery of Jumièges. Bavaria lost her independence as a nation, as did the kingdom of the Lombards—with the exception of the mountain duchy of Beneventum, which Charlemagne was never able to subdue, but which he weakened and disturbed by raising a rival to Didier's son, whom the Greeks had brought back.

Charlemagne thus had one more tributary, and one more war. It was the same in Germany. For having advanced to the Elbe, and being thus in presence of the Slaves, he found himself constrained to interfere in their quarrels, and to second the Abodrites against the Wiltzi, (or Weletabi.) The Slaves placed hostages in his hands; and the empire, always extending its limits, but always growing weaker, appears to have gained the whole of the country between the Elbe and the Oder.

Between the Slaves settled on the Baltic and those on the Adriatic, and beyond Bavaria, which, as we have just seen, had become a mere province, Charlemagne encountered the Avars, whose indefatigable cavalry, intrenched in the marshes of Hungary, swept thence at pleasure upon the Slaves and the Greek empire. Every winter, says the historians, they used to go and lie with the wives of the Slaves. Their camp, or ring, was a huge village of wood, covering a whole province, and encircled by hedges of trees with their branches interlaced. Here was amassed the plunder of centuries, the spoils of the Byzantines—a strange heap of the most brilliant objects, and, at the same time, the most useless to barbarians; a fantastical museum of robberies. According to an old soldier of Charlemagne's, this camp must have been twelve or fifteen leagues in circumference,\* like the eastern cities, like Nineveh or Babylon. Such is the Tartar habit—the people collected into one camp, while part are scattered over desert pastures. The visitor of the chagan of the Turks in the sixth century, found the barbarian sitting on a golden throne in the midst of the desert. The chagan of the Avars, in his wooden village, rested on beds of massive gold, which he forced from the weakness of the emperors of Constantinople.†

These barbarians, now neighbors of the Franks, sought to exact tribute from them as they had done from the Greeks. Charlemagne attacked them with three separate armies, and

\* . . . . . *Serendum legem Francorum.* *Annal. Nazar.* ap. *Scr. R. Fr.* v. 11.

† *Eglinb. Kar. M. c. 30.* *ibid.* 97. *Harum conjuratumum Fastrade crudelitatem causam et origo extitit creditur; et lectro in ambabus (conjuratumibus) contra regem conspiratum est, quia uxoris crudelitatem consensit et sine natum benignitatem ac soliti mansuetudine immaniter exorbitantem videbatur.*—*Eglinb. Annal.* *ibid.* 110. "Charlemagne's eldest son, Pepin, and certain Franks conspired against him, alleging that they could not endure the cruelty of queen Fastrade . . . . . Pardon, a Lombard, having detected the plot, was rewarded with the monastery of St. Denys."

‡ *Annal. Nazar.* ap. *Scr. R. Fr.* v. 12.

§ *Annal. Franc.* *ibid.* 65. *Filius regis Pipinus, ex consensu Hildibrand, cum aliquibus comitibus Francorum consiliatur . . . . .*

¶ *Eglinb. Kar. M. c. 30.* *Domini (ann. 788) et Britanni qui . . . . . dicto confutantes non cessant.*

\* Monech. *S. Galli*, l. ii. c. 2. "The country of the Huns was encircled by nine circles. One circle was as wide as the distance between Tours and Combray. The streets and houses were so far apart, that a shout could hardly be heard from one to the other. Over against these buildings, and between these impregnable enclosures, gates of no great width were constructed. Likewise from the second circle, formed like the first, it was twenty German, which are equal to forty Italian miles, to the third; and so on to the ninth, only each circle being much smaller than the one before it. They had heaped up in these fortifications, for two hundred years and more, riches of every kind from all the western countries, almost stripping the whole west."

† *Ess. Monarch.* p. 166-167. *Thompson.* *ib.* *S. c. 12*, 17.—*Gibbon*, ch. 46, 48.

cing as far as the Raab, burnt the few  
tions he met with ; but what did the burn-  
these huts signify to the Avars ? Charle-  
the cavalry was worn out in seeking through  
saert region an invisible enemy, encoun-  
in his stead marshy plains, bogs, and over-  
g rivers ; among which the Frank army  
its horses.\*

say the Frank army : but the Frank na-  
like Theseus' ship, for, renewed piece-  
ce, scarcely any thing remains of its origi-  
lf. Charlemagne's armies were recruited  
sia and in Saxony quite as much as in  
asia, and it was these nations which real-  
tered from the losses sustained by the  
s. They had not only to bear the yoke  
clergy, but, what was intolerable to these  
rians, were forced to forsake the dress,  
ers, and language of their fathers, to bury  
elves in the battalions of the Franks, their  
es, and to conquer and die for them. And  
seldom saw their country again, being  
three or four hundred leagues off against  
panish Moors, or the Lombards of Bene-  
m. Death being their fate, the Saxons  
red facing it in their own land. They  
ered Charlemagne's lieutenants, burnt the  
hes, expelled or slaughtered the priests,  
turned enthusiastically to the worship of  
old gods. They made common cause  
the Avars, instead of furnishing an army  
to them. The same year, the army of the  
Hixém, finding Aquitaine drained of its  
ons, passed the Ebro, crossed the *marches*  
le Pyrenees, burnt the faubourgs of Nar-  
de, defeated with great slaughter the troops  
together by William (au Court-Nez)  
of Toulouse and regent of Aquitaine, and  
withdrew into Spain, carrying off with  
a whole nation of prisoners, and laden  
rich spoils with which the caliph adorned  
magnificent mosque of Cordova.† The  
was in arms against Charlemagne, and  
nature herself. When he received this  
rous news he was in Suabia, hurrying on  
orks of a canal which was designed to  
et the Rhine with the Danube, and which,  
of invasion, would have facilitated the  
ce of the empire. But the humidity of  
round and the constant rains prevented its  
carried into execution ;‡ and so with the

great bridge of Meutz, which was to have  
secured the communication between France and  
Germany, and was burnt down by the boatmen  
on either side of the river.

Notwithstanding these various reverses,  
Charlemagne soon resumed the ascendant over  
enemies at such distant points from each other.  
He determined to unpeople Saxony, since he  
could not subdue it. Encamping on the Weser,  
and perhaps, by way of convincing the Saxons  
that he would not relax his hold on them, call-  
ing his camp Heerstall, after the name of the  
patrimonial castle of the Carolingians on the  
Meuse, he thence carried his inroads on every  
side, and forced, from more than one canton, as  
many as a third of the inhabitants to be deliver-  
ed up to him. These flocks of captives were  
then driven southward and westward, and set-  
tled in strange lands, in the midst of Christian  
and hostile populations, and speaking a different  
tongue. In like manner, the Babylonian and  
Persian monarchs had transported the Jews to  
the Tigris, and the people of Chaleis to the  
shores of the Persian gulf ; and so had Probus  
transported colonies of Franks and Frisians as  
far as the shores of the Euxine sea.

At the same time, a son of Charlemagne's,  
taking advantage of a civil war among the  
Avars, invaded them on the south with an army  
of Bavarians and Lombards. He crossed the  
Danube and the Theise, and at length laid his  
hands on that precious ring, in whose enclosure  
slumbered such vast riches. So great was the  
booty, says the annalist, the Franks were poor  
in comparison with what they became from that  
moment. It would seem as if this hoarding  
race had lost its life with the gold over which  
it brooded—like the dragon of Scandinavian  
poetry, for it at once fell into a state of pitiable  
weakness. Its chagan turned Christian ; and  
they who remained Pagans, were constrained  
to eat out of wooden platters along with the  
dogs, at the gates of the bishops sent to convert  
them.\* Some years afterwards, they humbly  
sought from Charlemagne refuge in Bavaria,  
alleging their inability to make head against  
the Slaves, whom they formerly had the upper  
hand of.

Now, at last, Charlemagne began to hope that  
he should enjoy some rest. To judge by the  
extent of his dominion, if not by his real strength,  
he must have been the most powerful monarch  
at this time on the face of the globe. Why  
then should he not accomplish what Theodoric  
had been unable to effect—the resurrection of  
the Roman empire ? Such seems to have been  
the thought of the priestly counsellors by whom  
he was surrounded. In the year 800, Charle-

et. Max III. ap. Her. R. Pr. v. 155.  
romie. *Musée*, v. 74.—Hist. du Languedoc. I. iv.  
Comte. Histoire de la domination des Arabes et des  
en Espagne. translated from the Arabic into Span-  
ish, of the French translation, p. 264.  
ish. *Annal.* ad ann. 793. "The king had been per-  
that by forming between the Rhednitz and the Alt-  
anal large enough for vessels, navigation might easily  
fed on between the Rhine and the Danube, one of  
fers falling into the Danube and the other into the  
Charlemagne immediately repaired to this district  
he whole of his court, and collected an immense  
r of labourers whom he kept at work the whole of the  
s. They dug about two thousand paces of the canal,  
width of three hundred yards but unsuccessfully.  
ark came to nothing, owing to the marshy nature of  
l, which was rendered worse, too, by continual rains,  
whatever earth was dug out in the day-time, its

place was sure to be filled up by an equal quantity in the  
night. While engaged in this undertaking two very un-  
pleasant pieces of news were brought to him. First, that the  
Saxons were everywhere up in arms. Secondly, that the  
Saracens had invaded Septimania, encountered the counts  
and guards of that frontier, slain numbers of the Franks,  
and returned home in triumph."

\* *Pap. Critica*, ad ann. 804, p. 120.—*Diamond*, ii. 483.

magne repairs to Rome, under the pretext of re-establishing the pope, who had been driven from the pontifical city.\* On the festival of Christmas, the last year of the eighth century, while Charlemagne is absorbed in prayer, the pope places on his head the imperial crown, and proclaims him Augustus. The emperor is astonished, and regrets the imposition of a burden beyond his strength†—a puerile hypocrisy which he belies by adopting the titles and ceremonies of the court of Byzantium. For the perfect restoration of the empire, one thing more was necessary—to marry the aged Charlemagne to the aged Irene, who reigned at Constantinople, after murdering her son. So thought the pope,‡ but not so Irene, who took good care not to accept of a master.§

A crowd of petty kings adorned the court of the king of the Franks, and aided him in keeping up this weak and pale representation of the empire. The young Egbert, king of Sussex, and Eardulf, king of Northumberland, came to form themselves in the polished school of the Franks.¶ Both were re-established in their dominions by Charlemagne. Lothar, duke of the Basques, was also brought up in his court. The Christian kings and emirs of Spain followed him even to the forests of Bavaria, to implore his assistance against the caliph of Cordova. Alphonso, king of Galicia, displayed the rich hangings which he had taken in the sack of Lisbon, and offered them to the emperor. The Edrisites of Fez also sent him an embassy; but no embassy was so brilliant as that of Haroun Alraschid, caliph of Bagdad, who thought it expedient to entertain relations with the enemy of his enemy, the schismatic caliph of Spain. Among other things, he is said to have offered Charlemagne the keys of the holy sepulchre—a very honorable present, which it is certain the king of the Franks could not

abuse; and it was reported that the chief of the infidels had transferred to him the sovereignty of Jerusalem. A clock that struck the hours, an ape, and an elephant, were presents which struck the people of the West with astonishment; and it depends on ourselves to believe that the gigantic horn still shown at Aix-la-Chapelle, is one of this self-same elephant's teeth.

To know Charlemagne, we must see him in his palace of Aix.† This restorer of the empire of the West had despoiled Ravenna of her most precious marbles in order to adorn his barbarian Rome. Actively busied even when taking his leisure, he prosecuted his studies there under Peter of Pisa and the Saxon Alcuin, applying himself to grammar, rhetoric, and astronomy. He also acquired the art of writing—a rare accomplishment in those days.‡ He piqued himself on his choral singing, and was unparing in his animadversions on those priests who were deficient in this part of the service.§ He even

\* "The poet's figurative expression to denote an impostor."—

† Ant. Arrian. Parthian Hist., ant. Germania Tigrida.

(The Parthian shall as soon drink of the Anar, the German of the Tigris.)

‡ "because at this time a literal truth," says the monk of St. Gall, "through Charles's relations with Haroun. For proof hereof I call all Germany as witness, which, in the time of your glorious father, Louis, (the writer is addressing Charlemagne the Bald,) was held to pay a denier for every head of corn, and the same for every manse dependent on the royal domain,—towards the redemption of the Christians in the Holy Land; who, in their misery, implored your father to deliver them, as having been subjects of your great-grandfather Charles, and of your grandfather Louis." Monach. Sangall. l. ii. c. 14.

† He built his palace at Aix, we are told by Eginhard, on account of its hot springs. "He delighted in their great warmth, and frequently bathed in them, inviting the great of his court, his friends, and his guests, so that at times there would be more than a hundred persons bathing along with him." Eginh. in Kar. M. c. 22.—He used to pass the autumn in hunting. c. 30.

‡ Eginh. in Karol. M. c. 23. "He studied grammar with the deacon Peter, of Pisa. His instructor in his other studies, was Alcuin, surnamed Alcuin, also a deacon, born in Britain and of Saxon race, a man of universal knowledge, and under whose guidance he devoted much time and labor to rhetoric and logic, and particularly to astronomy. He also learned the art of calculation; and studied the course of the stars with curious and eager assiduity. He also attempted to acquire writing; and it was his custom to keep tablets under his pillow, that he might seize every opportunity of practising the formation of letters, but having begun late in life, he made no great progress."—In the concluding years of his life, his chief occupations were prayers, almsgiving, and the correction of books. The day before his death, he had carefully corrected, with the assistance of some Greeks and Syrians, the gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John. "Thegan, de Gestis Ludov. Pil. c. 7, ap. Scr. R. Fr. vi. 76.—He sent "to his best friend," pope Adrian, a psalter in Latin, written in letters of gold, and with a dedication in verse. (Eginh. ap. Scr. R. Fr. v. 402.) He was buried with the gospel, written in letters of gold, in his hand. (Monach. Sangall. in Kar. M. lib. 185.)

§ Eginh. in Kar. M. c. 26. "He carried the reading and chanting of the Scriptures to perfection, although he never himself read in public, and sang only in an under tone together with the choir."—Mon. Sangall. l. i. c. 7. "It was never necessary in the basilica of the learned Charles to point out to each the passage which he had to read, or to mark where he had to leave off with wax or one's nail—for all knew so well what they had to read, that if told to begin suddenly and without preparation, they were never at fault. The emperor would lift his finger or a stick, (or would send some one to the priests, who were seated some distance from him,) and point out the one he wished to begin. He would

\* He likewise entertained a warm regard for Leo, Pope Adrian's predecessor. "On the news of Adrian's death," says Eginhard, (Vita Kar. M. c. 19.) "whom he esteemed his dearest friend, he wept as if he had lost a brother or beloved son."—Id. c. 17. "Nor, throughout his reign, did he cherish any thought more warmly than the idea of restoring Rome to her ancient influence by his instrumentality."—"He went four times to Rome for the fulfilment of vows, and to perform prayers there."—See Adrian's letter to Charlemagne. (Scr. R. Fr. v. 403, 544-545, 546, &c.)

† Eginh. Annal. p. 215. Coram altari, ubi ad orationem se inclinaverat, Leo papa coronam capiti ejus imposuit.—See the passage (Eginh. Vita Kar. M. lib. 100) freely rendered by Gibbon, "In his familiar conversation, the emperor protested his ignorance of the intentions of Leo, which he would have disappointed by his absence on that memorable day."

‡ Chronogr. Theophanis, ap. Scr. R. Fr. v. 180. "Εἰς αὐτὸν δὲ ἐπιστρέφοντες πρὸς Κωνσταντῖνον Ἀνατολίαν καὶ τὸν Πάτριον Αἰώνιον πρὸς τὴν Εἰρήνην, αἰτούμενοι ζυγῶναι αὐτῷ τῷ Κωνσταντῖνῳ πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸν."

§ A Greek proverb said—"Thou art the Frank for your friend, but not your neighbor." Eginh. in Kar. M. c. 16.

¶ Eginh. Annal. ap. Scr. R. Fr. v. 57. "The king of Northumberland, in the Isle of Britain, Eardulf by name, being driven out of his country and kingdom, sought the emperor, then at Nimegen; and, having explained the reason of his journey, repaired to Rome; on his return from which city he was restored to his kingdom, by the mediation of the legates of the Roman pontiff, and of the emperor."

found time to watch who went in and who went out of the palace;<sup>9</sup> and for his convenience in this respect, he caused lattices to be made in its upper galleries. He regularly rose a-nights for matins.† Tall, with a round head, full neck, long nose, rather prominent belly, and a clear, but small voice‡—so Charlemagne is drawn by his historian and contemporary. On the contrary, his wife Hildegard had a strong voice; and Fastrade, whom he afterwards married, ruled him with manly influence. However, he had many mistresses, and married five times; but, on the death of his fifth wife, he did not marry again, but selected four concubines, with whom he thenceforward contented himself.§ The Solomon of the Franks had six sons and eight daughters—the latter very beautiful and very frail. It is stated that he was exceedingly attached to them, and never wished them to marry, and he delighted in seeing them parade behind him in his wars and journeys.||

mark where he himself intended to leave off by a guttural sound, which all were accustomed to look out anxiously for, so that whether he ended at the close of a meaning, or at the pause in the midst of a sentence, or even before, no one took it up at any other than the exact spot where he left off, however strange beginning there might appear. So that, although there might be some who did not understand what they read, nowhere were better readers to be found than in his palace, and no one durst enter his choir, how ever known elsewhere) who could not both read and sing well."—C. 21. "On the occasion of a certain festival, a young man, a relative of the king's, singing the Alleluia excellently, the king observed to a bishop near him, 'Our priest sings well.' When the foolish man, thinking the king was joking, and not aware that the priest was his relation, replied—'It's like our boys singing to their oxen.' At which important answer the emperor darted such a withering look at him that he was as if thunderstruck."

9 Mon. Sangall. l. i. c. 22. Quæ mansiones, ita circa palatium prætiosissimi Caroli ejus dispositione constructæ sunt, ut ipse per cancellos solarii aut tunc se posset videre, quæcumque ab intrantibus vel exeuntibus quæsi latenter fierent. The monk goes on to say—"The apartments of the nobles were raised to such a height from the ground, that not only the soldiers and their servants, but all classes could shelter themselves from rain, frost, or snow, by the side of the hearth, and at the same time, Charles's searching eyes could detect all that was going on."

† Eginh. in Kar. M. c. 25. "He was a diligent attendant at church morning and evening, and in the night, and at meals, as long as his health allowed." Mon. Sangall. l. i. c. 23. "The most glorious Charles had a long and wide cloak to wrap himself up in for the night's sleep."—In Lent he used to fast till the eighth hour of the day.

‡ Eginh. in Kar. M. c. 22. "He was of large and stout frame, of a just and not disproportionate height, round headed, with very large and quick eyes, his nose a little exceeding a moderate size, his neck thick and short, his belly rather protuberant, his voice clear, but not consonant to his stature.—He hated physicians, because they tried to persuade him to discontinue the use of most meats, to which he was accustomed, and to habituate himself to boiled."—"We may allow the chronicles of St. Denis, written so long afterwards, to relate how he split a knight in two with one stroke of his sword, and could carry a man, fully armed, and standing upright, in his hand. The emperor has been perpetuated to the empire, and it has been concluded that he who reigned from the Elbe to the Ebro must needs have been a giant."

§ Eginh. in Kar. M. c. 14. Postquam Lutgarda mox tem quatuor habuit concubinas.

|| Id. ibid. c. 19. . . . Nunquam iter sine illa faceret. Adquebantur ei filii, filie vero pene sequuntur. Cum cum pulcherrime essent et ab eo plurimum diligenter curam daret quod nullam eorum eunim aut uxorum aut sternum nuptum daret voluit. Eginhard adds. He kept them all with him till he died saying that he could not live without their society. And on this account though fortunate in all other respects, he experienced the malignancy of fortune—though he dissembled so far as to seem

The literary and religious glory of Charlemagne's reign is derived, as has been already remarked, from three foreigners. Alcuin, the Saxon, and Clement, the Scot, founded the Palatine school, which was the model of all succeeding ones. Benedict of Aniane, the Goth, and son of the count of Maguelone,\* reformed the religious houses, and did away with the differences introduced by St. Columbanus and the Irish missionaries of the seventh century. He imposed the rule of St. Benedict on all the monks of the empire; but how far this peddling and pedantic reform fell short of the original institution, has been excellently shown by M. Guizot.† No less pedantic and fruitless was the attempt at literary reform, in which Alcuin was the prime mover. We know that Charlemagne and his principal counsellors formed themselves into a kind of academy, in which he took his place as king David, the rest assuming different names as well, as Homer, Horace, &c. Notwithstanding this pompous nomenclature, a few poems of Theodulf, bishop of Orleans, a Gotho-Italian, and some letters of Leidrad's, archbishop of Lyons, are all that is left of their efforts worthy attention. The wish and the endeavor to re-establish uniformity of instruction throughout the empire, remain to deserve our praise. Charlemagne encountered great difficulties in the mere attempt to bring into uniform use the Latin liturgy and the Gregorian chant; and with so many different nations and languages to deal with, despite all his efforts the grossest differences constantly prevailed.‡ Drogo, the emperor's brother, presided himself over the school of Metz.

With this turn for literature and Roman reminiscences, it is not surprising that Charlemagne and his son Louis loved to surround themselves with strangers, and literary men of mean extraction. "It happened that together with some Breton merchants, two Irish Scots,§ men of incomparable skill in literature, both profane and sacred, landed on the coast of Gaul. They displayed no merchandise for sale, but daily exhorted the crowd of purchasers on this wise—"Whoever desires wisdom, let him come to us and receive it, we have it to sell." . . . This they continued so long, that the people in their astonishment, or else concluding

never to have heard any reports unfavorable to their hom-

\* Acta 889. Ord. p. Bened. Dec. iv. p. 194. Et Gotsarum genere, partibus Gothiæ, oriundus fuit. . . . Pater ejus constitutum Magdalunensem tenuit. See, also, Guizot 1829, 227. leçon.

† Vingt sixième leçon, p. 42, sqq.

‡ See a curious passage from a life of St. Gregory, l. v. p. 445 of the *Scriptores Rerum Francicarum*. See, also, the life of Charlemagne, by a monk of Angoulême, (sp. *See R. Fr.* 145.)—Mon. Sangall. l. i. c. 10. "Being annoyed at finding the chanting different in different provinces, he sent to the pope for a dozen priests skilled in psalmody. But when they had been dispatched to different quarters, they all maliciously set about teaching different methods, at which Charles indignantly complained to the pope, who put them all in prison."

§ It has already been stated that the Irish and the Scotch were anciently indifferently termed—Goths.

them to be madmen, conveyed information of the circumstance to king Charles, always a passionate lover of wisdom. He sent for them with all haste, and asked them if it were true, as fame had reported to him, that they had wisdom with them? They replied, 'We have it, and we give it, in the name of the Lord, to those who seek it worthily.' And, on his asking what they sought in return, they said—'A convenient place, rational creatures, and—what cannot be done without in this earthly pilgrimage—food and raiment.' Filled with joy, the king at first kept them some time with him. Then, being compelled to undertake certain military expeditions, he ordered one of them, named Clement, to remain in Gaul, and intrusted to him a number of children of all ranks of society, high, low, and of the middle class, and found them in such things as were necessary, as well as provided them with a comfortable abode. The other, John Mailros, (Melrose?) a disciple of Bede's, he sent into Italy, giving him St. Augustin's monastery, near Pavia, that he might open a school there. On hearing of these things, Albinus, of the nation of the Angles, one of the learned Bede's disciples, seeing the warm reception given to wise men by Charles, the most religious of kings, embarked and repaired to him. . . . Charles gave him St. Martin's abbey, near Tours, in order that, during his absence, he might repose himself there, and teach those who hastened to hear him.\* And such fruits did his learned labors produce, that the modern Gauls or Franks were thought to equal the ancient Romans or Athenians.

"When, after a long absence, the victorious Charles returned to Gaul, he ordered the children who had been placed under Clement's care to be brought to him, to show him their exercises and verses. Such of them as belonged to the middle and lower classes displayed works beyond all hope, seasoned with all the condiments of wisdom; but such as were of noble descent had only crude and silly trifles to show. Then the wise monarch, imitating the justice of the eternal Judge, placed those who had done well on his right hand, and addressed them as follows—'A thousand thanks, my sons, for your diligence in laboring accord-

ing to my orders, and for your own good. Proceed; endeavor to perfect yourselves, and I will reward you with magnificent bishoprics and abbeys, and you shall be ever honorable in my sight.' Then he bent an angry countenance on those on his left hand, and troubling their consciences with a lightning look, with bitter irony, and thundering rather than speaking, he burst upon them with this terrible apostrophe—'But for you nobles, you sons of the great, delicate and pretty minions as you are, proud of your birth and your riches, you have neglected my orders, and your own glory, and the study of letters, and have given yourselves up to ease, sports, and idleness, or to worthless exercises!' After this preamble, raising on high his august head and his invincible arm, he fulminated his usual oath—'By the King of Heaven, I care little for your nobility and beauty, however others may admire you; and hold it for certain, that if you do not make amends for your past negligence by vigilant zeal, you will never obtain any thing from Charles.'

"One of these low-born youths of whom I have spoken, a proficient in the arts of dictating and writing, was placed by him in the chapel—the name given by the kings of the Franks to their oratory from the *chape* (cope) of St. Martin, which they constantly wore in battle, for their own defence and the defeat of the enemy. One day, on news being brought to the prudent Charles of the death of a certain bishop, he asked whether the prelate had sent before him into the other world any of his wealth and of the fruit of his labors? and, on the messenger's replying, 'Lord, not more than two pounds of silver,' our young clerk sighed, and, unable to contain the lively thought within him, exclaimed, 'A poor provision for so long a journey!' Charles, the most reasonable of men, after a few moments' reflection, said to him, 'What thinkest thou, hadst thou this bishopric, wouldst thou make a better provision for so long a journey?' The clerk, with his mouth watering at these words as at grapes of the first vintage dropping into it of themselves, threw himself at his feet, saying, 'Lord, herein I trust myself to the will of God, and to thy power.' And the king said to him, 'Keep thee behind this curtain at my back, and thou wilt hear how many protectors thou hast.' In fact, at the news of the bishop's death, the courtiers, ever on the watch for the misfortunes or the death of others, all impatient and envious of one another, endeavored to obtain the vacant place through those about the emperor's person. But he, holding firmly to his purpose, refused every one, saying that he would not break his word to the young man. At last, Queen Hildegard, having first sent the great of the kingdom, sought the king in person, in order to secure the bishopric for her own clerk. As he received her demand most graciously, saying, that he neither would nor could refuse her any thing, but that he could never forgive himself

\* Eginh. in Kar. M. c. 26. Albinum, cognomento Alcinum, item diaconum, de Britannia, Saxonicis generis hominem. Alcinus wrote to Charlemagne—"Send me from France some learned treatises as excellent as those of which I have the care here. (In the library at York,) and which were collected by my master, Ebert; and I will read some of my young people to bear into France the flowers of Britain, so that there may no longer be only an enclosed garden at York, but that some offshoots from Paradise may blossom at Tours as well." Epist. I.—Eginhard says (c. 16) that Charlemagne bestowed honors and magisterial offices on the Scots, from the sense he entertained of their fidelity and worth; and that the Scottish kings were much devoted to him.—In his life of St. Cessarius, dedicated to Charlemagne, Hincmar says, "Almost the whole nation of the Scots, leaving the dangers of the sea, come to settle in our country with a numerous train of philosophers."

should he deceive the young clerk, she did as all women do when they seek to bend their husband's will to their own caprices. Dissembling her passion, and softening her big voice, she strove to coax and wheedle the unshakeable soul of the emperor into compliance, saying—'Dear prince, my lord, why throw away the bishopric on this child! I beseech you, my sweetest lord, my glory, and my support, to bestow it on my clerk, your faithful servant.' Then the young man whom Charles had placed close by him behind the curtain, in order that he might hear the solicitations of all the suitors, clasping the curtain and the king together, cried out in imploring tone—'Stand firm, lord king, and suffer not the power which God has confided to thee to be wrested from thy hands.' Then this courageous friend of truth ordered him to show himself, and said, 'Take the bishopric, and see that thou art dead before me and before thyself into the other world, greater alms and a better provision for that long journey, whence there is no return.'"

However, whatever might be Charles's preference for strangers, and literary men of mean condition, his endless wars made the men of the German stock too necessary to him, for him to become altogether Roman. German was the language which he commonly spoke; and he even wished, like Chilperic, to frame a German grammar, and had a collection made of the old national songs of the Germans.<sup>†</sup> His object may have been to arouse the patriotism of his soldiers, just as, in 1813, Germany, not recognising herself when she awoke, sought herself in the Nibelungen. Charlemagne always wore the German dress.<sup>‡</sup> Perhaps, it would have been impolitic for him to have presented himself in any other garb to his soldiers.

Here, then, we see him strenuously affecting to renew the empire—often speaking Latin,<sup>§</sup>

and forming his staff of officers on the model of that of the imperial ministers. Nothing can be more imposing than the picture left us by Hincmar of Charlemagne's administration. The general assembly of the nation, regularly held twice a year, deliberated, (the churchmen and the laymen, in separate bodies)—on the matters laid before it by the king. They then met in committee; with a master, whose sole desire was to gain correct information. Four times a year, provincial assemblies were held, with *missi dominici* (royal commissioners) as presidents. These *missi* were the eyes of the emperor—the quick and faithful messengers who, incessantly traversing the empire, reformed and denounced every abuse. Under them, the counts presided over inferior assemblies, in which they rendered justice, assisted by the *boni homines*, jurymen chosen among the landed proprietors. Under these, again, were other assemblies, as those of the vicars or viscounts, and of the centenaries or governors of hundreds; what do I say—the humblest beneficed clergyman, and the overseers of the royal farms, held courts like the counts.\*

Assuredly this apparent order leaves nothing to be desired. There is no want of forms. A more regular system of government cannot be imagined. Yet it is clear that the general assemblies were not general. It is not to be supposed that the *missi*, counts, and bishops, ran twice a year after the emperor, in the distant expeditions from which he dates his capitularies; that one while they scale the Alps, another, the Pyrenees—equestrian legislators who must have passed their lives in galloping from the Ebro to the Elbe. Still less could the people have followed him. In the marshes of Saxony, and in the marches of Spain, Italy, and Bavaria, these were only hostile, or conquered populations. If the word *people*, in this case, be not a fiction, it signifies the army; or else a few notables who accompanied the nobles and bishops, &c., represented the great nation of the Franks, as at Rome the thirty electors represented the thirty *curiæ* in the *comitia curiata*. As to the assemblies of the counts, the *boni homines*, the *scabini* (schæffen)<sup>†</sup> who compose them, are elected by the count with the approbation of the people, and are removable at his pleasure. They are no longer the old Germans judging their equals; but rather resemble the poor decurions, presided over and directed by an imperial agent. The sad image of the Roman empire is summoned up again in this early decay of the empire of the barbarians. Yes, the empire is restored; only too well restored. The count sits in the seat of the *duumvir*, the bishop calls to our mind the *defensor civitatis*, and the *hermanni*, (men of the army,) who forsake their property

\* Monach. Mangell. l. i. c. 2. sqq.—See, also, in the fifth chapter of the same writer, an amusing account of a poor man who was in like manner preferred by Charles to a rich bishopric.

† Eginh. in Kar. M. c. 29. *Barbara et antiquissima carmina, quibus veterum regum actus ac bella canebantur, scripsit, memoratusque revolvit. Inclavit et grammaticum patris sermonis.*—According to Eginhard, c. 14, Charlemagne gave the months significant names in German, as winter month, great month, &c., but, as M. Guizot observes, we find similar appellations used by various German nations before Charlemagne's time.

‡ "When the Franks, fighting in the midst of the Gauls, saw the latter clad in gay cloaks, of different colors, taken with the novelty, they besought their own for the Frankish costume. The severe emperor, who thought the latter finer, did not oppose the change; but when he saw the Franks taking advantage of it to sell the little short cloaks at as high a price as they were used to sell the large ones, he ordered that only very long and wide cloaks should be bought of them, and at the ordinary price. 'Of what use,' said he, 'are these little cloaks? In hot they won't cover me, on horseback, they screen me neither from the rain nor the wind, and when I satisfy the calls of nature, my limbs are frozen.'" Monach. Mangell. l. i. c. 28.

§ Eginh. in Kar. M. c. 25. "He so mastered Latin, as to speak indifferently in it or his native tongue. Greek he understood better than he spoke it."—Pertz. Monach. l. v. ap. Bez. R. Fr. v. 176.

¶ *Plinius linguæ septuaginta Latine, Nec Græcæ prorsus necesse ostendit.*

\* Capitular. ann. 810, c. 2. ap. Bez. R. Fr. v. 681.—Hincmar, ex Adalardi libris, ed. 1643, p. 286, 287.

† Compare Savigny and Grimm.

in order to withdraw themselves from the overwhelming obligations which it imposes on them, stand in the place of the Roman *curiales*\*—those free proprietors, whose only safety consisted in deserting their property and in flying, or in turning soldiers or priests, and whom the law was unable to confine to their homes.

The desolation of the empire is here reproduced. The enormous price of corn and cheapness of cattle are clear proofs that the land remains in pasture.† Slavery, mitigated, it is true, is greatly increased. Charlemagne gratifies his master, Alcuin, with a farm of twenty thousand slaves.‡ The nobles daily force the poor to give themselves up to them, body and goods. Slavery is an asylum where the freeman daily takes refuge.

No legislative genius could have stayed society on the rapid hill down which it was descending. Charlemagne could only confirm the laws of the barbarians. "When he had taken the name of emperor," says Eginhard, "he designed to fill up omissions in the laws, to correct them, and to make them consistent and harmonious. But all he did was to add some articles, which nevertheless were imperfect."§

Generally speaking, the capitularies are administrative laws—civil and ecclesiastical ordinances. They contain, it is true, a considerable mass of legislation, which seems intended to supply the omissions alluded to by Eginhard; but, perhaps, these acts, though all bearing Charlemagne's name, are only repetitions of the capitularies of the ancient Frankish kings. It is unlikely that the Pepins, that Clotaire II., and Dagobert, should have left so few capitularies; and that Brunehaut, Fredegonda, and Ebroin, should have left none.¶ That must have happened to Charlemagne which would have occurred with respect to Justinian, had all the monuments of Roman law, previous to his time, been lost—the compiler would have been taken for the legislator. This conjecture derives confirmation from the striking differences of language and form presented by the capitularies.

The original portion of the capitularies is the administrative, which provides for the wants of society according to the conjuncture. It is im-

possible not to admire the activity, though fruitless, of that government which made every effort to reduce to some degree of order the immense disorder of such an empire, and to introduce some degree of unity into an heterogeneous whole, all whose parts tended to isolate themselves and fly off from each other. The large share occupied by canonical legislation\* shows, although we derive the knowledge from no other source, that the priests had a principal hand in all this; and the fact is rendered plainer still, by the moral and religious counsels with which the laws abound. They reflect the pedantic tone of the Visigoth laws, made, as is well known, by the bishops. Charlemagne, like the Visigoth monarchs, gave the bishops an inquisitorial power, by investing them with the right of pursuing criminals within the boundaries of their dioceses. A few passages of the capitularies, condemnatory of the abuses of the episcopal privileges, cannot invalidate our belief in the supremacy of the clergy during this reign. They may have been dictated by priests attached to the court, by chaplains, and by the central clergy, naturally jealous of the local power of the bishops. The friend of Rome, and surrounded by priests like Leidrad, and so many others who considered episcopacy equivalent to retirement from the world, Charlemagne would naturally concede much to this untitled clergy who composed his ordinary council.

The feeling of Byzantine and Gothic pedantry, observable in the capitularies, is conspicuous in all Charlemagne's conduct relative to matters of doctrine. He ordered a long letter to be written in his name to the heretic Felix of Urgel, who, with the church of Spain, maintained that Jesus, as man, was simply the adopted son of God. In his name, too, appeared the famous *Caroline* books against the adoration of images.‡ Three hundred bishops condemned at Frankfort, what three hundred and fifty bishops had just approved of at Nice.§ The men of the West, who struggled in the North against Pagan idolatry, necessarily denounced image worship; while those of the East justified it through hatred of the image-breaking Arabs. The pope, who coincided with the Eastern

\* See Guizot, 21<sup>e</sup> leçon.

† Numerous examples might be cited.—*Capitul. ann. 802*, ap. *Scr. R. Fr.* v. 639. "It has been thought fit that every one should use his best endeavors to preserve himself wholly the servant of God, according to God's word and his baptismal vow, as far as his understanding and his strength permit; because our lord the emperor cannot give necessary heed to each separately."—*Capitul. ann. 803*, *ibid.* 677. "Desire may be either laudable or culpable. Laudable, according to the apostle, &c."—"Avarice is seeking what is another's, and giving nothing of one's own. And, according to the apostle, it is the root of all evils. They follow base lucre, who seek by fraud of every kind, for the sake of gain, to heap up all manner of things dishonestly."

‡ *Carol. libri II. c. 21.* "God alone, therefore, is to be worshipped, adored, and glorified, of whom it is spoken by the prophet—'His name alone is to be exalted.' &c."

§ (This was the seventh general council—but second of Nice—held A. D. 787, for the restoration of images. The council of Frankfort against image-worship, was held seven years afterwards, A. D. 794.)—TRANSLATOR.

\* The curial was to have at least twenty-five acres of land; the heriman from thirty-six to forty-eight.

† "One ox, or six bushels of wheat, were worth two sous. Five oxen, or a single robe, or thirty bushels of wheat, ten sous. Six oxen, or a cuirass, or thirty-six bushels of wheat, twelve sous." M. Desmichels, *Hist. du Moyen-Age*, II. I rely for these prices on the exactitude of this conscientious writer. But he commits a mistake in referring for proof to the Canons of the Council of Frankfort.

‡ *Præf. ad Ellipand. Epist. 37*, ap. Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* l. xiv. c. 17.

§ Eginh. in *Kar. M. c. 20.* Post susceptum imperiale nomen, cum adverteret multa legibus populi sui deesse, (nam Franci duas habent leges plurimis in locis valde diversas,) cogitavit quæ deessent addere, et discrepantia unire, prava quoque ac perperam prolata corrigere. Sed de his nihil aliud ab eo factum est, quam quod pauca capitula, et ea imperfecta, legibus addidit.

[ See the *Recueil de Baluze*.

Christians, durst not speak out in opposition to Charlemagne; and manifested equal prudence when the French church, in imitation of that of Spain, added to the Nicene creed that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son, (*Filioque*), as well as from the Father.

While Charlemagne is lecturing on theology, dreaming of the Roman empire, and studying grammar, the power of the Franks is quietly crumbling away. Charlemagne's young son having, in his kingdom of Aquitaine, either through weakness or a sense of justice, given up and restored all that Pepin\* had laid violent hands on, incurs his father's displeasure; still he only did that voluntarily which was taking place of itself. The work of conquest was naturally going to pieces; men and lands gradually slipped away from the monarch's hands into those of the nobles, and, particularly, of the bishops, that is to say, of the local authorities who were soon to constitute the feudal republic.

Abroad, the empire manifested a similar decay. In Italy, its efforts against Beneventum and Venice had been fruitless. In Germany, it had retreated from the Oder to the Elbe, and suffered the Slaves to divide its power. And, indeed, how could it forever contend and struggle with new enemies! Beyond the Saxons and the Bavarians Charlemagne had found the Slaves, and then the Avars; beyond the Lombards, the Greeks; beyond Aquitaine and the Ebro, the caliphate of Cordova. This cincture of barbarians, which he conceived to be single, and which he at first broke through, doubled and tripled itself before him; and when his arms dropped down through weariness, then there appeared, with the Danish fleets, that restless and fantastic image of the Northern world, which had been too much forgotten. These, the true Germans, come to demand a reckoning from those hasty Germans who have turned Romans, and who call themselves the empire.

One day that Charlemagne happened to be in a city of Narbonne (Gaul, some Scandinavian barks boldly entered the port for plunder. Some took them for Jewish or African, others for British merchants; but Charles recognised who they were by the speed of their vessels. "Those are not merchants," he exclaimed, "but cruel

enemies." As soon as pursued, they disappeared. But the emperor, rising from table, stationed himself, says the chronicler, at the window looking towards the East, and remained there a long time with his face bathed in tears. No one durst question him, but, turning to the nobles around him, he said, "Do you know, my faithful friends, the reason of these bitter tears? Certes, I can have no fear of injury from these wretched pirates; but I deeply mourn that they should dare, in my lifetime, all but to land on these shores, and I am overcome with agony of grief when I foresee all the mischief they will do to my successors and their subjects."<sup>o</sup>

Thus the fleets of the Greeks, Danes, and Saracens are already prowling round the empire, as the vulture hovers over the dying in expectation of his corpse. Once, two hundred armed barks fall upon Frisia, laden themselves with booty, and disappear. Nevertheless, Charlemagne "collected men" to repulse them. On the occasion of another invasion, "the emperor assembles men in Gaul and in Germany,"<sup>†</sup> and builds in Frisia the town of Eselsfeld. Unhappy athlete—he slowly moves his hand to his wounds, to parry blows already received.

"Godfried, king of the Normans, promised himself the empire of Germany, and looked upon Frisia and Saxony as his own. He had already subdued his neighbors, the Abotrites, and compelled them to pay tribute. He even boasted that at the head of a numerous army he would soon visit the king in his court of Aix-la-Chapelle. However vain and empty these threats might be, they were not altogether disbelieved; and it was supposed that he would have made some attempt of the kind, had he not been cut off by a premature death."<sup>‡</sup>

The aged empire proposes to protect herself. Armed barks defend the mouths of the rivers; but how fortify the whole coast! He who has dreamed of unity, is, like Diocletian, obliged to divide his dominions in order to provide for their safety; to one of his sons he intrusts Italy; to another Germany; to a third, Aquitaine. But every thing is against Charlemagne. His two eldest die; and he is forced to leave this weak and immense empire in the pacific hands of a saint.

\* *Mss. Fagall. l. ii. c. 24. . . . .* *Sellus, O fideles mei, quid tantopere ploraverim? Non hoc timo quod isti angli mihi aliquid nocere possint, nimium contristat quod, me vivente, aut sunt litus totum attingere; et maximo dolere torqueri, quia provideo quanta mala posteris meis et eorum sint facturi subacti.*

† *Annal. Franc. ad ann. 810, ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 38. Nuntium accepit classem ex navibus de Nortmannia Frisiam appulisse. . . . Missis in omnes circumquaque regiones ad congregandum exercitum nuntius. . . . Ibid. ad. ann. 809. Cumque ad hoc per Galliam atque Germaniam homines congregasset. . . .*

‡ *Eginh. in Kar. M. c. 14. Godfridus adeo vani spe inflatus erat, ut totius sibi Germanie promitteret protobatum, &c.—See, also, *Annal. Franc. ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 37. Hermann. Contrad. ibid. 306.**

\* I conceive that this is the view to be taken of that dilapidation of his domain, with which Charlemagne reproaches his son. This domain must have been constructed out of the rubbishes of conquest. The scrupulous character of Louis, and the institutions which, at a later period, he made to other nations which had been ill treated by the Franks, authorize this interpretation of his conduct in Aquitaine. The following is the text of the contemporary historian. In tantum largus, ut antea nec in antiquo libro nec in modernis temporibus auditum est, ut villas regias quas erant et art et trivi (Pepin and Charles Martel) fidelibus suis tradidit eas in possessionem sempiternam. . . . Fecit eam hoc die tempore. *Thugana, de Gesta Ludov. Ph. c. 19, ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 78.*



## CHAPTER III.

## DISSOLUTION OF THE CARLOVINGIAN EMPIRE.

THE disruption and divorce of the heterogeneous parts which constituted the vast whole of the empire, were to be consummated under the rule of Louis the Debonnaire, (the meek,) or which is the more faithful translation of his name, of *Saint Louis*. These various parts suffered from their union: the evil to which it gave rise being the obligation it imposed of keeping up one immense war, so that the reverses sustained in one part were felt in those most distant from it—the disasters of Austrasia shaking the banks of the Loire. This was the result of the tyrannous effort to bring about a premature centralization; and the nearer Charlemagne attained this end, the more intolerable was the grievance. No doubt Pepin, and his father—*of the smith's hammer*, had rained hard blows on the nations; but, at least, they had not undertaken to reduce them, discordant as they still were, to this insufferable unity—which, at first, however, was simply administrative, though Charlemagne was contemplating to render it legislative: while his son affected unity in matters of religion by naming Benedict of Aniane to be reformer of the monasteries of the empire, and to bring them all back to the rule of St. Benedict.

An expiring world always breathes its last and expiates its faults in the arms of a saint—this is an invariable law of history. The purest of the race has to bear their faults, and the punishment devolves on the innocent, whose crime is the carrying on of a system condemned to perish, and the cloaking with his virtues the long-continued injustice that oppresses his people. Advantage is taken of one man's virtue, to revenge the social wrongs of a nation! 'Tis an odious means; and, in the case of Louis the Debonnaire, it was parricide—since his children headed the different races, who sought to separate themselves from the empire.

The hapless being who lends his life to this immolation of a social world—whether he be called Louis the Debonnaire, Charles the First, or Louis the Sixteenth—is, however, not always free from reproach. His fate would be less touching were he less mortal. No, he is a man of flesh and blood like ourselves—tender-hearted, weak-willed, desiring good, sometimes committing evil, unbounded in his repentance, trusting those who surround him, and betrayed by them.

The Saint Louis of the ninth century,\* like

\* There is a singular resemblance between the portraits left us by history of Louis the Debonnaire and of St. Louis. "The emperor had long hands, straight fingers, long and slender legs, and long feet." *Theganus de Gest. Ludov. Fil. c. 19, ap. Scr. R. Fr. vi. 78.*—"Louis (St. Louis) was thin, slender, meager, of good length, and of angelic look and gracious countenance." *Salimbene*, 302, ap. *Raumers, Geschichte der Hohenstaufen*, iv. 371.—Both sedulously avoided blood and hearty laughter. "Never did the emperor smile in laughing, not even on occasions of public

his successor of the thirteenth, was reared in the thoughts of a holy war. While still young, he headed many expeditions against the Spanish Saracens, and took from them the important city of Barcelona, after a two years' siege. Educated by St. Gulielmus, of Toulouse, just as St. Louis was by Blanche of Castile, he mingled in his religion, like him, the fervor of the south with the candor of the north.

His instructors, the priests, succeeded better with him than they wished. Their pupil was more a priest than they, and, in his intractable virtue, began by reforming his masters. He would reform the bishops—so more arms, horses, or spurs.\* He would reform the monasteries—and so subjected them to the scrutiny of the severest of monks, St. Benedict of Aniane, who found the Benedictine rule itself only calculated for babes and sucklings.† The new king dismissed to their monasteries Adalhard and Wala,‡ two clever and intriguing monks,

rejoicing, when jesters and buffoons, minstrels and harpers, played at his table to amuse the people, who laughed measuredly in his presence, he not even smiling so as to show his white teeth." *Thegan. Ibid.*—With regard to the gravity of St. Louis, and his aversion to mountebanks and minstrels, see the Second Part of this History.—To conclude, the same desire was displayed by both saints, to repair the wrongs done by their fathers.

\* *Astrucum Vita Ludov. Fil. c. 35, ap. Scr. R. Fr. vi. 101.* Tunc corporum deponit ab episcopis et clericis cingula balteos aureos et gemmas cultus ornatus, consueque vestes, sed et calcaria tales ornamenta reliquit.

† *Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. sec. iv. p. 125.* "Considering that the rule of St. Benedict was given only for children and the weak, he strove to attain to the strictness of the rules of St. Basil and of Pachomius."—*Astrucum. c. 35, ap. Scr. R. Fr. vi. 100.* "Louis caused a book, setting forth the rule of canonical life, to be drawn up, and copies to be made. . . . He also appointed the abbot Benedict, and with him monks of approved life, who, going to and fro through all the religious houses, should bring them, as well nunneries as monasteries, to one uniform and unchangeable practice and observance of the rule of St. Benedict."

(Dean Waddington, in his History of the Church, says, "When Benedict of Aniane undertook to establish a system, he found it prudent to relax from that extreme austerity, which as a simple monk he had both professed and practised. As his youthful enthusiasm abated, he became gradually convinced that the rule of the Nuremberg hermit (St. Benedict) was as severe as the common infirmities of human nature could endure. He was therefore contented to revive that rule, or rather to enforce its observance; and the part which he particularly pressed on the practice of his disciples was the obligation of manual labor. To the neglect of that essential portion of monastic discipline, the successive corruptions of the system are with truth attributed; and the regulations, which were adopted by the reformers of Aniane, were confirmed (in 817) by the council of Aix-la-Chapelle. From this epoch we may date the renovation of the Benedictine order; and though, even in that age, it was grown perhaps too rich to adhere very closely to its ancient observance, yet the sum which it nourished may nevertheless be accounted, without any exaggeration of their merits, among the most industrious, the most learned, and the most pious of their own generation."—*TRANSLATOR.*

‡ *S. Adalardi Vita, ap. Scr. R. Fr. vi. 277.* "Recently despoiled of his power, stripped of his dignity, and disgraced in the opinion of the people, he was dismissed into retirement."—*Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. sec. iv. p. 403.* Wala . . . with whose ability Augustus was familiar, he determined, at some one's instigation, to humble and rule-gate among the lowest, although he was his own cousin, the son of his uncle.—*Ibid. p. 403.* "One day he said to Louis, 'Pray, most reverend emperor Augustus, tell us wherein you have so utterly abandoned your own duties, to undertake divine ones.'"—*Astrucum. c. 31.* "There was great apprehension felt that Wala, who had enjoyed high authority in Charlemagne's time, would make some attempt against the emperor."

grandsons of Charles Martel, who had governed Charlemagne in his latter years. The imperial palace had its reform likewise. Louis expelled his father's concubines, and his sisters' lovers, and his sisters themselves.\*

The people, oppressed by Charlemagne, found in his son an upright judge, ready to decide against himself. When king of Aquitaine, he had attended to the claims of the Aquitanians, and had reduced himself to such poverty, says the historian, that he had no more any thing to give, hardly even his blessing.† As emperor, he listened to the complaints of the Saxons, and restored them the right of succession,‡ at the same time depriving the bishops, the governors of the country, of the tyrannical power of disposing of inheritances at their pleasure. The Spanish Christians, who had taken refuge in the Marches, had been despoiled by the imperial nobles and lieutenants of the possessions allotted to them by Charlemagne; but Louis promulgated an edict by which they were confirmed in their rights.§ He respected the principle of episcopal elections, constantly violated by his father, and suffered the Romans to choose, without applying to him, popes Stephen IV. and Pascal I.‖

Thus, this inheritance of conquests and of spoliation falls into the hands of a simple and

just man, who chose at any cost to make reparation. The barbarians, who recognised his sanctity, submitted their disputes to his arbitration.\* He sat on the judgment seat, in the midst of his people, like an easy and confiding father. He went about repairing, comforting, and restoring; and it appeared as if he would willingly have given away the whole empire in making reimbursement.

In this day of restitution Italy put in her claim,† and asked for nothing less than liberty. The cities, bishops, and people formed one common league—under a Frankish prince, but that matters not. Charlemagne had made Bernard, the son of his eldest son, Pepin, king of Italy. The pupil of Adalhard and Wala, and long after his accession to the throne a puppet in their hands, he laid claim to the empire as the heir of the eldest born.

However, the right of the younger brother is held by the barbarians to be preferable to that of the nephew.‡ Besides, Charlemagne had appointed Louis his successor, and had consulted his nobles one by one, and obtained their recognition of his choice.§ Bernard himself, indeed, had recognised his uncle as emperor;‖ and custom, his father's will, and, finally, election, were all in favor of the latter.

Bernard, therefore, deserted by the greater portion of his own dependents, was obliged to avail himself of the promises of the empress Hermengarde, who offered her mediation. He delivered himself up at Châlons sur Saône, and denounced all his accomplices; one of whom had formerly plotted against the life of Charlemagne.¶ Bernard and the rest were condemned to death; but the emperor would not consent to their execution.\*\* Hermengarde at last in-

\* Astronom. c. 51. "Although naturally of the mildest disposition, his anger was roused by the conduct of his sisters under the paternal roof,—the only blot by which it was blemished. . . . He sent trusty friends to attach some of gross and insolent life, as guilty of high treason, until his arrival."—c. 26. "With the exception of a few, he had the crowd of women in the palace, which was very numerous, sent off. But he allowed his sisters whatever each had received from his father."

† Astronom. c. 7. "King Louis soon gave a proof of his wisdom, as well as displayed the tenderness natural to him. He settled that he would spend his winters in four different places, and that after the expiration of three years he would seek a new abode for the fourth winter. These four places were those, Chassault, Audine, and Ebreuil. Thus, each, in its turn, would be enabled to supply the royal requisites. In conformity with this wise plan, he forbade the supplies for the soldiers, vulgarly called *fodrum*, from being henceforward exacted of the people. The army was discontented. But this man of mercy, taking into consideration the wretchedness of those who paid this tax and the cruelty of those who collected it, and the perdition it entailed on both, preferred maintaining his men out of his own means, to suffering the continuance of so heavy an impost on his subjects. At the same time, he, of his bounty, relieved the Albigenses from a contribution of wine and corn. . . . All this, it is said, was so pleasing to his father, that he similarly suppressed the military supplies with which his subjects in France were taxed and ordered many other reforms, congratulating his son on his happy beginnings."—See, also, Thegan. de Gestis, &c.

‡ Astronom. c. 24. *Matrimonibus atque Fratribus jure patris hereditatis, quod sub patre ob perfidiam legatibus prederant, imperatoris restituit clementia* . . . . Post hoc eandem gentes semper sine devotissime habuit.

§ Thegan. de Gestis, lib. i. c. 16, ap. Per. R. Fr. vi. 67, 68. "It is our pleasure that those who have been thought worthy of receiving precepts from our self, or from our lord and father, should possess of our free grace whatever waste lands they and their followers have reclaimed. Those who have arrived since, and have commended themselves to our counts or our eases, or their own equals, and have received lands from them to dwell upon, are to hold them henceforward, and leave them to their posterity on the same agreement and conditions on which they took them." &c.

‖ Astron. c. 20. Thegan. c. 16, ap. Scr. R. Fr. vi. 77. *Reverend Annal. p. 629.*

\* Several Danish chiefs who claimed to succeed to Godfried chose him as arbiter between them. He decided in favor of Harold.

† Bernard's attempt against his uncle is the first essay made by Italy to free herself from the barbarians. "All the cities and princes of Italy conspired together, and agreed to guard and block up all the passes." Astronom. c. 20. See, also, Eginh. Annal. ap. Per. R. Fr. vi. 177.

‡ They prefer for king a man to a child, and, generally, the uncle is a man, to *useful* (as was the phrase of those days) long before the nephew.

§ Thegan. c. 6. "When he felt that his last hour drew nigh, he summoned his son Louis, with all his army, bishops, abbots, chiefs, counts, and lieutenants. . . . he then questioned all from the highest to the lowest, whether they were willing that he should name his son Louis emperor after him. They all answered that such was clearly God's will."—He also consulted Alcuin at the tomb of St. Martin of Tours. "On which spot, holding Albinus by the hand, he says secretly—'My master, which of my sons seems fittest to succeed to those honors which God has bestowed on me, however unworthy of them?' But he, looking to Louis, the youngest, but distinguished by his humility, for which he was beloved of many, says, 'The holy Louis will be thy best successor.'" Acta St. Ord. S. Bened. sec. iv. p. 136.

¶ Thegan. c. 12. *Venit Bernardus . . . et fidelitatem ei cum juramento promisit.*

\*\* Eginh. Annal. ap. Per. R. Fr. vi. 177. "The heads of this conspiracy were . . . and Reginhar, count Meinhair's son, whose grandfather, on the mother's side, Hardradus, had formerly conspired in Germany against the emperor Charles, together with many nobles of that province."

\*\* Astronom. c. 20. *Cum lege judicium Francorum deberet capituli invectione ferri, suppressit trituri consuetudinem, humanitas orbiis commisit, locis multis christianitatem,*

duced him to consent to Bernard's being deprived of sight; but had the operation performed in such a manner that he died of it in three days.

Italy was not solitary in this movement. All the tributary nations had taken up arms. The Slaves of the north had the Danes to support them; those of Pannonia counted upon the Bulgarians; the Basques of Navarre extended their hand to the Saracens;\* and the Bretons relied upon themselves. These insurrections were all quelled. The Bretons saw their country completely occupied, perhaps for the first time; the Basques were defeated, the Saracens repulsed, the Slaves were overcome and compelled to serve against the Danes, and one of the Danish kings even embraced Christianity. Louis founded the archbishopric of Hamburg; and a bishop, whose metropolitan was the archbishop of Reims, was given to Sweden.† It is true that these first conquests of Christianity were not lasting; and his subjects rose up and expelled the Christian king of the Danes.

Up to this period, Louis's reign, it must be acknowledged, flourished in strength and in justice. He had maintained the integrity of the empire, and extended its influence. The barbarians feared his arms, and venerated his sanctity. Fortune being all smiles, the soul of the saint was softened, and he discovered that he had human wants. His wife being dead, he invited, it is said, the daughters of the nobility of his empire, and chose the most beautiful.‡ In Judith, daughter of count Welf, was blended the blood of the nations most odious to the Franks. Her mother was a Saxon, her father a Bavarian—one of that people who were allied with the Lombards, and who had summoned the Slaves and Avars into the empire.§ Learned,|| says history, even too learned,

et animadverti in eos totâ severitate legali captivibus.—Thegan. *ibid.* 70. Judicium mortale imperator exercebat nobilit; sed consiliarii Bernhardum luminibus privarunt. . . . Bernhardus oblit. "On hearing of Bernard's death," says the chronicler, "the emperor wept long and bitterly."

\* Astronom. c. 37. Eginh. *Annal.* ap. Scr. R. Fr. vi. 183. † B. Anacarthi Vita, *ibid.* 305. In civitate Hammaburg sedem constituit archiepiscopus.—*Ibid.* 306. Ebo (archiep. Remensis) quemdam . . . pontificali insignium honore, ad partes direxit Saxonum, &c.

‡ Astronom. c. 80. Undecunque adductas procerum filias inspicens, Judith . . . Thegan. c. 26. Accepit filiam Welfi dacti, qui erat de nobilissima stirpe Bavarorum, et nomen virginis Judith, que erat ex parte matris nobilissimi generis Saxonici, eamque reginam constituit. Erat enim pulchra valde. . . . Bishop Friculf wrote to her: "As to personal charms, you excel every queen whom it has been the lot of my humble self to see or hear of." Scr. R. Fr. vi. 355.

§ See above. Besides, they had been allies of the Aquitanian, Hunald.

|| See the dedicatory epistles of the celebrated Rabanus of Fulda, and of Bishop Friculf. The latter writes, "When I learnt the copiousness of your erudition in divine and human learning, I was amazed." Scr. R. Fr. vi. 355, 356.—See, also, the Verses of Walafrid, *ibid.* 268—

"Organa dulcissimo percurrit pectine Judith.  
O si Sappho loquax, vel nos inviseret Hoida  
Ludere jam pedibus . . . . .  
Quidquid enim tibi met ætatis subtrahit ægetas,  
Reddidit ingenio culta aique exercita vita."

(Judith runs over the organ with sweetly sounding touch.

she brought her husband under the influence of the elegant and polished natives of the south. Louis was already well inclined to the Aquitanians, among whom he had been brought up. Bernard, the son of his old preceptor, St. Gaielmus of Toulouse, became his favorite, and still more the favorite of the empress. A beautiful and dangerous Eve, she degraded and ruined her husband.

After this fall, Louis, weaker, because he had ceased to be pure; more human and more sensitive, because he was no longer a saint, opened his heart to fears and scruples. He felt himself sunk—*virtus had gone out of him*. He began to repent of his severity towards his nephew Bernard, and towards the monks Wala and Adalhard—whom, however, he had only dismissed to the performance of their duties. His heart yearned for relief. He asked and was allowed to submit to public penance. Since Theodosius, this was the first time that this great spectacle of the voluntary humiliation of an all-powerful man had been witnessed. The Merovingian kings, after committing the greatest crimes, had contented themselves with founding religious houses. Louis's penitence may be deemed the new era of morality—the advent of conscience.

But the brutal pride of the men of the day blushed for royalty, and for its humble admission of its weakness and mortality. They conceived that he who had bowed his head before the priest would be unfit to command warriors. The empire, likewise, appeared degraded and disarmed by the act; and the first beginnings of its inevitable dissolution were ascribed to the weakness of a monarch who had figured as a penitent. In 820, thirteen Norman vessels ravaged the coast for three hundred leagues, and amassed such quantities of booty, that to make room for it, they were obliged to release the prisoners they had made.\* In 824, the Frank army having invaded Navarre, was defeated at Roncesvalles. In 829, apprehensions were entertained that the Normans, whose least barks were so formidable, would attempt an invasion by land, and the people were ordered to be ready to march *en masse*.† Thus the public discontent gained ground. The nobles and bishops encouraged it. They accused the emperor, and also the Aquitanian, Bernard. They were confined and circumscribed by the central power, and longed to break in upon the unity of the empire. Each wished to be king in his own domain.

O! if the eloquent Sappho or Hoida should visit us—to dance . . . . . whatever thou hast lost by thy own weakness, thou hast gained in mental cultivation and elegance.)

Annal. Met. *ibid.* 212. "She was too beautiful, and adorned with all the flowers of wisdom."

\* Astronom. c. 32. Eginh. *Annal.* ap. Scr. R. Fr. vi. 189.

† Eginh. *Annal.* *ibid.* 220. Quo nuncio commotus, misit in omnes Francie regiones, et jussit ut omnia Gothorum tota populi sui multitudo in Saxoniâ veniret.

OF THE EMPEROR'S SONS. (A. D. 830.)

were wanting. The emperor's own  
took the office. As soon as he as-  
s throne, he had given them two fron-  
ices to govern and defend—to Louis,  
to Pepin, Aquitaine—the two barriers  
gdom.\* Lothaire, the eldest, was to  
or, with the sovereignty of Italy.  
uis had a son by Judith, he gave the  
ed Charles, the title of king of Ala-  
abia and Switzerland)—a grant which  
no change in the possessions of the  
ough it greatly altered their hopes.  
their names to the conspiracy of the  
ho refused to march their followers  
e Bretons, whose ravages Louis was  
o repress, so that the emperor found  
asserted and alone. A Frank by birth,  
ing for counsel and aid on an Aquita-  
was supported neither by the north nor  
; and we have already seen a simi-  
vocal position prove the ruin of Brune-  
his eldest son, Lothaire, thought him-  
ady emperor, and exiled Bernard,  
d Judith, and confined his father in  
ery—poor old Lear, who found no  
among his children!

er, neither the nobles nor Lothaire's  
were inclined to bow the knee to him.  
for emperor, they preferred Louis.  
ks, whose prisoner he was, labored to  
restoration. The Franks perceived  
riumph of his sons was depriving them  
pire; and the Saxons and Frisians,  
indebted to him for their liberty, in-  
themselves in his behalf. A diet was  
d in Nimegen, in the midst of the na-  
espoused his cause. "All Germany  
to it, to succor the emperor."† Lo-  
his turn, found himself deserted, and  
ber's mercy. Wala and all the lead-  
irators were condemned to death, but  
emperor would not have their lives

er, war is rekindled in the south by  
tanian Bernard, who had been sup-  
the royal favor by Gondebald, a monk,  
one who had effected the liberation of  
Pepin is persuaded by Bernard to take  
and the three brothers enter into a  
piracy. Lothaire is attended by the  
Gregory IV., who fulminates excom-  
m against all who refuse obedience to

c. Molinac. *ibid.* 177. Unum Bajuvarum, alterum

nn. c. 45. "The emperor's enemies were as-  
to general council should be held somewhere in  
st the empire, distrusting the Franks, and con-  
German, secretly opposed their plans, and suc-  
having it held in Nimegen." . . . "Unusquisque  
condemnat, imperatoris auxilio futuro." (On Louis's  
his son, the enraged people threatened to man-  
at the chief insurgents were seized, and though  
to death he would not suffer the judgment to be  
On, also, *Annal. Bertiniani* *ibid.* 183.

nn. c. 66. Cunctis dyadicatis ad mortem, vitam

the king of Italy. The armies of the father  
and sons encounter in Alsace. The pope is  
put forward to parley, and various unexplained  
means are resorted to during the night. In the  
morning the emperor, seeing himself abandon-  
ed by a part of his followers, says to the rest,  
"I do not wish any one to lose his life on my  
account."\* The theatre of this disgraceful  
scene was called the Liar's Field.

Lothaire, again master of the person of Louis,  
wished to conclude the business, and to get rid  
of his father. He was a man who shrank not  
from shedding blood, and had had a brother of  
Bernard's murdered, and his sister thrown into  
the Saône;‡ but he feared the public execra-  
tion if he laid parricidal hands on Louis. He  
bethought himself of degrading him by impos-  
ing on him so humiliating a public penance,  
that he would never rise above its effects. Lo-  
thaire's bishops handed the prisoner a list of  
crimes of which he was to confess himself guil-  
ty. First on the list figured the death of Ber-  
nard, (of which he was innocent;) next, the  
perjuries to which he had compelled his people  
by new divisions of the empire; then the having  
made war in Lent; then his severity towards  
the adherents of his sons, (whom he had saved  
from capital punishment;) then the having  
allowed Judith and others to justify themselves  
by oath; sixthly, the having exposed the king-  
dom to murders, spoil, and sacrilege, by excit-  
ing civil war; seventhly, the having excited  
these civil wars by arbitrary divisions of the  
empire; and lastly, the having ruined the state,  
which he was bound to defend.‡

When this absurd confession was read in the  
church of St. Medard at Soissons, the poor  
Louis disputed no one point, signed the whole,  
humbled himself to the extent of their wishes,  
wept, and besought that he might expiate by  
public penance the scandals which he had  
caused.¶ He laid aside his military baldric,  
put on sackcloth; and his son led him in this  
plight, miserable, degraded, and humiliated,  
to the capital of the empire, to Aix-la-Chapelle,  
to the very city in which Charlemagne had him-  
self taken the crown from the altar.‖

The parricide thought he had killed Louis;  
but a feeling of pity became general throughout  
the empire. The people, miserable as they  
were themselves, yet found tears for their aged  
emperor. It was told with horror how his son  
had held him down at the altar, weeping, and

\* *Thegan*. c. 42. "Saying, 'Go to my sons, I wish none  
to lose life of limb for me.' They left him, with tears."

† *Id.* c. 52. "He had her enclosed in a wise-cask, and  
thrown into the river."

‡ *Acta Francigena* *ibid.* *Lud. Pip.* ap. *Ser. R. Fr.* vi. 345.  
—(If all these charges, the seventh is the heaviest. It re-  
veals the feeling of the time. It is the voice of that local  
spirit, which seeks henceforward to follow the material and  
false movement of races, countries, and languages, and  
which, in every purely political division, sees only violence  
and tyranny.)

§ *Ibid.* 346. *Penitentiam publicam expetit, quatenus  
Ecclesie, quam peccando scandalizaverat, penitendo satis-  
ficeret.*

‖ *Chronica*. *Molinac.* ap. *Ser. R. Fr.* v. 62.

sweeping the dust with his hoary locks; how he had inquired into the sins of his father—a second Ham, exposing to derision his father's nakedness; how he had drawn up his confession, and such a confession!—stuffed with lies and calumnies. It was archbishop Hebo, who had been brought up with Louis, and was his foster-brother—one of those sons of serfs whom he loved so well,\* who had torn his baldric from him, and clad him in sackcloth. But in depriving him of his belt and sword, and stripping him of the dress of tyrants and of nobles, they had shown him to the people as one of themselves, and both as saint and man. Nor was his history any other than that of the biblical man. His Eve had ruined him, or, if you will, one of those daughters of the giants who, in the book of Genesis, seduce the sons of God. Besides, in this marvellous example of suffering and of patience, in this wronged and spat-upon man, who returned blessings for insults, men thought they recognised the patience of Job, or rather an image of the Saviour—nothing was wanting to complete the likeness, neither gall nor vinegar.

So the aged emperor found himself exalted by his very humiliation—all avoided the partrioide. Abandoned by the nobles, (A. D. 834-5,) and unable, this time, to suborn his father's partisans,† Lothaire fled to Italy. Sick himself,

\* Thoma. c. 44. "Hebo, bishop of Reims, who was a serf by birth. . . . O, what a return hast thou made him! He arrayed thee in purple and in the pallium, thou hast clad him in sackcloth. . . . They fathers were goat-herds, not princes' counsellors. . . . But the trial of the most pious king. . . . just like the patience of the blessed Job. They who insulted the blessed Job are said to have been kings; but they who afflicted him were his own lawful servants and the servants of his father. . . . All the bishops mocked him, and chiefly those whom he had raised from a servile condition, together with such of the barbarians as were similarly honored."—Id. c. 30. "It had long been a mischievous habit to make bishops of the lowest slaves, and this did not hinder, &c." Then follows a long invective against upstarts.—Many facts prove Louis's predilection for the serfs, for the poor, and the conquered races. One day he gave the dress he had on to a serf, a glazier belonging to the monastery of St. Gall. Mon. Sangall. ad calc.—His affection for the Saxons and Aquitanians has been noticed. In his youth he wore the Aquitanian dress. "The young Louis, in compliance with his father's commands, which he observed with all his heart and to the best of his power, repaired to him to Paderborn, attended by a company of young people of his own age, and attired in the Gascon dress, that is to say, wearing the little round surcoat, a shirt with long sleeves and hanging down to his knees, his spurs laced on his boots, and a javelin in his hand. Such was the king's pleasure and desire." Astronom. c. 4.—Mon. Sangall. l. ii. c. 31. "Moreover, finding himself absent, king Louis chose to have the trials of the poorer classes so regulated that one of their own order, who, although completely infirm, appeared endowed with superior energy and intelligence, was authorized to inquire into their crimes, prescribe what restitution should be made in cases of theft, order the lex talionis for injuries and deeds of violence, and, taking cognizance even of the most serious matters, should order a limb to be struck off, or beheading, or the punishment of the gallows, as the case might require. This individual established dukes, tribunes, and centurions, gave them deputies, and discharged with firmness the duties intrusted to him."

† Nithard's Historie, l. i. c. 4, ap. Ser. R. Fr. vii. 12. "Shame and repentance acted all the people for having twice deposed the emperor."—C. 5. "The Franks, having twice deposed the emperor, were filled with compunction, and refused again to be driven into rebellion."—All the nations returned to their allegiance.—"The people as well of

he saw in the course of one year (836) all the chiefs of his party die—the bishops of Amiens and of Troyes, his father-in-law Hugh, counts Matfried and Lambert, Agimbert of Perche, Godfried and his son Borganis—his warden of the chase—and numerous others.\* Hebo, deprived of the see of Reims, passed the rest of his life in obscurity and exile. Wala withdrew to the monastery of Bobbio, to the tomb of St. Columbanus, (a brother of St. Arnulph—the bishop of Metz, and progenitor of the Carolingians, had been abbot of this monastery,) and died there this very year, which proved so fatal to numbers of his party, exclaiming every moment, "Why was I born a man of strife and discord?"† This grandson of Charles Martel's, this political monk, this factious saint, this hard,† ardent, and impassioned man, who had been confined by Charlemagne in a monastery, had then been made his counsellor, and who afterwards became all but king of Italy under Pepin and Bernard, had the misfortune to lead a name, previously unsullied, to the parricidal revolts of the sons of Louis.

However, the Debonnaire, following the same counsels as before, did what he could to renew the revolt, and to be again deposed. On the one hand, he summoned the nobles to restore to the churches the estates which they had usurped;‡ on the other, he lessened the shares of his eldest sons, who, it is true well deserved the loss, and elevated at their expense the son of his choice, the son of Judith—Charles the Bald. The children of Pepin, who had just died, were stripped of their inheritance, and Louis the German was reduced to the possession of Bavaria alone. All was divided betwixt Lothaire and Charles. The aged emperor is reported to have said to the first—"See, my son, all the kingdom is before thee, divide, and let Charles take his choice; or, if you desire the choice, we will make the division."§

France as of Burgundy, and both of Aquitaine and Germany, united in loud complaints of the misfortune of the emperor, &c." Astronom. c. 49.—All were of one accord—unanimously, through discontent with Lothaire, that is, with the unity of the empire. Bernard seems to have sided with the emperor against his sons, but with Pepin, that is to say, with Aquitaine, even against the emperor.

\* Astronom. c. 56. "It is marvellous how Lothaire's followers were swept off, &c." "He himself died not long afterwards."

† Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. sec. iv. p. 453. Virum rursu virumque discordie ac progenitum frequenter inegnum.—Paschasius Radbertus, author of the Life of Wala, and who wrote in the reigns of Louis the Debonnaire and of his son, Charles the Bald, thought it prudent to disguise his passages under fictitious names. Wala is called *Artemus*; Adhalar, *Antonius*; Louis the Debonnaire, *Justinianus*; Judith, *Justina*; Lothaire, *Honorius*; Louis the German, *Gratianus*; Pepin, *Melanus*; Bernard of Septimania, *Wala* and *Amisarius*.

‡ Ibid. pasdim.—A monk having tried to escape from the monastery in order to avoid some punishment, Wala placed soldiers at the gates, p. 455.

§ Annal. Bortinial, ann. 837, ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 129.—Astronom. c. 52. Mandavit Pippino . . . res ecclesiasticas restituere. See, also, c. 54.

¶ Nithard. l. i. c. 7. Ecco, fili, ut promissionem, regnum omne coram te est: divide libere prout libuerit. Quod si tu divideris, partem electo Caroli erit. Si autem non libere divideris, similiter partem electo tuo erit.—"When

thaire took the east, Charles was to have the west. Louis of Bavaria took up arms to prevent this treaty's being carried into execution; and, by a singular change, the father had now France on his side, and the son Germany. But the aged monarch sank under the vexation and fatigues of this new war. "I forgive Louis," he said, "but let him look to himself, who, despising God's command, has brought his father's gray hairs to the grave." The emperor died at Ingelheim, in an island of the Rhine, near Mentz,† in the centre of the empire—whose unity expired with him.

It was vain to attempt to restore it, as Lothaire did—and with what means! With Italy, with the Lombards, who had so poorly defended Didier against Charlemagne, and Bernard against Louis the Debonnaire! The young Pepin, who attached himself to his fortunes through a spirit of opposition to Charles the Bald, brought as his contingent the army of Aquitaine, so often defeated by Pepin-le-Bref and Charlemagne. Strange, that the men of the south, the conquered, the men of the Latin tongue, should seek to maintain the unity of the empire against Germany and Neustria. The Germans only sought independence.

However, the name of eldest son of the sons of Charlemagne, the title of emperor and of king of Italy, and the having Rome and the pope on one's side, still had their influence. It was, then, with humility, and in the name of peace and of the Church,‡ of the poor and of the orphan, that the kings of Germany and of Neustria addressed themselves to Lothaire, when the armies were in presence at Fontenai or Fontenaille, near Auxerre. "They offered to present him with all they had in their army, save the horses and arms; if he did not choose to accept this, they offered to cede to him a part of both their kingdoms, the one as far as Ardennes, the other as far as the Rhine; if this would not content him, they would divide all France into equal portions, and give him his choice. Lothaire answered, according to his custom, that he would make known his wishes through his messengers. Then sending Drugo, Hugh, and Heribert, he told them that not having made him such propositions before, he required time for consideration. But, in fact, Pepin not having arrived, Lothaire desired to wait for his coming up."§

Lothaire had been three days trying to make the division, and could not, he sent Jomppus and Ricardus to his father, praying that he would undertake the division, and leave the right of choice to him. . . . they perceived that he had been unable to make the division from ignorance of the countries alone. Wherefore his father being very ill, divided the whole kingdom, Bavaria excepted, with his sons. Lothaire took the Southern portion from the Meuse, and commanded that Charles should take the West."—Astrucum, c. 64.

\* Astrucum, c. 64.

† Nithard, l. i. c. 9.—Astrucum, c. 64.—Wandalbertus, in Martyrol, ap. Rev. R. Fr. vi. 71.

‡ Nithard, l. ii. c. 9. *Memento dei omnipotentis, et condonati peccati fratris eius universumque ecclesiam Dei.*

§ Nithard, l. ii. c. 10.

On the next day, at the precise hour of the morning they had given Lothaire notice that they would attack him, they marched upon him and defeated him. To believe the historians, the battle was murderous and bloody—so bloody that it exhausted the military population of the empire, and left it defenceless against the ravages of the barbarians.\* Such a massacre, difficult to credit at all times, is particularly so as occurring at this period of softness and of ecclesiastical influence. We have already seen, and we shall see more clearly still, that the reigns of Charlemagne and of his immediate successors were exalted in the eyes of the men of the deplorable times which followed into an heroic epoch—the glory of which they loved to heighten by fables as patriotic as they were insipid. Besides, it was beyond the age to account for the depopulation of the west, and the decay of military spirit, by political causes. It was at once both easier and more poetical to suppose that all the brave had perished in one bloody fight, and that the cowardly were the only survivors.

The battle was so indecisive, that the conquerors were unable to pursue Lothaire; but, on the contrary, in the succeeding campaign, he pressed Charles the Bald hard. Charles and Louis, ever insecure, contracted a new alliance at Strasburg, and endeavored to interest the people in it, by addressing them, not in the language of the Church, till then constantly used in all treaties and councils, but in the popular speech of Gaul and Germany. The king of the Germans took his oath in the Romance or French tongue; the king of the French (so we may henceforward style the Frankish monarchs) took his in the German. These solemn words, pronounced on the bank of the Rhine, are the first monument of the nationality of the two races.

Louis, as the eldest, was the first to take the oath:—"Pro Don amur, et pro christian populo, et nostro commun salvamento, dist di in avant,

\* Annal. Met. ap. Rev. R. Fr. vii. 104. *In qua pugna ita Francorum vires attenuate sunt . . . ut nec ad secundo propius fines in posterum sufficerent.*—"In this battle," says another chronicler written in the reign of Philip Augustus, "almost all the warriors of France, of Aquitaine, of Italy, of Germany, and of Burgundy, mutually destroyed each other." Hist. Reg. France, 250.

† The extent of this effeminy may be inferred from the extraordinary moderation which characterizes the military games given at Worms by Charles and Louis. "The multitude clustered all round, and at first, the Saxons, the Gascons, the Austrasians, and the Bretons, ranging themselves in equal numbers, on opposite sides, as if they were about to wage mutual war, galloped headlong against each other. The one party took flight, covering themselves with their shields, and feigning to avoid the pursuers, when suddenly wheeling, they became pursuers in their turn, until both kings, with all their young men, uttering loud shouts, spurring their horses, and brandishing their lances, charged and pursued sometimes the one, sometimes the other party. . . . It was a fine sight, both from the numbers of the high nobility collected there, and from the moderation which prevailed. Out of this large multitude, and amidst so many of different race, none did not even see what he often seen where the number is small and the combatants acquainted—any one dare to wound or injure another." Nithard, l. ii. c. 6.

in quant Deus savir et podir me dunat, si salva-reio cist meon fradre Karlo et in adjudha, et in cadhuna coesa, si cüm eo per dreit son fradre salvar dist, in o quid il mi altre si fazet. Et ab Ludher nul plaid numquam prindrai, qui meon vol cist meo fradre Karle, in damno sit." Louis having sworn, Charles repeated the oath, but in German:—"In Godes minna indum tes christia-nes folches, ind unser bedhero gehaltneissi, fon thesemo dage frammordes, so fram so mir Got gewizei indi madh furgibit so hald in tesan minan broodher soeo man mit rehtu sinan bruder seal, inthui thaz er mig soeo ma duo; indi mit Lutheren inno kleinnin thing ne geganga zhe minan vrilion imo ce scadhen vverhen."\* The oath taken by the people of the two coun-tries, each in their vernacular tongue, is as fol-lows in the Romance language:—"Si Lodhu-viga sacrament que son fradre Karlo jurat, conservat, et Karlus meos sendra de suo part non los tanit, si io retornar non lint pois, ne io ne nuels cui eo retornar int pois, in nulla ad-judha contra Lodhuwig nun lin iver."†

This oath is as follows, in the German:—"Oba Karl then eid then er sineno broodher Ludhuwige geseuor geleistit, ind Luduwig min herro then er imo gesuor forbrihehit, ob ina ih nes irrwenden ne mag, nah ih, nah thero, noh hein then ih es irrwenden mag, vrindhar Karle imo ce follusti ne wirdhit."

"The bishops," adds Nithard,‡ "declared that Lothaire had fallen under the just judg-ment of God, who had transferred his kingdom to the most worthy. But they did not author-ize either Charles or Louis to take possession of it, until they had inquired of them whether they would reign after the example of their de-throned brother, or according to the will of God. The monarchs having replied, that so long as God should give them the power, to the best of their knowledge they would order both themselves and their subjects in obedience to his will, the bishops pronounced—"In the name and power of the Most High, take the kingdom, and govern it according to his will; we advise, exhort, command you so to do." Both brothers

chose twelve of their adherents, (I was of the number,) and intrusted them with the division of the kingdom."

The conduct of Lothaire and of Pepin in ea-deavoring to support themselves by aid of the Saxons and Saracens, gave the advantage to Charles and Louis, since the Church declared against the two first. Lothaire, therefore, had to content himself with the title of emperor, without the authority. "All the bishops de-ciding that the three brothers ought to be at peace, the two kings sent for Lothaire's de-pu-ties, and granted him what he asked. They passed four days, and more, in dividing the kingdom. It was at length concluded that the whole country between the Rhine and the Meuse,\* as far as the source of the latter river, thence as far as the source of the Saône, along the Saône to its confluence with the Rhone, and along the Rhone as far as the sea, should be offered to Lothaire as the third of the king-dom; and that he should hold all the bishop-rics, all the abbey, all the counties, and all the royal domains of the countries on this side of the Alps, with the exception of † . . . (Treaty of Verdun, A. D. 843.)

"Louis and Charles's commissioners having made various objections to the proposed di- vision, they were asked if any one of them were thoroughly acquainted with the whole kingdom. No one answering in the affirmative, they were then asked why they had not taken advantage of the time allowed for consideration, to send parties throughout the provinces, to draw up a description of them. It was discovered that this was what Lothaire did not want to be done; and they were told that it was impossible for men to make an equal division of a thing they were ignorant of. They were then asked whether they could conscientiously have taken oath, that they would divide the kingdom equal-ly and impartially, when they were aware that not one of them knew its extent—and the ques- tion was referred for decision to the bishops."‡

Lothaire's odious application to the Pagans

\* Nithard. l. iii. c. 5, ap. Ser. R. Fr. viii. 37, 35. I borrow M. Aug. Thierry's translation of these oaths (*Lettres sur l'Hist. de France*) but do not adopt his restorations, think- ing it too hazardous to change the Latin words met with in the monuments of such an epoch. Latin must have enter- ed, in different proportions, into all the early languages of Europe. (See, in the Appendix, the barbarous poem on the captivity of Louis II.)

† "For the love of God and for the Christian people, and our common safety, from this day forward, and as long as God shall give me understanding and power, I will support my brother Karl here present, by aid and in every thing, as it is right that one should support one's brother, so long as he shall do the same for me. And never will I make any agreement with Lothaire which by my will shall be to the detriment of my brother."

‡ "If Ludwig keep the oath which he has sworn to his brother Karl, and if Karl, my lord, on his part does not keep it, if I cannot bring him back to it—and neither I nor any others can bring him back to it, I will aid him in nothing against Ludwig now or ever."

The Germans repeated this in their tongue, only changing the order of the names. Nithard. l. iii. c. 5.

§ Id. iv. c. 1.

\* The countries watered by the Meuse had declared openly for Charles. "All the people who dwell between the Meuse and the Seine sent messengers to Charles, (A. D. 840,) beseeching him to come before Lothaire should enter their country, and promising to meet him on his arrival. Charles, accompanied by a few followers, hastily set out, and, on his reaching Quierzy, is warmly welcomed by the people from the forest of Ardennes and from the counties below. As to the dwellers beyond the forest—Herculites, Gislebert, Boyon, and others, seduced by Odoif—they sided in the allegiance which they had sworn." Nithard. l. ii. c. 2.

† Id. l. iv. c. 2.

‡ Id. l. iii. c. 4.

§ Id. l. iii. c. 2. "He sent messengers into Saxony, to promise both freemen and serfs, (frilingi et hant,) who are most numerous, that if they would support him, he would restore the laws which their ancestors had enjoyed at the time they worshipped idols. The Saxons, eagerly catching this consummation, took the new name of Saxlings, banded together, expelled nearly all their lords, and each, according to ancient custom, began to live as he liked best. Lothaire also called the Northmen to his aid. He subjected some tribes of Christians to their rule, and had even allowed them to plunder the rest of the people of Christ. Lothaire feared that the Northmen and Saxons might be induced,

for aid—an example afterwards followed by his ally Pepin in Aquitaine—seemed to bring down misfortune on his family. Charles the Bald and Louis the German, supported by the bishops of their kingdoms, perpetuated the name of Charlemagne, and, at least, founded the monarchy, which, long eclipsed by feudalism, was one day to become so powerful. Lothaire and Pepin were unable to found any thing. Charles the Bald, who was supposed to be the son of Bernard of Languedoc, the favorite of Louis the Debonnaire, and of Judith, and who resembled Bernard,\* seems, indeed, to have had all his southern address. At first, he is the man of the bishops, of Hincmar, the great archbishop of Reims; and, in some sort, it is in the name of the Church that he wars on Lothaire and Pepin, the allies of the Pagans. Pepin, governed by the counsels of a son of Bernard's, did not hesitate to invite the Saracens and Normans† into Aquitaine. It has been seen by the marriage of Eude's daughter with an emir, that the Christianity of the men of the south was by no means shocked at these alliances with unbelievers. The Saracens invaded Septimania in Pepin's name, and the Normans took Toulouse. It is asserted that he went so far as to deny Christ, and ratified his oaths by adjuring Woden and the horse. Such means must have been more fatal than serviceable to him. The people detested the friend of the barbarians, and imputed all the ravages committed by them to him. Given up to Charles the Bald by the leaders of the Gascons, often a prisoner, and often a fugitive, anarchy was all he wrought.

Lothaire's family was hardly more fortunate. On his death, (A. D. 855,) his eldest son, Louis II., became emperor. His two other sons, Lothaire II., and Charles, became—the first, king of Lorraine, (the provinces between the Meuse and Rhine), the second, king of Provence. Charles died early. Louis, harassed by the Saracens, and taken prisoner by the Lombards, was always unfortunate, despite his courage. As to Lothaire II., his reign seems to be the advent of the Papal supremacy over kings ‡. He had put away his wife, Teutberga, in order to live with the archbishop of Cologne's sister, niece, too, of the bishop of Treves,§ accusing Teutberga of adultery and incest. For a long time she denied the charge, and

then confessed it—undoubtedly through intimidation. Pope Nicholas I., to whom she first addressed herself, refused to credit her confession, and compelled Lothaire to take her again. The latter repaired to Rome to justify himself, and received the communion from the hands of Adrian II.; who, however, at the same time threatened him, unless he repented, with the vengeance of Heaven. Lothaire died within the week, and most of his supporters within the year.\* Charles the Bald, and Louis the German, profited by this judgment of God's, and divided Lothaire's dominions between them.

On the contrary, the king of France, at least in the earlier reigns, was the man of the Church; for since France had escaped the influence of Germany, the Church alone possessed power within it, a power which the secular clergy were unable to counterbalance. Germans, Aquitanians, and even Irish and Lombards, seem to have been more favored at the Carolingian court than the Neustrians. Governed and defended by foreigners, Neustria had long only moved and breathed through her clergy. Her population would appear to have consisted of slaves, scattered over the immense and half-cultivated estates of the nobles of the country; of whom the greatest and richest were the nobles and abbots. With the exception of the episcopal cities, the towns were nothing; but around each abbey was clustered a town, or at least a small burgh.† The richest abbies were those of St. Medard of Soissons, and of St. Denys—founded by Dagobert, the cradle of our monarchy, and the tomb of our kings. Above the whole land there domineered—by its dignity as a see, by its doctrine, and by its miracles—the great metropolis of Reims, as great in the north as Lyons was in the south. Through wars and ravages, the sees of St. Martin of Tours, and of St. Hilary of Poitiers, had lost much of their pristine splendor; and under the second race, Reims succeeded to their influence, and extended its possessions into the most distant provinces, even into the Vosges and Aquitaine.‡ It was pre-eminently the episcopal city. Laon, on its inaccessible hill, was the royal city, and enjoyed the melancholy honor of defending the last of the Carolingians. Our kings of the third race waited till the incursions of the Normans ceased, before

\* Annales Met. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vii. 196.

† M. de Chateaubriand justly observes, that an abbey was neither more nor less than the shade of a rich Roman patrician, with the various classes of slaves and of workmen attached to the service of the property and of the proprietor, together with the towns and villages dependent on these. The latter abbey was the master, the monks—its many freedmen of the most cultivated science, literature, and art. To the abbey of St. Hilary belonged the town of that name, with thirteen other towns, and thirty villages, besides an immense number of farms. The offerings of silver laid on the king's tomb yearly amounted to nearly two millions of our money. Acts 28. Ord. St. Bernard sec. iv. p. 104. The monastery of St. Martin at Autun, though not equally wealthy with these, owned, under the Merovingians, a hundred thousand farms, manors. Etienne Baluze in 371. sup.

‡ Frisliard, Hist. Ecles. Rem. lib. ii. c. 10. L. M. c. 28.

through loss of kindred, to join the Saracens who had taken the name of Hittlings, invade his dominions, and abolish the Christian religion." See, also, the Annals of St. Bertin, ann. 841, the Annals of Fulda, ann. 842, and the Chronicle of Hermann, Abbeys ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 232. &c.

\* Thierin c. 30. "There were even men evil enough to say that even Judith had been violated by duke Bernard." —Viz. Venerabilis Wala, ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 249. Anecdotes Apocryph. lib. 249. Anecdotes narratives ap. Ser. R. Fr. vii. 240. His features were miraculously like, and gave natural proof of his mother's adultery.

† Annales Bertin ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 66. Chronicle of Beaugency, lib. 229. Trévise, St. Vincent 353. Not exact. —A Pagan's conduct, nevertheless, praiseworthy on an infidel's admission.

‡ Nicolas, Epist. L. ap. Maitai, vi. p. 373.



they ventured to descend to the plains, and establish themselves at Paris, in the island of the City, close to St. Denys, as the Carlovingians had chosen for their last asylum Laon, close to Reims.

Charles the Bald was, at first, only the humble client of the bishops. Before and after the battle of Fontenai, he complains, in his negotiations with Lothaire, of the latter's disrespect for the Church.\* Therefore is he protected by God. When Lothaire arrives on the banks of the Seine with his barbarous and pagan army, partly consisting of Saxons, the river miraculously overflows its banks and protects Charles the Bald.† The monks, before they set Louis the Debonnaire free, had asked him whether he would re-establish and maintain Divine worship.‡ In like manner the bishops interrogated Charles the Bald and Louis the German, and then conferred the kingdom upon them.§ Later still, the bishops are of opinion that peace should prevail among the three brothers.|| After the battle of Fontenai, the bishops, in full assembly, declare that Charles and Louis have fought for equity and justice, and command a three days' fast.¶ "The Franks, as well as the Aquitanians," says Charles's partisan, Nithard, "despised the small number of Charles's followers. But the monks of St. Médard of Soissons came to meet him, and prayed him to bear on his shoulders the relics of St. Médard, and of fifteen other saints, which they were removing to their new basilica; and, with all veneration, he bore them on his shoulders, and then repaired to Reims."\*\*

The creature of the bishops and of the monks, he conferred on them the greatest share of his power, as indeed was right and fit, for they alone had both the knowledge and the means to regulate, in some degree, the wild disorder that prevailed throughout the land.†† Thus the powers of the king's commissioners are divided between bishops and laymen by the capitulary of Epernay, (A. D. 846;) and by that of Kiersy,

\* "He required him to forbear persecuting God's holy Church, and to pity the poor, the widow, and the orphan." Nithard. l. iii. c. 2.

† Id. ibid. "Wonderful to tell, the Seine, although the weather was perfectly tranquil, began to rise."

‡ Id. l. i. c. 2. Forcontari . . . si respublica ei restitueretur, an eam erigere ac fervore vellet, maximeque cultum divinum.

§ Id. l. iv. c. 1. Palam illos percontati sunt . . . an secundum Dei voluntatem regere voluissent. Respondentibus . . . se velle . . . alunt: Et auctoritate divinâ ut illud suscipiant, et secundum Dei voluntatem illud regatis, monemus, hortamur, atque precipimus.

|| Id. ibid. c. 3. "As usual, the matter is referred to the priests and bishops: on whose unanimously counselling peace, they consent, expedite ambassadors, and come to an agreement."

¶ Id. l. iii. c. 1.

\*\* Id. ibid. c. 2.—Before leaving Angers, (A. D. 873,) Charles the Bald would assist at the ceremonies of the inhabitants on their return to their city, in order to replace the bodies of St. Aubin and of St. Leode in the silver shrines which they had carried off. *Annal. Bertin. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vii. 117.*

†† A recent historian is mistaken in supposing this power to have been transferred to the bishops exclusively. *Saluz. t. ii. p. 31. Capitul. Spemac. ann. 846, art. 28. Missos ex utroque ordine . . . mittitis. . . .*

(A. D. 857,) the right of proceeding against all evil-doers\* is conferred on the curia. This thoroughly ecclesiastical legislation prescribes as a remedy for the troubles and robberies that distract the kingdom—the oaths, to be sworn on relics, of the freemen and hundreders; and recommends brigands to episcopal exhortation, threatening them, if they persist in their course of life, with the spiritual sword of excommunication.†

The bishops, then, were the masters of the land. The real king, and the real pope of France, was the famous Hincmar,‡ archbishop of Reims. He was born in the north of Gaul, but an Aquitanian by descent, being related to St. Gulielmus of Toulouse, and to Bernard, that favorite of Judith's, who was thought to be Charles's father. No one contributed more to increase the power of the latter, or exercised more authority under him in the first years of his reign. It was Hincmar, apparently, who, at the head of the French clergy, hindered Louis the German from establishing himself in Neustria and in Aquitaine, whither he had been invited by the nobles. When Louis invaded Charles's dominions in 859, the council of Metz

\* Capitul. Car. Calvi, ap. Ser. R. Fr. vii. 628. Ut unusquisque presbyter imbreviet in sua parrochia omnes malefactores, etc., et eos extra ecclesiam solcat. . . . "If they do not reform, they must be cited before the bishop."

A treaty of alliance and mutual aid was entered into (A. D. 861) by the three sons of Louis the Debonnaire, for the seizing of such as fled from episcopal excommunication into the kingdoms of the others, and for the capture of such as had been guilty of incest, crying abuse, and adulteries.

† Ibid. . . . Si quis hoc transgressus fuerit, ecclesiastico anathemate feriatur.

‡ ("Hincmar," says Dean Waddington,—"History of the Church, p. 229—"was descended from a noble family, and the early part of his life he so divided between the court and the cloister, and displayed so much ability and enthusiasm in the discharge of the duties attached to either situation, as to combine the practical penetration of a statesman with the vigor of a zealous ecclesiastic. He was raised to the see of Reims in the year 845, at the age of thirty-nine, and filled it for nearly forty years with firmness and vigor. In the ninth century, when the religious events were brought about by ecclesiastical guidance, he stands among the leading characters, if, indeed, we should not rather consider him as the most eminent. He was the great churchman of the age: on all public occasions of weighty deliberation, at all public ceremonies of consecration or consecration, Hincmar is invariably to be found as the active and directing spirit. His great knowledge of canonical law enabled him to rule the councils of the clergy; his universal talents rendered him necessary to the state, and gave him more influence in political affairs than any other subject; while his correspondence—Frodoard mentions 423 letters of Hincmar's, besides many others not specified—attests his close intercourse with all the leading characters of his age. In the management of his diocese, he was so less careful to instruct and enlighten than strict to regulate; and while he issued and enforced his capitulations of discipline with the air and authority of a civil despot, he waged incessant warfare with ignorance. It is indeed probable that he possessed less theological learning than his less celebrated contemporary, Rabanus Maurus; but he had much more of that active energy of character so seldom associated with contemplative habits. It is also true that he was crafty, imperious, and intolerant; that he paid his sedulous devotion to the Virgin, and was imbued with other superstitious of his age. His occasional resistance to the see of Rome has acquired for him much of his celebrity; but if Divine Providence had so disposed that Hincmar had been bishop of Rome for as long a space as he was prince of France, he would unquestionably have obtained papal supremacy with more courage, consistency, and success than he enjoyed it."—TRANSLATOR.

deputed three bishops to wait upon him, and offer him the Church's pardon, provided he would redeem the sin of which he had been guilty in invading his brother's kingdom, and exposing it to the ravages of his army, by a proportionate penance. Hincmar was at the head of this deputation. "King Louis," said the deputies on their return to the council, "gave us audience at Worms on the 4th of June, and said—I beg you, if in any thing I have offended you, to be good enough to pardon me, so that I may proceed to speak in safety with you." To this Hincmar, who was in the first place, on his left, replied, "Our business will be soon dispatched, for we are come on purpose to offer you the pardon which you seek." Grimold, the king's chaplain, and bishop Theodoric, having addressed some remark to Hincmar, he resumed—"You have committed nothing against me to leave in my heart reprehensible rancor, otherwise I durst not approach the altar to offer sacrifice to the Lord." (Grimold, and bishops Theodoric and Solomon, again addressed Hincmar, and Theodoric said to him, 'Do as our lord the king requests you, pardon him.'—To this Hincmar replied, 'As regards myself and my own person, I have pardoned and I do pardon you. But as to your offences against the Church, which is intrusted to my keeping, and against my people, I can only give you my best advice, and offer you the help of the Lord to obtain absolution, if you desire it.'—Then the bishops exclaimed, 'Of a verity, he says well.'—All our brothers being unanimous on this head, and never vacillating, this was all the indulgence extended to him and nothing more . . . for we expected that he would ask our advice as to the means of safety offered to him, and then we should have counselled him according to the tenor of the paper of which we were bearers. But he answered from his throne, that he could not attend to the paper before he had consulted with his bishops."

Soon after, another and a more numerous council was assembled at Savonnières, near Toul, to restore peace between the kings of the Franks. Charles the Bald addressed himself to the fathers of this council (A.D. 859) for justice against Venilo, clerk of his chapel, whom he had made archbishop of Sens, and who had nevertheless left him for Louis the German. The complaint of the king of the French is remarkable for its humble tone. After recapitulating all the benefits which he had heaped upon Venilo, all his personal obligations, and all the proofs of his ingratitude and want of faith, he adds, "Elected by him, and by the other bishops and faithful nobles of our kingdom, who testified their will and their consent by their acclamations, Venilo, in his own diocese, in the church of the Holy Rood at Orleans, consecrated me king, according to the traditions of the Church, in presence of the other archbishops and bishops—he anointed me with the holy chrism, gave me the diadem and royal

sceptre, and bade me ascend the throne. After having been thus consecrated, I ought neither to have been dethroned nor supplanted, without having been heard and judged by the bishops, by whose ministration I have been consecrated king, and who have been called the thrones of the Divinity. In them God sits, and through them He renders judgment. At all times I have shown myself ready to submit to their paternal corrections and castigatory judgments—and I am so now."

The kingdom of Neustria was, in fact, a theocratic republic. The bishops cherished and supported this king of their own making, allowed him to levy soldiers among their retainers, and directed the affairs of war as well as those of peace. "Charles," says the annalist of St. Bertin, "gave notice that he would proceed to the assistance of Louis with such army as he had been able to assemble, and chiefly raised by the bishops."† "The king," says the historian of the Church of Reims, "intrusted all ecclesiastical matters to archbishop Hincmar, and moreover, when it was necessary to raise the people against the enemy, it was to him that the mission was confided, and straightway, by the king's orders, he convened the bishops and the counts"‡

The same hands then were the depositories both of the temporal and the spiritual power; and the churchmen governed by the triple title of bishops, magistrates, and great proprietors: a fact, sufficient to show the wordly and political character which episcopacy is about to assume, and that the state will be neither governed nor defended. This weak and lethargic rule, under which the wearied world might have slumbered, was broken up by two events. On the one hand, the human mind raised its protest, in various ways, against the spiritual despotism of the Church; on the other, the incursions of the Northmen constrained the bishops to resign, at least in part, the temporal power into hands more capable of defending the country. The foundations of feudalism were being laid; the scholastic philosophy was, at the least, being gradually prepared.

The first dispute turned on the Eucharist, the second, on Grace and Liberty. This is the natural and necessary order of religious differences; first, the question touching God—next, that concerning man. Thus Arius precedes Pelagius, and Berenger, Abelard. It was Paschasius Radbertus, the panegyrist of Wala and abbot of Corbie, who, in the ninth century, first explicitly taught the marvellous poetry of a god enclosed in a loaf, spirit in matter, and

\* Baluz Capital ann. 859, p. 127.—At a later period Hincmar expressly asserts that he elected Louis III. Hincmar ad Ludov. an. 860, c. 1. Hincmar opp. ii. 119.—Ego cum collegis meis et ceteris fratribus prępositis vestrorum fidelibus, vobis elegi ad regimē regis, sub conditione debitis leges servandi.

† Annal. Bertin. ann. 865, ap. M. R. Fr. vii.  
‡ Frobenius, Hist. Eccles. Remensis, lib. 216. . . . Sed et de populo in huncmodi convocanda.

infinity in an atom.\* The ancient fathers had had glimpses of this doctrine, but the time was not come. It was not till the ninth century, and till the eve of the last trials of barbaric invasion, that God deigned to descend in order to strengthen mankind in their extreme of misery, and suffered Himself to be seen, touched, and tasted. Vainly did the Irish church protest in the name of logic—it did not hinder the doctrine from pursuing its triumphant progress through the middle ages.

The question of liberty originated a livelier controversy. A German monk, a Saxon,† named Gottschalk, (i. e., God's glory,) had proclaimed the doctrine of predestination[—

\* ("Mosheim asserts without hesitation that it had been hitherto the unanimous opinion of the Church, that the body and blood of Christ were really administered to those who received the sacrament, and that they were consequently present at the administration, but that the sentiments of Christians concerning the nature and manner of this presence were various and contradictory. No council had yet determined with precision the manner in which that presence was to be understood; both reason and folly were hitherto left free in this matter; nor had any important mode of faith suspended the exercise of the one, or controlled the extravagance of the other. The historian's first position is laid down, perhaps, somewhat too peremptorily, for though many passages may be adduced from very ancient fathers in affirmation of the bodily presence, the obscurity or different tendency of others would rather persuade us that even that doctrine was also left a good deal to individual judgment. The second is strictly true; and the question which had escaped the vain and intrusive curiosity of oriental theologians was at length engendered in a convent in Gaul. In the year 831, Paschasius Radbert, a Benedictine monk, afterwards abbot of Corbie, published a treatise 'concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ,' which he presented, fifteen years afterwards, carefully revised and augmented, to Charles the Bald. The doctrine advanced by Paschasius may be expressed in the two following propositions:—First, that after the consecration of the bread and wine, nothing remains of those symbols except the outward figure, under which the body and blood of Christ were really and locally present. Secondly, that the body of Christ, thus present, is the same body which was born of the Virgin, which suffered upon the cross, and was raised from the dead. Charles appears decidedly to have disapproved of this doctrine; and it might perhaps have been expected that, after the example of so many princes, he would have summoned a council, stigmatised it as heresy, and excommunicated its author. He did not do so; but, on the contrary, adopted a method of opposition worthy of a wiser prince and a more enlightened age. He commissioned two of the ablest writers of the day, Ratramn and Johannes Scotus, to investigate by arguments the suspicious opinion. The compilation of the former is still extant, and has exercised the ingenuity of the learned even in recent times; but they have not succeeded in extricating from the perplexities of his reasoning, and perhaps the uncertainty of his belief, the real opinions of the author. The work of Johannes Scotus is lost; but we learn that his arguments were more direct, and his sentiments more perspicuous and consistent; he plainly declared that the bread and wine were no more than the symbols of the absent body and blood of Christ, and memorials of the Last Supper. Other theologians engaged in the dispute, and a decided superiority, both in numbers and talents, was opposed to the doctrine of Paschasius—yet so opposed that there was little unanimity among its adversaries, and no very perfect consistency even in their several writings." Waddington, *History of the Church*, pp. 257, 8.)—TRANSLATOR.

† See the texts relative to this, collected by Gieseler, *Kirchengeschichte*, ii. 101, sqq.—In his profession of faith, Gottschalk offered to prove his doctrine by passing through four barrels filled with boiling water, oil, and pitch, and afterwards through a large fire.

‡ ("The subject of predestination and Divine grace, which had already—in the fifth century—been controverted in France with some acuteness, and what is much better, with candor and charity, was subjected to another investigation in the ninth century. Gottschalk, otherwise called Fulgentius, was a native of Germany, and a monk of Orbais,

that religious fatalism which offers up human liberty a sacrifice to Divine predestination. Germany thus became heir to St. Augustine, and plunged into that career of mysticism which she has since but seldom quitted. The Saxon Gottschalk foreshadowed the Saxon Luther. Like Luther, he repaired to Rome, and did not return the more tractable for it. Like him, too, he disavowed his monastic vows.

Having sought refuge in northern France, he was ill received there. German doctrines were not calculated to win a favorable welcome in a country which had just separated from Germany, and a new Pelagius arose against the new predestination.

And first, the Aquitanian Hincmar, archbishop of Reims, entered his protest in favor of free-will and of endangered morality. A violent and tyrannic defender of liberty, he caused Gottschalk, who had taken refuge in his diocese, to be seized, and had him condemned, scourged, and imprisoned. But Lyons, always mystical, and the rival, too, of Reims—with

in the diocese of Soissons. He was admitted to order, during the vacancy of the see, by the circumstance—a circumstance to which the subsequent animosity of Hincmar is sometimes attributed. He possessed considerable learning, but a mind withal too prone to pursue abstract and unprofitable inquiries. Early in life he consulted Lupus, abbot of Ferrières, on the question, whether, after the resurrection, the blessed shall see God with the eyes of the body? The abbot concluded a reluctant reply to the following effect:—"I exhort you, my venerable brother, no longer to weary your spirit with such-like speculations, lost, through too great devotion to them, you become impatient for examining and teaching things more useful. Why waste so many researches on matters which it is not yet, perhaps, expedient that we should know? Let us rather exercise our talents in the spacious fields of Holy Writ; let us apply entirely to that meditation, and let prayer be associated to our studies. God will not fail to be his goodness to manifest Himself in the manner which shall be best for us, though we should cease to pry into things which are placed above us." The speculations of Gottschalk were diverted by this judicious rebuke, but not repressed; and the books of Augustine were still rivalled or superseded in his studies by those of Augustine. Accordingly he involved himself deeply and intricately in the mazes of fatalism. About the year 848 he made a pilgrimage to Rome, and on his return, soon afterwards, he expressed his opinions on that subject very publicly in the diocese of Verulan. Information was instantly conveyed to Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mayence, the most profound theologian of the age. That prelate immediately replied, and, in combating the error of a professed Augustinian, protected himself also by the authority of Augustine.

"Happy had it been for the author of the controversy if his adversary had allowed it to remain on that footing; but the doctrine was becoming too popular, and threatened moral effects too pernicious to be overlooked by the Church. Rabanus assembled, in 848, a council at Mayence, at which the king was present, and Gottschalk was summoned before it. Here he defended, in a written treatise, the doctrine of double predestination,—that of the elect to eternal life by the free grace of God,—that of the wicked, to everlasting damnation through their own sin. His explanations did not satisfy the council, and the treatise was rejected and condemned; but its advocate was not considered amenable to that tribunal, as he had been ordained in the diocese of Reims; wherefore Rabanus consigned him to the final custody of Hincmar, who then held that see. . . . It is certain that he was confined to the walls of a convent for almost twenty years, and that at length, during the episcopate of his latest moment, he was required to subscribe a formula of faith as the only condition of reconciliation with the Church,—that he declined to make any assertion, even at that moment, to that consideration,—and that his corpse was deprived of Christian sepulture by the unrelenting bigotry of Hincmar." Waddington, *History of the Church*, pp. 258-260.)—TRANSLATOR.

whom she contested the title of metropolis of Gaul—Lyons aided with Gottschalk; and men of eminence in the Gallic church—Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, Lupus, abbot of Ferrière, and Ratramnus, a monk of Corbie, whom Gottschalk called his master, endeavored to justify him by putting a favorable construction on the terms in which he had advanced his doctrine. There were saints against saints, and councils against councils. Hincmar, who had not foreseen the storm, at first sought the assistance of the learned Rabanus, the abbot of Fulda,\* to which monastery Gottschalk had belonged, and who had been the first to denounce his errors. Rabanus hesitating, Hincmar applied to an Irishman who had engaged in controversy with Paschasius Radbertus on the question of the Eucharist, and who was then in high credit with Charles the Bald. Ireland was always the school of the West—the mother of monks, and, as it was termed, *the isle of saints*. It is true that its influence on the continent had dwindled, since the Carlovingians had supplanted the rule of St. Columbanus by that of St. Benedict. However, even in Charlemagne's time, the school of the palace had been intrusted to Clement, an Irishman, with whom had been associated Dungal and St. Virgilius. The Irish were in still higher favor with Charles the Bald, who, a patron of literature, like his mother Judith, intrusted the school of the palace to John of Ireland, (otherwise called the *Scot* or *Erigena*)—and attended his lessons, and admitted him to the greatest familiarity. The phrase was no longer the *school of the palace*, but the *palace of the school*.

This same John, who was acquainted with Greek, and, perhaps, with Hebrew, had become celebrated by his translation—undertaken at Charles's request—of the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite, the manuscript of which had just been presented by the emperor of Constantinople to the French king. It was supposed that these writings, which had in view the reconciliation of the neoplatonism of Alexandria with Christianity, were the production of Dionysius the Areopagite, spoken of by the apostle Paul, with whom the Gallic apostle was confounded.

The Irishman did as Hincmar desired. He wrote against Gottschalk, in favor of liberty; but did not confine himself within the limits to which the archbishop of Reims would no doubt have restrained him. Like Pelagius, from whom he derived his opinions, and like Origen,

their common master, he relied less on authority than on reason. He admitted faith—but as the beginning of knowledge. Scripture, with him, is simply a text for interpretation: religion and philosophy are the same word.\* It is true that he only defended liberty against the predestination of Gottschalk, to absorb and lose it in the pantheism of Alexandria: however, the violence with which Rome attacked John Scotus, proves the alarm authority felt at his doctrines. The disciple of the Breton, Pelagius, and predecessor of the Breton, Abelard, he marks at once the regeneration of philosophy, and the revival of the free Celtic genius in opposition to the mysticism of Germany.

#### INCURSIONS OF THE NORMANS. (A. D. 819-80.)

At the very moment in which philosophy aimed at extricating herself from theological despotism, the temporal government of the bishops became paralyzed. France slipped out of their power. She needed stronger and more warlike hands to defend her from new invasions of the barbarians. Hardly freed from the rule of the Germans, who had so long governed her, she found herself weak and incapable under the administration and protection of priests. Yet she was inundated by her every river and her every shore with other Germans, whose savageness was of a very different kind from that of those she had just escaped from.

The inroads of these brigands of the north (Northmen, Normans) differed widely from the great German migrations that had taken place from the fourth to the sixth centuries. The barbarians of this earlier period, who settled on the left bank of the Rhine, or who established themselves in England, have left their language there. The petty Saxon colony of Bayeux preserved their own tongue for at least five hundred years. On the contrary, the Northmen of the ninth and tenth centuries adopted the speech of the people among whom they settled. Their kings, Rou, both of Russia and of France, (Ru-Rik, Rollo,) did not introduce the language of Germany into their new country. And from this essential distinction between the invasions of the two epochs, I am led to believe that those of the first, which were carried on by land, consisted of whole families—of warriors, followed by their wives and children. They would not be so blended with the conquered by intermarriage, and would thus the better pre-

\* According to some, both Rabanus and his master Alcuin, were Scots. *Loc. cit.* p. 404.

William of Malmesbury relates the following anecdote. "One day that John was sitting at table, opposite to the king—the dishes having been removed and the wine going round—Charles, with lively look, and after some other pleasantries, seeing John do something which shewed rather breeding, gently rebuked him by asking, *Quid distas under octum et scotum?* 'What's the distance between a Scot—a Scot—and a Scot?' 'A table's breadth,' was John's reply, who thus returned the insult."

\* J. Erig. de Div. Predestin. c. l. (Guizot, *Vingt-neuvième leçon*). "True philosophy is true religion, and, reciprocally, true religion is true philosophy."—*Ibid.* Nat. Divin. l. i. c. 66. (ibid.). "It is not to be supposed that Holy Scripture always employs precise and specific words and signs to penetrate us with the Divine nature, but, by the use of similitudes, and of indirect and figurative terms, stamps its own weakness, and, by its simple teaching, elevates our gross and childish minds." In the twelfth *l'op* *poes* is *passive* authority is derived from reason, but by no means reason from authority. All authority not supported by reason seems worthless, &c. See Guizot, *ibid.* 164, seq.

serve the purity of their race and language. The pirates of the epoch at which we are now arrived, appear to have been for the most part exiles, banished men who aspired to be *sea-kings*, for lack of land whereon to reign. Furious wolves,\* whom hunger had driven from their paternal lair,† they landed alone, and without families; and, when they were satiated with plunder, when, by dint of annual visitations, they had come to look upon the land which they pillaged as their country—these new Romuluses repeated the tale of the Sabine women.‡ They took wives; and the children, of course, spoke the language of their mothers. It is conjectured by some that these roving bands were increased, in Charlemagne's time, by fugitive Saxons. For my part, I can readily believe that not only Saxons, but that every fugitive, every bandit, every stout-hearted serf, was welcomed by these pirates, commonly few in number, and who would gladly strengthen their bands with any bold and robust volunteer. Tradition will have the most terrible of the sea-kings, Hastings, to have been originally a peasant of Troyes.§ Such fugitives must have been valuable to them as interpreters and as guides; and often, perhaps, the fury of the Northmen, and the atrocity of their ravages, were inspired less by the fanaticism of the worshippers of Odin, than by the vengeance of the serf, and the rage of the apostate.

Far from keeping up the armament of barks with which Charlemagne had sought to bar the mouths of the rivers against them, his successors called in the barbarians as auxiliaries. The

younger Pepin employed them against Charles the Bald, and hoped, it is said, to secure their assistance by worshipping their gods. They took the faubourgs of Toulouse, thrice pillaged Bordeaux,\* and sacked Bayonne and other cities at the foot of the Pyrenees. However, they were soon discouraged (from A. D. 884) by the mountains and torrents of the south. They could not sail up the rivers of Aquitaine so easily as they had ascended the Loire, the Seine, the Scheldt, and the Elbe.

They succeeded better in the north. Since their king, Harold, had obtained from the pious Louis a province for a baptism, (A. D. 886,) they all resorted to the same gainful trade. At first, they got themselves baptized for the sake of the dresses; which could not be provided in sufficient quantities for the crowd of neophytes. In proportion as they were refused the administration of a sacrament which they at once mocked and made a source of gain, they became the more furious. As soon as their *dragons*, their *serpents*,‡ ploughed the rivers, as soon as the *ivory-horn*§ re-echoed on the banks, no one stayed to look behind him. All fled to the nearest town or abbey, hastily driving their flocks before them, and hardly taking time for this. Vile flocks themselves, without strength, unity, or guidance, they crouched at the altars under the relics of the saints, which, however, did not stop the barbarians. On the contrary, they seemed wild to violate the most venerated sanctuaries. They broke into those of St. Martin of Tours, St. Germain-des-Prés, and numerous others. So great was the terror they inspired, that the harvest was left neglect-

\* *Wægr*, wolf; *wærgus*, banished. See Grimm.

† Famine was the presiding genius of those sea-kings. A dearth which desolated Jutland gave rise to a law, which condemned every five years all eldest sons to exile. *Odo Cluniac. ap. Scr. R. Fr. vi. 318.*—Dudo, de Mor. Duc. Normann. l. 1.—Guill. Gometz. l. 1. c. 4, 5.—According to an Irish Saga, parents used to have their gold and silver, &c., burnt with them when they died, in order to compel their children to seek their fortunes by sea. *Vætsæla, ap. Barth. 438.*

“Oliver Barakall, an intrepid pirate, was the first to forbid his comrades to toss infants from one to another on the points of their spears, which was their usual practice, and hence his name of Barakall—saviour of children.” *Bartholin, p. 457.*—When the warlike enthusiasm of the companions of the chief rose to parody, they took the name of *Berserkir*, (madmen, infuriated.) The Berserkir's post was the prow. The ancient Sagas give the name to their heroes as an honorable appellation, (see the *Edda Sæmundar*, the *Hervarar-Saga*, and several of Snorro's Sagas; but in the *Vætsæla-Saga*, the name of Berserkir becomes a reproach. *Barthol. 345.*—“He is to be punished, who runs rampant with the madness of a Berserkir.” *Ann. Kristal-Saga.*—Turner, *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, l. 463, sqq.

‡ The poetic form of the tradition which assigns them as companions the *Virgins of the buckler*, clearly proves that this was an exception, and that they seldom had women with them.—See *Dopping, Expéditions des Normands.*

§ *Rad. Glæbor. l. 1. c. 5, ap. Scr. R. Fr. x. 9.* “In course of time there was born, near Troyes, a man, in the lowest class of the peasantry, named Hastings. He belonged to a village called Tranquille, three miles from the city, and was strong in body, but of a perverse disposition. In his youth, his pride inspired him with contempt for the poverty of his parents, and yielding to his ambition, he voluntarily expatriated himself, and managed to fly to the Normans. There, he commenced his career by taking service with those who devoted themselves to constant piracy in order to supply the rest of their nation with food, and who formed what was called the *fleet*, (*flotta*.)”

\* *Frega. Hist. Armoric. ap. Scr. R. Fr. vii. ad ann. 882.*—*Annal. Berth. ibid. ann. 886, 885.*

† *Thegan. c. 33, ap. Scr. R. Fr. vi. 58.* . . . . *Quem imperator elevavit de fimo baptismi.* . . . . *Tunc magister Hartm. Frisonum edidit ei. Astrucum. c. 48. Ed. 187.*—*Eginh. Annal. ibid. 187.*—*Annal. Berth. ann. 878.*—“Meanwhile some Normans were baptized, brought for this purpose to the emperor by Hugh, who was both abbot and marquis. Presents were made them, and they returned to their countrymen; when, after baptism, they conducted themselves as before, like Normans and like pagans.”

‡ *Drakars, Snæthars*—these were the names they gave their barks.

§ The Ivory horn figures prominently in the legends relating to the Normans; for instance, in the *American legend of St. Florentius*. *Tum Guallo monachus apud S. Florentium dirigitur . . . postquam monasterium intravit, illius cryptas tam silvæ scopulis quàm fœtus fœtibus plenas evacuavit. . . . Deinde . . . .* *Monasterium de Normannorum ducem . . . . adhibet monachum in urbe florentina. . . . .* *Quem ut dixi ad eum ducis agnovit adventasse, protinus surgit relicta sedè, erigens illius ac summo capiti imponere. Etenim utrumque Christianum ducem fuisse . . . . .* *Tubam eburneam testaturum consueverat dedit monacho, hæc illi addens, ut ovis in pascuis constitutis eâ buccinaret, et nequaquam de uno quidem ovem, ubicunque a prædatoribus audiri posset. (The monk Guallo was sent to St. Florentius. . . . . When he entered the convent he drove out of the vaults the wild cows, with their young, that had taken possession of them. . . . . Then he repaired to Hastings, the Norman chief, who still abode in Nantes. . . . . When the chief saw him arrive with presents, he forthwith arose and left his seat, and blessed him on the mouth—for he is said to have professed Christianity after a fashion. . . . . He gave the monk an ivory horn, called the horn of thunder, adding, that whenever his men came to plunder, he (the monk) should sound it, and fear nothing for his property whenever he could be heard by them.)* *St. Meric, Pœuvres de l'Hist. de Bretagne, p. 225.*

ed; and men would eke out the flour with earth. The woods between the Seine and Loire grew denser. A flock of three hundred wolves<sup>a</sup> devastated Aquitaine without interruption; and the wild beasts seemed to have taken possession of France.

And, meanwhile, what was done by the sovereigns of the country, the abbots and the bishops! They took to flight—carrying off with them the bones of the saints, and, powerless as their relics, left the people without guide or asylum. At the most they sent some armed vassals to Charles the Bald—to watch timidly the march of the barbarians, to negotiate, but at a distance, with them, and to seek from them for so many pounds of silver they would quit such a province, or deliver up such a captive abbot. A million and a half of our money was paid for the ransom of the abbot of St. Denis.†

These barbarians laid waste the north, while the Saracens infested the south.‡ I pass over the monotonous history of these invasions, to specify their three principal stages—the invasions themselves, the posts or stations taken up by the marauders, and thirdly, their places of final settlement. The usual stations of the Northmen were islands at the mouths of the Scheldt, the Seine, and the Loire. Those of the Saracens were at Fraxinet (Garde Fraïnet) in Provence, and at St. Maurice-en-Valais: such was the audacity of these pirates, that they had thus dared to leave the sea behind them, and pitch even in the heart of the Alps, in the passes commanding the high roads of Europe. The Saracens had no settlements of consequence except in Sicily. The Northmen, the more practicable of the two, ended by adopting Christianity, and settled in several parts of France: particularly in the province which is named after them, Normandy.

The following passages from the annals of St. Bertin show the daring of the Northmen, the helplessness and humiliation of the king and of the bishops, and their vain attempts to combat these barbarians or to oppose them to one another.

"It was stipulated in the year 866 that all vassals taken by the Normans, who might make their escape, should either be restored to them or ransomed at their own valuation, and that if any Norman were slain, a fine should be paid as the price of his life.

"In 861, the Danes who had recently burnt the city of Terouanne, coming back, under their chief Weland, from the country of the Angles, sailed up the Seine with more than two hundred ships, and besiege the Northmen in the castle which they had built on the island of Ouessel.

Charles ordered there to be raised—in order to give to the besiegers as a guerdon—five thousand pounds of silver, with a considerable quantity of cattle and of grain, so that his kingdom might not be laid waste; then, crossing the Seine, he repaired to Mehun-sur-Loire, and received count Robert with the stipulated honors. However, Gunthrid and Gofrid, by whose advice Charles had received Robert, deserted him, together with their companions, according to the ordinary inconstancy of their race and of their native habits, and joined Salomons, the duke of the Bretons. Another band of Danes ascended the Seine with sixty ships, and entering the river of Hières, joined the besiegers. The besieged, overcome by famine and the most fearful misery, gave the besiegers six thousand pounds, as well of gold as of silver, and join them.

"In 869, Louis, son of Louis king of Germany, undertaking a war with the Saxons against the Wends, who dwell in the country of the Saxons, gained a kind of victory, with great slaughter on both sides. On his return, Roland, archbishop of Arles, who (but not empty-handed) had obtained from the emperor Louis, and from Ingelberga, the abbey of St. Cesarius, erected in the island of Camargue—which is on every side extremely rich, and where is most of the property of the abbey, and in which the Saracens were accustomed to have a port—a fortress, of earth alone, hastily thrown up, and imprudently threw himself into it when he learned the arrival of the Saracens, who, landing there, slew more than three hundred of his retainers, and taking the archbishop prisoner, led him to their vessel, and put him in chains. To the said Saracens were given as ransom a hundred and fifty pounds of silver, a hundred and fifty cloaks, a hundred and fifty large swords, and a hundred and fifty slaves, exclusive of what was given by common consent. Meanwhile, the bishop died on board. The Saracens cunningly hastened the collection of his ransom, saying that they could stay no longer, and that, if they wished to have him again, his ransom must be quickly paid—which was done; and the Saracens having received it, seated the bishop in a chair, clad in the sacerdotal vestments which he wore when they took him prisoner, and, as if to do him honor, carried him so seated from the ship to the shore. When they who had ransomed him desired to speak with him, and congratulate him, they found him to be dead. Bearing him off with great mourning, they buried him on the 23d of September, in the sepulchre which he had had made for himself."

Thus was proved the inability of the episcopal power to defend and govern France. In 870, the head of the Gallican church, the archbishop of Reims, Hincmar, made the following painful confession to the pope—"These are the complaints addressed to us by the people, 'Come to take our defence upon yourselves; content

<sup>a</sup> Annal. Bertin. ann. 846.

<sup>†</sup> Note by the editors of the French historians, t. vii. p. 72.—The abbey itself was often ransomed, and was finally added to others. Annal. Bertin. lib. 72. *Chronique Normanne*, lib. 53.

<sup>‡</sup> The incursion of the Saracens in the south of France have nowhere been described and enumerated with more judgment and talent than in M. Desmichel's *Histoire des Rois-Agés*, t. ii. (1831.)

yourselves with contributing to it by your prayers, if you desire our assistance for the common defence. . . . Beg the apostolic lord not to impose upon us a king who cannot aid us in distant parts against the frequent and sudden incursions of the pagans.'"<sup>\*</sup> . . .

These grave words are equally the condemnation of the local power of the bishops and of the central power of the sovereign, who, a cipher in the Church, will only be the weaker for separating from it. He may dispose of some bishoprics, humble the bishops,<sup>†</sup> and oppose the pope of Rome to the pope of Reims. He may accumulate empty titles, have himself crowned king of Lorraine, and divide with the Germans the kingdom of his nephew, Lothaire II.: he will not be the stronger. When he becomes emperor, his weakness is at its height. In 875, the death of his other nephew, Louis II., left Italy vacant, and the imperial dignity as well. Anticipating the sons of Louis the German at Rome by his greater speed,<sup>‡</sup> he flichs, if I may so speak, the title of emperor; but the very Christmas-day on which he triumphantly arrays himself in the Greek Dalmatic,<sup>§</sup> his

brother, for the moment master of Neustria, triumphs in Charles's own palace. The poor emperor flies from Italy at the approach of one of his nephews, and falls ill and dies in a village of the Alps, (A. D. 877.)<sup>\*</sup>

His son, Louis the Stammerer, cannot even retain the shadow of power preserved by his father. Italy, Lorraine, Brittany, and Gascony will not hear him spoken of. Even in the north of France he is compelled to acknowledge before the prelates and nobles, that he holds the crown only by election.<sup>†</sup> His life is short: those of his sons, shorter. In the reign of one of these—that of the young Louis—the annalist cursorily lets fall this terrible fact, which enables us to estimate the depth of the abyss into which France had sunk—"He built a fort of wood, but it rather served to strengthen the pagans than to defend the Christians, for the said king could find no one to whom he could intrust the charge of it."<sup>‡</sup>

However, in 881, Louis gained a victory over the Northmen of the Scheldt, and the historians were at a loss how to celebrate so rare an event. A poem, in the German tongue, which was composed on this occasion,<sup>§</sup> is still extant. But this reverse only rendered them the more terrible. Their chief Gotfried, who had espoused Gizla, the daughter of Lothaire II., required Frisia to be ceded to him; and when Charles the Fat, the new king of Germany, consented, he demanded in addition a settlement on the Rhine, in the very heart of the empire. Frisia, he said, did not yield wine. He wanted Coblenz and Andernach. Being admitted to an interview with the emperor on an island in the Rhine, he advanced new pretensions in the name of his brother-in-law, Hugh; until the imperial retainers lost patience and assassinated him. Either to avenge this murder, or in concert with Charles the Fat, his successor, Siegfried, associated himself with the Northmen of the Seine and invaded Northern France—which submitted with an ill grace to the yoke of the king of Germany, Charles the Fat, who had become king of France by the extinction of the French branch of the Carolingians.

(turban ?) and wearing his crown, he was wont so to proceed to church on the Lord's-day and on holidays . . . he thought Greek glories the best. . . .

<sup>\*</sup> Annal. Fuldens. ap. Scr. R. Fr. vii. 182.—According to the annalist of St. Bertin, (ibid. 124.) he was poisoned by a Jew physician. See, also, the Annals of Metz, ibid. 202.

<sup>†</sup> Annal. Bertin. ap. Scr. R. Fr. vii. 37. "I, Louis, appointed king by the mercy of the Lord our God, and by the election of the people . . . do promise the people that I will keep the laws and statutes." &c.

<sup>‡</sup> Annal. Bertin. ann. 881, ibid. 23. Castellum materia lignea . . . quod magis ad munimen paganorum quam ad auxilium Christianorum factum fuit, quoniam inventor non potuit cui illud castellum ad custodiendum committere posset.

<sup>§</sup> Scr. R. Fr. ix. 90:—

"Einen Kuning wels ich  
Helsset er Ludwig  
Der gerne Gott dienet, &c."

A chronicler, two centuries later, roundly affirms that Endo, Louis's general in this war, slew a hundred thousand of the Normans. Martinus Scorus, ap. Scr. R. Fr. vii.

<sup>\*</sup> Et vos ergo solis orationibus vestris regnum contra Normannos et alios impetentes defenditis, et nostram defensionem nolite querere; et si vultis ad defensionem habere nostrum auxilium, sicut volumus de vestris orationibus habere adiutorium, nolite querere nostrum dispendium, et petite dominum apostolicum . . . ut non precipiat nobis habere regem qui nos in longinquis partibus adjuvare non possit contra subitaneos et frequentes paganorum incursum, &c. Epist. Hinc. ap. Scr. R. Fr. vii. 540.

<sup>†</sup> Annal. Bertin. ann. 839. "Charles gave certain monasteries to laymen which had never been bestowed save on priests."—Ann. 862. "He bestowed the abbey of St. Martin, which he had unreasonably given his son, Hludovic, without any more reason, on Hubert, a married priest." For a long time he did not fill up the vacant abbots, in order that he might enjoy the revenues himself. In 861, he did the same with the abbey of St. Quentin and St. Waast.—Ann. 876. He rewarded with abbey the deserters who passed over to his party.—Ann. 883. "He nominated Vulfrid, of his own authority, before any decision was come to in the case, to the archbishopric of Bourges, &c."—Frodoard, l. ii. c. 17. The synod of Troyes, which had disapproved of Vulfrid's nomination, sent a report of its proceedings to the pope. Charles required it to be sent to him, and to read it, broke the seals of the archbishops, &c.—See, also, in the Annals of St. Bertin, his harsh and haughty conduct to the bishops assembled in the council of Ponthion.—In 867, he required from the bishops and abbots an account of their possessions, that he might know how many serfs to exact from them to employ in building. Ten years afterwards, he assessed the clergy for the payment of a tribute to the Normans. Ann. Bertin.—In his military expeditions his scruples did not restrain him from plundering the churches. Ibid. ann. 851.—Doubts were even raised as to the purity of his faith. (Lotharius adversus Karolum occasione suspecte fidei queritur. . . . Multa catholice fidei contraria in regno Karli, ipso quoque non nescio, concitantur. Ibid. ann. 855.) He even humiliates the archbishop of Reims, to whom he owed all, by giving the primacy to the archbishop of Sens. Hincmar was weak and vulnerable on many points. He had succeeded archbishop Hebo, whose deposition was much disapproved of. He had compromised himself in Gottschalk's business, both by his illegal proceedings against the heretic, and his connection with Johannes Erigena. His violence towards his nephew Hincmar, the bishop of Laon, a young and learned prelate, who was not sufficiently subservient to the primacy of Reims, was also objected to him.

<sup>‡</sup> Annal. Fuld. ap. Scr. R. Fr. vii. 181. Quanta potuit velocitate Romam profectus est.

<sup>§</sup> Ibid. "Returning from Italy to Gaul, he is said to have assumed new and unusual garments; for, arrayed in the Dalmatic, which flowed down to his heels, and girt, moreover, with a belt that hung as low, (balteo pendente neque ad pedes,) and with his head wrapped in a silken veil,

But the humiliation of the country is not complete until the accession of the German prince, (A. D. 884,) who unites in his own person the whole of Charlemagne's empire, becoming emperor and king of Germany, Italy, and France. A splendid mockery! The Northmen do not content themselves in his reign with ravaging the empire, but seek to take possession of the fortified places. They lay siege to Paris with prodigious fury. Often attacked, that city had never been taken; but would have fallen now, had not count Eudes, son of Robert the Strong, bishop Gozlin, and the abbot of St. Germain-des-Prés, thrown themselves into it, and defended it with the utmost valor. Eudes even dared to sally from it, in order to implore Charles the Fat to come to its relief. The emperor came, indeed, but contented himself with watching the barbarians, and persuaded them to leave Paris to ravage Burgundy, which did not yet recognise his authority, (A. D. 885-886)—a cowardly and perfidious connivance on his part, which dishonors Charles the Fat.

It at once provokes melancholy and laughter to see the efforts of the monk of St. Gall to reanimate the courage of the emperor. The good monk makes nothing of exaggerating. He tells him how his grandfather Pepin cut off a lion's head with a single blow; how Charlemagne (as Clotaire II. had before done) slew in Saxony every one taller than his sword; how Charlemagne's meek son astonished the envoys of the Northmen with his strength—sportively breaking their swords to pieces with his hands.† He makes a soldier of Charlemagne's boast that he had carried seven, eight, and even nine barbarians, spitted on his lance like little birds.‡ He invites him to imitate his forefathers, conduct himself like a man, and to be peremptory with the nobles and bishops. "Charlemagne having sent to consult one of his sons who had turned monk, on the conduct he should observe towards the nobles, found him plucking up nettles and other weeds. 'Tell my father,' are his words, 'what you have seen me doing.' . . . His monastery was destroyed, and there can be no doubt as to the cause—but I will not tell it to you, until I shall see your little Bernard with his sword in his belt."§

This little Bernard passed for the emperor's natural son, though Charles himself threw a doubt on the matter by the manner in which he accused his wife before the diet of 887, so as

to appear to give himself out for impotent. He affirmed "that he had not known the empress, although he had been united to her in lawful wedlock for ten years."\* It was but too likely that the emperor was as powerless as the empire. The degeneration of his race is sufficiently attested by the sterility of eight queens and the premature death of six kings. It is fairly worn out, like that of the Merovingians. The French branch is extinct, and France disdains longer to obey the German. Charles the Fat is deposed by the diet of Tribur, in 887. The different kingdoms that composed the empire of Charlemagne are once more separated; and not only kingdoms, but duchies, countships, and simple lordships, will soon be so.

The very year of his death, (A. D. 877,) Charles the Bald had made the countships hereditary;† fiefs were so already. The counts—up to this period, judges removable at pleasure—became hereditary sovereigns in their several districts. Circumstances had compelled this concession. At first, Charles the Bald had prohibited the barons from building castles, as a vain and culpable mode of defence when the Northmen ravaged all around; but he was constrained to yield to necessity, and recognised the hereditary tenure of the countships‡—it was to resign his crown. The counts and barons are the real heirs of Charles the Bald, and already he has married his daughters to the bravest of them, to those of Brittany and Flanders.

These liberators of their country will occupy the defiles of the mountains, the fords of the rivers. They will rear their strongholds there, and defend themselves at once against the barbarians and their prince, who from time to time will be tempted to endeavor to resume the power which he abandoned with regret. But the people hate and despise a king who cannot protect them; they crowd around their defenders, around the lords and the counts. On its first institution, nothing could be more popular than feudalism; and there is a confused remembrance of this popularity in the romances in which Gerard of Roussillon, Renaud, and the other sons of Aymond, maintain an heroic struggle against Charlemagne, whose name is used in them as a common designation for the Carlovingians.

The first and the most powerful of these founders of feudalism is Charles the Bald's own brother-in-law, Boson, who (A. D. 879) assumes the title of king of Provence, or of Burgundy

\* Mon. Sangal. l. ii. c. 17.

† Id. ibid. c. 49. In like manner Haroun Alraschid breaks the weapons brought to him by the ambassadors from Constantinople. The reader will call to mind Ulysses' bow in the Odyssey, the bow of the king of Ethiopia in Herodotus, &c.

‡ Id. ibid. c. 20. "When he had mown down Bohemians, Witzis, and Avars like grass, and hung them like small birds from his spear . . . he was wont to say, 'What were these frogs to me? I used to carry here and there seven, eight, or nine of them, indeed, spitted on my spear, and cranking I know not what.'"

§ Id. ibid. c. 19. Quam antea non coluim, quam Burgundum vestrum spatia fœderis accietum compluim.

\* Annal. Metens. ann. 1497, ap. Ser. R. Fr. viii.—Gesta Reg. Franc. ibid. ix. 47.

† This remark is due to the Histoire du Moyen-Age of M. Deuchèze, t. ii. p. 372. All this portion of his work is beyond praise.

‡ Capitul. Caroli Calvi, ann. 177, ap. Ser. R. Fr. vii. 703. Si comes de solo regno obierit . . . alium illius de hominibus illius honoruimus—He secures the inheritance to the son, even though a child at his father's death. If there is no son, the countship falls to the disposal of the prince.—See the mistake on this subject of the authors of the Art de Vérifier les Dates, v. 671.



Ciajurana, (on this side of the Jura.)\* Not long afterwards, (A. D. 888,) Rodolph Welf occupies Burgundy Transjurana, (beyond the Jura.) which he erects into a kingdom.† These are the barriers of France on the southeast. Here the Saracens will have to contend with Boson, with Gerard of Roussillon—the celebrated hero of romance—with the bishop of Grenoble, and the viscount of Marseilles.

That family of Hunald's and of Guaiifer's,‡ so ill-treated by the Carolingians on whom it brought the disaster of Roncesvalles, re-establish, at the foot of the Pyrenees, the duchy of Gascony; and, in Aquitaine, arise the powerful families of Gothia, (Narbonne, Roussillon, Barcelona,) of Poitiers, and of Toulouse. Those of Gothia and of Poitiers trace their origin to St. Gulielmus, the patron saint of the south, and conqueror of the Saracens. In like manner all the kings of Germany and Italy claim to descend from Charlemagne; and the heroic families of Greece, the kings of Macedon and of Sparta, the Aleuadae of Thessaly, and Bacchidae of Corinth, referred their original to Hercules.

On the east, Regnier, count of Hainault, will dispute Lorraine with the Germans—with Swintibold, the ferocious son of the king of Germany. Regnier-Renaud will remain the type and popular name of that strife of stratagem with brute force, which eventually terminates in its favor.

On the north, France takes for its twofold defence against the Belgians and the Germans—the *forestiers* of Flanders,§ and the counts of Vermandois, kindred and allies, more or less faithful, of the Carolingians.

But the great struggle is on the west, towards Normandy and Brittany, where the Northmen are accustomed to land yearly. The Breton, Nomenoe, puts himself at the head of the people, defeats Charles the Bald, defeats the Northmen, defends the independence of the Breton church against Tours, and desires to erect Brittany into a kingdom.¶ On his decease, the Northmen return

in greater numbers, and the country is reduced to a desert, when one of his successors, (A. D. 937,) the heroic Allan Barbetorte, takes Nantes from them; on which occasion he has to cut his way with his sword through the brambles to get to the cathedral to return thanks for his victory to God. This time, however, the country is delivered. The Northmen and the Germans—called in by the king against Brittany—are alike repulsed. For the first time Allan convokes the states of the countship, and the contest between him and the king ends by the recognition, on the part of the latter, that every serf who takes refuge in Brittany becomes, by that act alone, a freeman.\*

In 859, the lords had hindered the people from taking up arms against the Northmen.† In 864, Charles the Bald had forbidden the barons to build castles. A few years elapse; castles arise in every direction, and in every direction the barons arm their followers. The barbarians begin to feel the obstacles that spring up against them. Robert the Strong falls in a battle with the Northmen, near Brissac, (A. D. 866.) His son Eudes, with better success, defends Paris against them in 865; and, rallying from the town, cuts his way back to it through their camp.‡ They raise the siege, and, attacking Sens, fail there as well. In 861, Arnulph, king of Germany, forces their camp, near Louvain, and drives them into the Dyle. In 933 and 955, the Saxon emperors, Henry the Fowler, and Otto the Great, gain their famous victories of Merseburg and Augsburg over the Hungarians; and about the same period, (A. D. 965-979,) bishop Isarn drives the Saracens out of Normandy, and William, viscount of Marseilles, delivers Provence from them.

Gradually the barbarians lose confidence, and sink into peace. Forfeaking their life of pillage, they ask for lands whereon to settle. The Northmen of the Loire, so terrible under the aged Hastings, who led them as far as Tuscany, are repulsed from the shores of Britain by king Alfred. They care not to stay and die there, like their hero, Ragnar Lodbrok, in a cavern swarming with serpents, but prefer settling in France, on the beautiful Loire. Chartres, Tours, and Blois become theirs. Theobald, their chief, the progenitor of the house of Blois and of Champagne, closes the Loire against new invasions, as Rad-bolf or Rollo presently will the Seine, where he settles with the consent of the king of France, Charles the Simple or the

\* He was chosen king at the council of Maunille by twenty-three bishops of the south and east of Gaul. See the Acts of the Council, ap. Scr. R. Fr. ix. 304.

† Annal. Met. ap. Scr. R. Fr. viii. 68. Provinciam inter Jura et Alpes Penultima occupat, regemque se appellavit.

‡ See the charter of 845, by which Charles the Bald refuses to ratify the vast gifts which the count of the Gascons, Vandregisel, and his family, (counts of Bigorre, &c.) had conferred on the church of Alabon, (in the diocese of Urgel.) Hist. du Lang. I. note at p. 638 and p. 65, of the proof.—He did not give less than the whole of the ancient patrimony of his ancestors in France—all their property and rights in the Toulouse, the Agout, the Quierzy, the pays d'Arles, Perigord, Seignorie, and Poitou. The Benedictines do not see, either in the material or the form of this document, any reason to doubt its authenticity. It may be considered the testament of the ancient Aquitanian dynasty, which having sought refuge among the Basques, had willed to the Spanish church all it ever possessed in France. The gift was reduced by Charles to some estates in Spain, to which, indeed, he had no great pretensions.

§ The counts of Flanders at first bore this name as well as the counts of Anjou.

¶ Hist. Britann. ap. Scr. R. Fr. vii. 48. . . . In corde meo cogitavi ut se regem foret. According to the chronicles, he thought of removing from their sees the bishops

nominated to them by the kings of the Franks, and of appointing bishops of his own choice in their stead, so as to secure his own election to the throne.

\* See the authors cited by Durr, Hist. of Brittany, I.

† Annal. Bertin. ap. Scr. R. Fr. vii. 74. Vulgus gentium inter Sequanum et Ligurim, inter se conjungens adversus Danos in Sequanis constitentes, fructus militum. Sed quia incantis susceperat eorum conjurationem, a potentissimis nostris facillè interfectum.

‡ Annal. Vedast. ap. Scr. R. Fr. vii. 55. Northmen, qui rectum praecones, occurrerunt ei ante portum Tundis; et ille, cuiusque equis, a dentibus et cinctibus adversum, civitatem legemur.

**Fool.** He did not, however, betray any folly in attaching these Northmen to him, and giving them the burdensome sovereignty of Brittany—through which the Bretons and they would mutually wear each other out. Rollo was baptized, and performing homage, not in person, but by deputy—his representative managed so to execute the ceremony of kissing the king's foot as to throw him on his back.\* Such was the insolence of these barbarians.

Thus the Northmen settle down ; the natives gather strength. France acquires consistency, and gradually shuts herself in. Large feudal seigniories rise on all her frontiers, like so many towers, and she finds some security in the formation of local powers—in parcelling out the empire, and breaking down unity. Is there, then, no hope that that great and noble unity of our country, the image of which, at least, has been shown us in the Roman and Frankish governments, will one day return ? Have we utterly perished as a nation ? Does there not exist, in the midst of France, some central force which allows of the belief that the various members will be again brought together, and once more form a complete whole ?

If the idea of unity is preserved, it is in the great ecclesiastical sees which maintain their pretensions to the primacy. Tours is a centre upon the Loire; Reims forms one in the north. Everywhere, however, the episcopal power is limited by the feudal. At Troyes and at Soissons the count lords it over the prelate; at Cambrai and Lyon they hold divided power. It is chiefly in the king's domains that the bishops obtain or preserve the seigniorship of their cities. Those of Laon, Beauvais, Noyon, Châlons-sur-Marne, and of Langres, become peers of the kingdom; as do the metropolitans of Sens and Reims—the first expelling the count, the second resisting him. The archbishop of Reims, the head of the Gallican church, is long the faithful support of the Carolingians; and he alone seems still to take an interest in the monarchy and the family on the throne.†

This age-worn dynasty, committed to the guardianship of bishops, could not rally France. Enveloped by wars and by the ravages of the barbarians, the kingly title must perforce pass to one or other of the chiefs who have begun to arm the people, and this chief is to issue from the central provinces. The inhabitants of the frontier are not the men to take up and defend the idea of unity, which is hateful to them. Independence is their wish.

The church of Tours had constituted the centre of the Merovingian world. The centre of the Carolingian wars against the North-

men and the Bretons is also on the Loire, but more to the west, that is to say, in Anjou, close by the Bretagne march. Here two families arise : the progenitors of the Capets and of the Plantagenets, of the kings of France and of England—both springing from obscure chiefs who distinguished themselves by their defence of their country.

The Plantagenets refer their origin to one Thorthulf or Tertul, of Rennes in Brittany, according to the Chronicle, a simple peasant, living on hunting and on the products of forest life. "Charles the Bald named him forester of the forest of Nid-de-Merle" (Thrush's nest.) His son, who was named after him, was created seneschal of Anjou. His grandson, Ingelger,† and the Fulks, his descendants, were the scourges of Normandy and Brittany."

The Capets, likewise, first settled in Anjou, and appear to have been Saxon chiefs in the service of Charles the Bald,† who trusted to their first known ancestor, Robert the Strong, the defence of the country between the Seine and the Loire. Robert is slain by Hastings, the leader of the Northmen, in the battle of Briesserte; while his more successful son, Eudes, repulses them when they lay siege to Paris, (A. D. 885,) and gains a great victory over them at Montfaucon.‡ On the deposition of Charles the Fat, he is chosen king of France (A. D. 888.)

### DYNASTIC REVOLUTION.

The alternations of this long contest which, in the space of a century, confirmed the new dynasty on the throne, have been traced with great perspicacity by M. Augustin Thierry in his letters on the History of France, and I

\* *Gesta Comitum Andegav.* c. 1, 2, ap. Ser. R. Fr. vii. 251. Turpinus . . . seu Turpilius . . . habitator rusticus fuit, ex copia silvestri et venatico exercitio victuans, &c. Ser. also, ibid.: Pactus Lachensis, de Orig. Comitum Andegavorum.

\* The first forester of Flanders was called Ingelram.  
\* Ammon de St. Plenny, who wrote in 1005, expressly calls Robert a man of Saxony race.  
\* His sons were Eudes and Robert. Acta St. Ord. S. Bened. P. II. sec. 1. p. 37. M. Sismondi is mistaken in supposing that Almeric des Trois Fontaines, who wrote two centuries later, was the first to trace this gensivity.  
\* Kings Robert and Eudes were sons of Robert the Strong, marquis of the race of the Saxons.  
\* But historians tell us nothing further of this race.  
\* Ibid. 265.—Guillaume de Jumièges.—Robert, count of Anjou a man of Saxony race had two sons, Prince Eudes and Robert Eudes' brother.  
\* Also, Chron. de Normand. sec. 1. p. 17 & 27.  
\* An anonymous writer author of a Life of Louis VIII. says, "The kingdom passed from the race of Charles to that of the counts of Paris, who were of Saxony origin."  
\*—Herald. Life of Robert, c. 1. says "The august family of Robert as he himself asserted in his humble words, had its origin in Auvergne."  
\* Auvergne should not be read for Normandy.  
\*—Some historians make Nemutis Robert's birth place others Bayx, *Nemutis*, *Nemutis*, *Nemutis* others again *Nemutis*, *Nemutis*. See the preface to the tenth volume of the *Historians of France*.  
\* All these opinions are recorded and confirmed by their very discrepancies on the supposition that Robert the Strong descended from the Saxons settled in Nemutis and particularly at Bayeux.  
\* The whole coast was called *littus* *Nemutis*, and the names of *Saxi*, *Nemutis*, and of the river of *Sax*, &c. have evidently the same origin.

\*) Abbonia verreauxi de Bollus Paris. ap. Rev. E. Fr. VIII. 94.

\* Cinnellum Cinnellum 1 1 1 1 1

\* When Charles the Simple summoned his vassals to serve against the Hungarians in 919 not one stayed except Herveus, the archbishop of Reims, who repaired to him with fifteen hundred men-at-arms. *Frederick, l. iv. c. 14*. In 935 Louis d'Outremer confirmed all the ancient privileges of the church of Reims, which were again confirmed by Lothaire in 955, and, later, by the Otton.

cannot resist the temptation of borrowing a few pages from his spirited narrative.\* The question is treated under one point of view only; but with singular clearness:—

"To the revolution of 888, there corresponds in the exactest manner a movement of another kind, which raises to the throne a man who is an entire stranger to the Carolingian family. This king—the first to whom our history can assign the title of king of France, as opposed to that of king of the Franks, is Odo, or according to the Roman pronunciation which then began to prevail, Eudes, son of Robert the Strong, count of Anjou. Elected to the disadvantage of an heir who was legitimately qualified, Eudes was the national candidate of the mixed population which had fought for fifty years to form a kingdom by itself; and from his reign dates the commencement of a second series of civil wars, which, after the struggle of a century, terminated by the definitive exclusion of the family of Charles the Great. In fact, the French could only regard this race, which was thoroughly German, and attached by the ties of remembrance and of family affection to the countries of the German tongue—as an obstacle to that separation, on which their independent existence had just been founded.

"It was not through caprice, but policy, that the barons of the north of Gaul, Franks by origin, but attached to the interests of the country, violated the oath taken by their ancestors to the family of Pepin, and consecrated king at Compiègne a man of Saxon descent. Charles, surnamed the Simple or the Foolish†—the heir dispossessed by this election—was not slow to justify his exclusion from the throne by placing himself under the protection of Arnulph, king of Germany. 'Not being able to hold out,' says an ancient historian, 'against the power of Eudes, he went, as a suppliant, to petition the protection of king Arnulph. A public assembly was convened in the city of Worms, to which Charles repaired; and, after having offered large presents to Arnulph, was invested by him with the sovereignty whose title he had assumed. Commands were issued to the counts and bishops who dwelt near the Moselle to lend him every aid, and to marshal him back to his kingdom in order that he might be crowned there; but all was of no avail.

"The Carolingian party, though aided by German intervention, did not gain the day over that which may be called the French party. They and their chief were several times de-

feated; and, after each defeat, he placed himself in safety under cover of the Meuse, out of the limits of the kingdom. Nevertheless, Charles the Simple, thanks to the vicinity of Germany, managed to obtain some degree of power in the territory between the Meuse and the Seine. A remnant of the old German belief—that the Welfes or Walloons were natural subjects of the sons of the Franks, contributed to render this contention for the throne popular in all the countries adjoining the Rhine. Under pretext of supporting the rights of legitimate royalty, Swintibald, natural son of Arnulph, and king of Lorraine, invaded the French territory in the year 895. He penetrated as far as Laon with an army composed of Lorrains, Alsacians, and Flemings, but was soon compelled to beat a retreat before the army of king Eudes. On the failure of this great attempt a kind of political reaction took place in the court of Germany, in favour of him, who, up to this event, had been termed a usurper. Eudes was acknowledged king; and a promise was given that no further assistance should be furnished the pretender. In fact, so long as his opponent lived, Charles obtained nothing; but when the death of Eudes renewed the question of a change of dynasty, the *Kaiser*, or emperor, again sided with the descendant of the Frank kings.

"Charles the Simple, received as their king, in 898, by numbers of those who had laboured to exclude him, reigned at first two-and-twenty years without any opposition. It was during this period that he abandoned all his rights to the territory bordering on the mouth of the Seine to the Norman chief Rolf, and conferred upon him the title of duke, (A. D. 912.) Later still, the duchy of Normandy served to cover the kingdom of France against the attacks of the German empire, and of its Lorrains or Flemish vassals. The first duke was faithful to the treaty of alliance which he had contracted with Charles the Simple, and supported him, though feebly enough, against Robert, king Eudes' brother, who was elected to the throne in 929. His son, William I., at first pursued the same policy; and when the hereditary monarch was dethroned and imprisoned at Laon, he declared for him against Radulf or Raoul, Robert's brother-in-law, who had been elected and crowned king through hate of the Frank dynasty; but some years afterwards, changing sides, he forsook the cause of Charles the Simple, and entered into an alliance with King Raoul. In 936, expecting greater advantages from a return to his early track, he lent an energetic assistance to the return of Charles's son, Louis, surnamed d'Outremer, (from beyond the sea.)

\* The only alteration which I have allowed myself to make, is in the German orthography adopted by M. Thierry for the proper names. All trace of German is almost entirely lost under the later Carolingians.

† Chronic. Dittmar, ap. Scr. R. Fr. 2. 119. Fuit in occidentibus quidam rex ab incolis Karl dicitur, id est Stolidus, ironice dictus.—Rad. Glaber, l. i. c. 1. Ibid. 4. Carolus Hæstetum cognominatum.—Chronic. Stronzean. Ibid. 373. . . . Carolus Simplex.—Chronic. S. Maurici. ap. Scr. R. Fr. 12. 6. Karolus Sclerus.—Richard. Fletch. Ibid. 28. Karolus Simplex sive Stolidus.

\* Eudes must not be magnified into the successor of a well-defined empire, like Hugh the Great and Hugh Capet after him. His kingdom, or rather his camp, was a fluctuating one. He is a partition-chief, fighting now in the north, now in the south, in Flanders and in Aquitaine.

"The new king, to whom the French party, either through exhaustion or from motives of prudence, opposed no competitor, influenced by hereditary inclination to seek friends beyond the Rhine, contracted a strict alliance with Otho, first of that name, king of Germany, the most powerful and most ambitious prince of the day. The barons, who entertained a great aversion to the Teutonic influence, were much discontented with this alliance. The representative of this national feeling was Hugh, count of Paris, surnamed the Great from his immense possessions, and who was the most powerful man between the Seine and the Loire; and, as soon as their mutual distrust had brought about a new war between the two parties, (A. D. 940,) who for fifty years had been arrayed against each other, Hugh the Great, though not assuming the title of king, played against Louis d'Outremer the same part which had been played by Eudes, Robert, and Raoul, against Charles the Simple. His first care was to deprive the opposite faction of the support of the duke of Normandy, and, succeeding in this, he managed to neutralize the effects of the German influence by Norman intervention. The whole strength of Louis and the Frankish party was dashed to pieces, in 945, against the little duchy of Normandy. The king, overcome in a pitched battle, was taken prisoner, together with sixteen of his counts, and confined in the tower of Rouen, from which he was only released to be delivered up to the chiefs of the national party, who imprisoned him at Laon.

"In order to cement the recent alliance between this party and the Normans, Hugh the Great promised his daughter in marriage to their duke. But this confederation of the two Gallic powers nearest to Germany drew down upon them a coalition of the Teutonic powers, the chief of which at this time were king Otho and the count of Flanders. The deliverance of king Louis was the ostensible motive of the war, but the confederates promised themselves results of a very different nature. Their aim was to annihilate the Norman power by annexing the duchy to the crown of France, on the restoration of their ally, Louis; expecting in return a large accession of territory at the expense of the French kingdom.\* Under the leading of the king of Germany, they invaded France in 946. Otho, say the contemporary historians, advanced at the head of thirty-two legions as far as Reims. The national party, which kept a king in prison, and had no king at its head, could not assemble sufficient forces to repulse the invaders. King Louis was restored to liberty, and the confederates advanced even up to the walls of Rouen: but this brilliant campaign was attended by no decisive result. Normandy remained independent, and the liberated monarch had no more friends than

before. On the contrary, the miseries brought in the train of invasion were imputed to him; and, soon threatened with a second deposition, he retired beyond the Rhine to implore fresh succor."

"In the year 948, a council of the German bishops met at Ingelheim, by order of king Otho, in order to take into consideration, among other matters, the griefs of Louis d'Outremer against Hugh the Great and his party. The king of the French appeared as a suppliant before this foreign assembly. After the pope's legate had announced the object for which the synod was convened, he rose from his seat by the side of the king of Germany, and spoke as follows:—'None of you are ignorant that messengers from count Hugh and the other lords of France sought me out in the country beyond the sea to invite me to return to the kingdom which was my paternal inheritance. I was consecrated and crowned by the wishes and amidst the acclamations of all the chiefs, and of the army of France; but, shortly afterwards, count Hugh traitorously got possession of my person, deposed, and imprisoned me for a whole year, and, at last, I only obtained my deliverance by putting in his power the city of Laon, the only city of my crown still faithful to me. If there be any one who maintains that all these misfortunes which have fallen upon me since my accession to the throne, have happened to me through my own fault, I am ready to answer the charge either by submitting to the judgment of the synod, and of the king here present, or in single combat.' As may be imagined, neither pleader nor champion of the opposite party presented himself to submit a national difference to the judgment of the emperor of the land beyond the Rhine; and the council, transferred to Trèves at the instance of Leodulf, the Caesar's chaplain and delegate, pronounced the following sentence:—'By virtue of the apostolical authority, we excommunicate count Hugh, king Louis's enemy, on account of the ills of every kind which he has wrought upon him, until such time as the said count repent, and give full satisfaction to the legate of the sovereign pontiff. If he refuse to submit, he will have to proceed to Rome to procure absolution.'

"On the demise of Louis d'Outremer, in the year 954, his son Lothaire succeeded him without any apparent opposition. Two years afterwards count Hugh died, leaving three sons, the eldest of whom, who was named after him, inherited the countship of Paris, also called the duchy of France. Before his death, his father had recommended him to Rickard or Richard, duke of Normandy, as to the natural defender of his family and of his party.† This party seemed to slumber until the year 980."

\* Rev. E. Pr. viii. 222.

† Richardus duci filium suum Hugonem commendavit, ut ejus potestate totius, imperatoris beneficii non separaret. Id. ibid. 227.

This slumber, which M. Thierry forgets to explain, was nothing else than the minority of king Lothair and of Hugh Capet, duke of France, under the guardianship of their mothers Hedwige and Gerberge, both sisters of the Saxon Otho, king of Germany.\* This powerful monarch seems at this time to have governed France through the intermediation of his brother, Bruno, archbishop of Cologne and duke of Lorraine, and of the Low Countries.† These relations account for the Germanic character which M. Thierry notices in the later Carolingians. Louis d'Outremer, brought up among the Anglo-Saxons, and Lothaire, the son of a Saxon princess, naturally spoke the German tongue. The preponderance of Germany at this period, and the renown of Otho, the conqueror of the Hungarians and master of Italy, will likewise justify the predilection of these princes for the language of the great king of his day. The later Carolingians and first Capetians were not a whit the more warlike for their consanguinity with the Othos. Hugh Capet and his son Robert, princes devoted to the Church, are little calculated to remind one of the adventurous character of Robert the Strong and of Eudes, their ancestors, who felt no scruple at waging war with bishops; as, for instance, against the archbishop of Reims.‡ But to resume M. Thierry's narrative.

After the death of Otho the Great, "king Lothaire, abandoning himself to the impulse of French feeling, broke with the German powers, and endeavored to push the frontier of his kingdom as far as the Rhine. Suddenly invading the empire, he sojourned as conqueror in the palace of Aix-la-Chapelle. But this adventurous expedition, which flattered French vanity, only served to bring the Germans, Almans, Lorrains, Flemings, and Saxons, to the number of sixty thousand, to the heights of Montmartre, where this vast army chanted in chorus one of the verses of the *Te Deum*.§ Their general, the emperor Otho, as it often happens, was more successful in invasion than in retreat. Defeated by the French at the passage of the Aisne, he was only enabled to

regain the frontiers through the medium of a truce with king Lothaire. According to the Chronicles, this truce, concluded against the will of the French army, revived the quarrel of the two parties, or rather supplied a new pretext for resentments which had not ceased to exist."

"Threatened, like his father and his grandfather, by the implacable enmities of the Carolingian race, Lothaire looked towards the Rhine for aid in course of distress. He resigned in favor of the imperial court his conquests in Lorraine, and all the pretensions of France over a part of the kingdom. This, says a contemporary writer, seriously saddened the heart of the lords of France. Nevertheless, they did not betray their discontent in a hostile manner. Instructed by the ill success of attempts reiterated during nearly a hundred years, they would undertake nothing against the reigning dynasty except sure of gaining their end. King Lothaire,—to judge by his conduct, more able and active than his two predecessors,—took a clear view of the difficulties of his position, and neglected no means of overcoming them. In 963, taking advantage of Otho's death, and of the minority of his son, he suddenly dissolved the peace which he had concluded with the empire, and again invaded Lorraine; an aggression which restored him some of his popularity. Thus, he avoided any open rebellion until the end of his reign. Each day, however, his power diminished. The power which he lost passed into the hands of Hugh—the son of Hugh the Great—count of the isle of France and of Anjou, surnamed in the French of the time Capet or Châpet. 'Lothaire,' writes one of the most distinguished individuals of the tenth century, 'is king only in name. Hugh, without the title, is king in truth and deed.'"

The German princes were deterred by the difficulties of every kind which opposed a fourth restoration of the Carolingians, (A. D. 987,) and sent no army to the assistance of Charles, brother of the last king but one, and holding the dukedom of Lorraine of the em-

\* Alberic. Tr. Pont. ap. Scr. R. Fr. ix. 68. "Louis d'Outremer married Gerberge, sister of the emperor Otho. Duke Hugh the Great, seeing this, and in order to be even with him, and to counterbalance the credit which Louis had obtained with Otho, took to wife the other sister, Hedwige. From these two sisters sprang the imperial race of Germany, and the royal races of France and England."

† Hedwige and Gerberge both put themselves under Bruno's protection, and he restored peace between his nephews. Frodoard. Chronic. ap. Scr. R. Fr. viii. 211. Vita S. Bruno, ap. Scr. R. Fr. ix. 194.—The two sisters visited Otho when he came to Aix, in 963, and never, says the Chronicle, did they experience the like joy. Chronic. Turon. ap. Scr. R. Fr. ix. 54.

‡ Frodoard, l. iv. ap. Scr. R. Fr. viii. 157. . . . . For Odo besieged Reims, committed immense slaughter and plundered the town, and gave up the property of the church of Reims to his followers, insatiable upon the plunder of the church.

§ As many priests as possible being brought together, he caused the *Alleluia* to be sung, &c. to be sung so loudly that Hugo and all the Franks marvelled thereat. Scr. R. Fr. viii. 212.

\* Pacificatus est Lotharius rex cum Othone rege, Remis civitate, contra voluntatem Hugonis et Hainrici, fratris sui, et contra voluntatem exercitus sui. Scr. R. Fr. viii. 324.

† With regard to this observation of M. Thierry's we may observe that the Carolingians did not degenerate to the same extreme as the Merovingians. If Louis the Sumner were surnamed *Nihil-fecit*, (Do-Nothing,) we must bear in mind that he reigned only eighteen months; and the Annals of Metz boast his mildness and his sense of justice.—Louis III. and Carloman gained a victory over the Northmen, (A. D. 879).—Charles the Fat concluded an advantageous treaty with them, (A. D. 911.). He defeated his rival king Robert, and slew him, it is said, with his own hand. (Chronic. Tur. ap. Scr. R. Fr. ix. 51.).—Louis d'Outremer evinced a courage and an activity which ought not to have drawn upon him the satirical proverb:—"Domus in convivio, rex in cubiculo," (lord of the feast, and king of the chamber.) Mirac. S. Bened. lib. ix. 146.—Finally, as D. Vaissette observes, the youth of Louis le Fainéant, (the Sluggard,) the shortness of his reign, and the valor which he displayed at the siege of Reims, did not deserve this surname of the later Merovingians.

‡ Gerberti Epist. ap. Scr. R. Fr. x. 287.

pire—who aspired to the French throne. Reduced to the poor assistance of his partisans within the kingdom, the utmost of Charles's success was the gaining possession of Laon, where the strength of the place enabled him to sustain a blockade until he was betrayed and given up by one of his own party. Hugh Capet confined him in the tower of Orleans, where he died. His two sons, Louis and Charles, born in prison, and banished from France after their father's death, found an asylum in Germany, where their connections and family ties secured them a welcome.

"Although the new king was of a German stock—his want of relationship with the imperial dynasty, and the very obscurity of his origin, which could not be traced beyond the third generation, pointed him out as a candidate to the native race, whose restoration had been preparing since the dismemberment of the empire.

"In our national history, the accession of the third race far exceeds in importance that of the second. Strictly speaking, it constitutes the end of the reign of the Franks, and the substitution of a national monarchy for a government founded on conquest. Henceforward, our history is unmixed, and we follow and recognise the same people, despite the changes that take place in manners and civilization. This national identity is the foundation on which the dynastic unity has for so many ages rested. The people seem to have had a singular presentiment of this long succession of kings, on the accession of the third race. The report ran that in 981, St. Valéry, whose relics Hugh Capet, then count of Paris, had just had translated, appeared to him in a dream, and said—'For what thou hast done, thou and thy descendants shall be kings to the seventh generation—that is, forever.'"

"This popular legend is repeated by all chroniclers without exception, even by those few who, disapproving of the change of dynasty, assert the cause of Hugh to be bad, and accuse him of treason to his lord, and disobedience to the decrees of the Church.† The belief was very generally diffused among the commonalty, that the new reigning family had issued from their own class, nor was its cause injured by this belief, which prevailed for several centuries."

The accession of a new dynasty was hardly

noticed in the distant provinces.\* What matter was it to the lords of Gascony, of Languedoc, and of Provence, to know whether he who bore towards the Seine the title of king, was called Charles or Hugh Capet?

For a long time the monarch will have little more influence than a duke or a mere count. It is, however, something for him to be the equal of the great vassals, and for monarchy to have descended from the lofty summit of Laon, and to have walked forth free from the guardianship of the archbishop of Reims.† The later Carolingians were often at a loss to make head against the pettiest barons. The Capets are powerful lords, capable of resisting by themselves the count of Anjou or the count of Poitiers. They hold many countships in their own hands. Each accession to the throne is worth a new title to them, as the ransom of royalty, as the indemnification for the crown which they still forbore seizing. Hugh the Great obtains from Louis IV. the duchy of Burgundy, and the title of duke of Aquitaine from Lothaire.

Abased as the latter Carolingians were, royalty was but a name—an all-but-forgotten remembrance. Transferred to the Capets, it becomes a hope, a living right, which slumbers, it is true, but which, when needful, will awaken. With the third race, as with the second, royalty was renewed by a family of large proprietors—friendly to the church. Property and the church, the land and God, form the deep foundations on which monarchy will once more rise and flourish.

Arrived at the term of the German sway and accession of French nationality—let us pause a moment. The year 1000 draws nigh—the great and solemn epoch at which the middle ages expected the end of the world to arrive. In truth, the end did come. Let us cast our looks backward. France has already lived two ages of its life as a nation.

In the first, the races deposited themselves one upon the other, so as to fertilize the Gallic soil with their alluvions. Above the Celts are placed the Romans, and, last deposit of all, the

\* A monk of Maillemaie (Poitou) says in his *Chronicle*, ap. *Mer. R. Fr.* i. 192, . . . "It was said that king Robert reigned over the Franks."—The duke of Aquitaine, at this time, a. p. 1016 William of Poitiers, recognised the king of Arles as his overlord. See the *Chronicle of Litmar*, l. vii. ap. *Mer. R. Fr.* i. 122, 123.

† Charles the Bald, on his accession to the throne, only saw with Hincmar's eyes. "Non solum de rebus ecclesiasticis, etc." *Prohemium*, l. iii. c. 12. It was Hincmar, again, who governed Louis the Stammerer. Hincmar, op. cit. ap. *Mer. R. Fr.* ix. 254. and who, as he himself boasted, made Louis III. king.—His successor Fulco, was the grandson of Charles the Simple in his minority. He crowned him in the year 983 when he was fourteen years of age, treated in his name with king Arnulph and with Eudes, and at last made him king in 988. *Chronicle of Maillemaie* ap. *Mer. R. Fr.* ix. 72. *Prohemium* l. iv. c. 3, 5.—After him, Heribert, in 988, won back to their allegiance the royal vassals who had revolted, and confirmed the warring monarchy. *Chronicle of Tur.* ap. *Mer. R. Fr.* ix. 50.—*Prohemium*, l. iv. c. 15. He came alone, with his retainers to protect him against the invasion of the Hungarians. *Prohemium* l. iv. c. 16.—Louis d'Outremer made war on Heribert with archbishop Arnulph, to whom he granted the privilege of retaining money. *Albéric*, ap. *Mer. R. Fr.* ix. 66.—*Prohemium*, l. iv. c. 20, seq.

\* *Chronicle of Maillemaie* ap. *Mer. R. Fr.* ix. 229.  
† *Annales* 984. *Chron. de Bénédict* ap. v. p. 337.  
‡ *Robert Glister*, monk of Cluny who died in 1046, contented himself with saying: "Hugh Capet was the son of Hugh the Great and grandson of Robert the Strong, but I postpone relating his origin, because the higher it is traced the obscurer it becomes." l. i. c. 2. ap. *Mer. R. Fr.* i. 1.—He is subscribed to the popular belief which refers the origin of the Capets to a butcher of Paris.—  
In the son nati Philippus I. Hugus.  
Per en movellamente e Francis reth.  
Figliu di fu di un baron di Parigi.  
Quando li regi antichi venner meno,  
Tutto fu e ch' un renduto in panni begli.  
*Purgatorio*, c. 22. v. 68.

Germans—the latest comers into the world. Such are the living elements and materials of society.

In the second age begins the fusion of these races: society seeks to settle down. France would feign become a social world; but the organization of such a world presupposes fixity and order. Fixity—that attachment to soil and to property which cannot be felt so long as the immigrations of new races continue—scarcely exists under the Carlovingians, and will only be completely established by the influence of feudalism.

Seemingly, order and unity had been attained by the Romans, and by Charlemagne. But wherefore were they so evanescent? Because they were altogether material and external, concealing the utter disorder and obstinate discord of heterogeneous elements, that had only been bound together by force. Under the magnificent and deceitful unity of the Roman administration, more or less revived by Charlemagne, were concealed differences of race, of language, and of feeling, want of communication, mutual ignorance, and instinctive antipathies;—"mortua quiescentiam jungebat corpora vivis, tormenti genus,"—this tyrannical junction of antagonist natures was torture. Its agony may be inferred from the eagerness and violence with which the nations tore themselves from the empire.

Matter tends to dispersion; spirit to unity. Matter, essentially divisible, seeks disunion and discord. Material unity is a contradiction in terms, and, in policy, is tyranny. Spirit alone has the right to effect union. It alone comprehends, embraces, and, to say all in one word—loves. As has been so well put by the metaphysics of Christianity—Unity implies Power, Love, and Spirit.

Unity must begin through the spirit—through the Church. But, to enable it to give unity, the Church herself must become one. In the organization of the Carlovingian world, the episcopal aristocracy has utterly failed. It must humble itself, learn subordination, accept the hierarchy, and, to rise from powerlessness to strength, become the pontifical monarchy. Then, amidst the dispersion of material things, will appear the invisible unity of mutual understanding, the only real unity—that of minds and of wills. Then will

feudalism, apparently a chaos, contain a substantial and potent harmony, whereas in the pompous deceit of imperial unity lurked anarchy alone.

Waiting the advent of the spirit, and the breath of God from on high—matter is dispersed towards the four quarters of the world. Division is subdivided; the grain of sand seeks to part into atoms. Men abjure, and curse, and refuse to know one another. Each asks, 'Who is my brother?' and becomes fixed by isolating himself. One will perch with the eagle; another will intrench himself behind the torrent. Soon, man no longer knows whether there exist a world beyond his canton, or his valley. He takes root, and strikes into the earth—"pes, modo tam velox, pigris radicibus, hæret." But lately, he classified himself, and would be judged by the law peculiar to his race—Burgundian, Lombard, or Gothic. Man was a person, the law personal. Now, man becomes land—the law is territorial. Jurisprudence becomes a matter of geography.

At this stage, nature takes upon herself to regulate the affairs of men. They fight; she divides. At first, she tries her strength, and maps out kingdoms on the empire with bold and free strokes. The basins of the Seine and Loire, those of the Meuse, the Saône, and the Rhone—here are four kingdoms; they only want names; you can call them, if you so will, the kingdoms of France, of Lorraine, of Burgundy, and of Provence. It is sought to unite them. Far from it; they divide themselves. Rivers and mountains enter their protest against unity. Division triumphs: each point of space asserts its independence. The valley becomes a kingdom; the mountain, a kingdom.

History should obey this movement, disperse herself as well, and trace on every point where they arise all the feudal dynasties. Let us endeavor to disentangle this vast subject, by clearly defining the original characters of the provinces in which these dynasties have come to land. In its historical development, each was clearly modified by the different influence of its respective soil and climate. Liberty is potent in civilized ages, nature in barbarous ones. In these the accidents of locality are all-powerful as the laws of fate; and mere geography becomes a history.

## BOOK THE THIRD.

### PICTURE OF FRANCE.

THE history of France begins with the French language. Language is the distinguishing mark of nationality. The earliest monument of our language is the oath dictated by Charles the Bald to his brother, at the treaty of 843.\* In the half century following, the different countries of France, up to that time confounded in a vague and obscure unity, assume distinctive characters from the feudal dynasties established in them. Their population, so long floating and unsettled, is fixed and seated. We know where are the respective people of each: and at the same time that they all begin to exist and act apart, they gradually acquire a voice: each has its history, which each relates for itself.

Through the infinite variety of the feudal world, and the multiplicity of objects with which it at first distracts the eye and the attention, France nevertheless stands manifest. For the first time she displays herself under her geographic form. When the wind dissipates the vain and fantastic fog with which the German empire had covered and obscured every thing, the country comes out into full light, with all its local differences defined by its mountains and its rivers. The political correspond with the physical divisions. Far from there having been, as is commonly stated, confusion and chaos, all was order—inevitable and fated regularity. Strange!† our eighty-six departments correspond, or very nearly so, with the eighty-six districts of the Capitularies, whence sprang most of the feudal sovereignties; and the revolution which gave the death-blow to feudalism was fain to imitate it.

The true starting-point of our history is a political division of France, founded on its natural and physical division. At first, history is altogether geography. It is impossible to describe the feudal or the provincial period, (the latter epithet is equally characteristic,) without first tracing the peculiarities of the provinces. Nor is it sufficient to define the geographical form of these different countries. They are to be thoroughly illustrated by their fruits alone—I mean by the men and the events of their history. From the point of view where we are about to place ourselves, we shall predict what each of them will do and produce; we shall indicate to them their destiny, and dower them in the cradle.

And first, let us view France in its whole, that we may see how it will divide of itself.

Let us ascend one of the highest summits of the Vosges, or, if you choose, let us seat ourselves on the Jura—our back to the Alps. Could our sight take in an horizon of three hundred leagues, we should distinguish an undulating line, extending from the wood-crowned hills of Luxembourg and of Ardennes to the balloon-shaped hills of the Vosges, and thence along the viny slopes of Burgundy to the volcanic crags of the Cevennes, and to the vast wall of the Pyrenees. This line marks the great water-shed. On its western side descend to the ocean the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne; on the other, the Meuse flows to the north, the Saône and Rhone to the south. In the distance are two continental islands, as it were—Brittany, low and rugged, of quartz and granite only, a huge shoal placed at the angle of France to sustain the shock of the current of the strait; and Auvergne, green and rude, a vast extinct fire, with its forty volcanoes.

The basins of the Rhone and of the Garonne, notwithstanding their importance, are only secondary. In the north alone life exists in the fulness of strength; and in it was wrought the great movement of the nations. In ancient times there set a current of races from Germany into France; the grand political struggle of modern times has lain between France and England. These two nations are placed facing each other, as if to invite to contest. On their most important sides the two countries slope towards each other, or you may say that they form but one valley, of which the Straits of Dover are the bottom. On this side are the Seine and Paris; on that, London and the Thames. But England presents to France that portion of her which is German—keeping behind her the Celts of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. France, on the contrary, backed by her Germanic provinces, (Lorraine and Alsace,) opposes her Celtic front to England. Each country views the other on its most hostile side.

Germany is not opposed to France, but rather lies parallel with her. Like the Meuse and the Scheldt, the Rhine, Elbe, and Oder run into the northern seas. Besides, German France sympathizes with Germany, her parent. As for Roman and Iberian France, notwithstanding the splendor of Marseilles and of Bordeaux, she only faces the old world of Africa and of Italy, or else the vague abyss of ocean. From Spain we are severed by the Pyrenees even more com-

\* See p. 131.

† See R. Fr. vii. 634, 637. Capital. ann. 883.—See, also, Guizot, Course of Hist., i. iii. p. 27.



pletely than she is by the sea from Africa. Rising above the region of rain and of the lower clouds to the *por* of Venasque, and prolonging our view over Spain, we see that there Europe ends. A new world opens; before us is the blazing sun of Africa; behind, a fog undulating with a constant wind.

Looking at France in its latitude, its zones are at once discriminated by their products. In the north are the low and rich plains of Belgium and of Flanders, with their fields of flax, hops, and of colewort, and the bitter northern vine. From Reims to the Moselle begins the region of the true vine and of wine; all spirit in Champagne, and good and warm in Burgundy, it grows heavier and duller in Languedoc, to awaken again at Bordeaux. The mulberry and the olive appear at Montauban; but these delicate children of the south are ever exposed to risk in the unequal climate of France.\* Longitudinally, the zones are not less distinct. We shall presently see the intimate relations which connect, as in one long belt, the frontier provinces of Ardennes, of Lorraine, of Franche-Comté, and of Dauphiny. The oceanic zone, formed on the one hand by

Flanders, Picardy, and Normandy, and, on the other, by Poitou and Guienne, would float at its immense length, were it not bound tightly round the middle by the hard knot of Brittany.

It has been said, *Paris, Rouen, and Havre are one city, of which the Seine is the high street*. Betake yourself to the south of this magnificent street, where castles join castles, villages join villages. Pass from the lower Seine to Calvados, and from Calvados to the Channel—whatever be the richness and fertility of the country, the towns become fewer, arable decreases, pasture increases. The aspect of the country is serious; it soon becomes wild and gloomy. To the lofty castles of Normandy succeed the humble manor-houses of the Bretons. The costume seems to follow the change of architecture. The triumphal bonnet of the women of Caux, which bespeaks so fitly the daughters of the conquerors of England, widens out towards Caen, grows flat at Villeneuve, divides and figures in the wind at St. Malo; sometimes like the sails of a mill, at others like those of a ship. On another side, dresses of skins begin at Laval. The increasing density of the forests, the solitude of La Trappe—where the monks lead together a savage life—the expressive names of the towns Fougères and Rennes, (both signifying heath or fern,) the gray waters of the Mayenne and the Villaine—all announce the wildness of the country.

It is here, however, that we wish to begin our study of France. The Celtic province, the eldest born of the monarchy, claims our first glance. Hence we will pass on to the old rivals of the Celts, the Basques and the Iberians, not less obstinate in their mountains than the Celt in his heaths and marshes. Then we may proceed to the countries blended and confounded by the Roman and German conquests. We shall thus have studied geography in chronological order, and have travelled at once in space and in time.

Brittany, poor and hard, the resistant element of France, extends her fields of quartz and of schistus from the slate-quarries of Châteaulin, near Brest, to the slate-quarries of Angers. This is her extent, geologically speaking. However, from Angers to Rennes, the country is a *debatable* land, a *border* like that between England and Scotland, which early escaped from Brittany. The Breton tongue does not even begin at Rennes, but about Elven, Pontivy, Loudéac, and Châtelaudren. Thence, as far as Cape Finisterre, it is true Brittany—*Breton* Brittany, (*Bretagne bretonnante*), a country which has become altogether foreign from ours, exactly because it has remained too faithful to our primitive condition, the more unlike the French that it is like the Gaul, and which would have slipped from us more than once, had we not held it grasped, as if in a vice, between four French cities of rough and de-

\* Arthur Young, in his *Agricultural Tour through France*, says, (vol. i. p. 293.) "France admits a division into three capital parts; 1st, of vines; 2dly, of maize; 3dly, of olives—which plants give the three districts of, 1st, the northern, where vines are not planted; 2dly, the central, in which maize is not planted; 3dly, the south, in which olives, mulberries, vines, and maize are all found. The line of separation between vines and no vines, as I observed myself, is at Coucy, ten miles to the north of Reims; at Clermont, in the Beauvois; at Beaumont, in Maine; and Herbignac, near Guerande, in Bretagne." This limitation, though perhaps too rigorous, is, generally speaking, exact.

The following account of the importations by which the vegetable kingdom has been enriched in France, gives a high idea of the infinite variety of soil and of climate that distinguish our country:—

"Charlemagne's orchard at Paris was considered unique from its containing apple and pear trees, the walnut, service-trees, and chestnuts. The potato, now the staple food of a large part of our population, was not brought to us from Peru till the close of the sixteenth century. We are indebted to St. Louis for the inodorous ranunculus of the plains of Syria. Ambassadors had to employ their influence to procure France the garden ranunculus. Provens is indebted for her gardens of roses to the *troupeur* Thibaut, count of Champagne and of Brice, joining the crusades. Constantinople supplied us with the horse-chestnut at the beginning of the seventeenth century. We long envied Turkey the tulip, of which we now possess nine hundred species, of greater beauty than those of any other country. The elm was hardly known in France before the time of Francis the First; nor the artichoke before the sixteenth century. The mulberry was not planted here till the middle of the fourteenth century. Fontainebleau is indebted for its delicious *chasselas* (a species of grape) to the island of Cyprus. We have fetched the weeping-willow from the neighborhood of Babylon; the acacia, from Virginia; the black-ash and the lignum-vitre, from Canada; the marvel-of-Peru, from Mexico; the sun-flower, from the Cordilleras; mignonette, from Egypt; Indian-corn, from Guinea; the ricinus, or palma-christi, and the Indian date-plum, from Africa; the passion-flower and the Jerusalem-artichoke, from Brazil; the gourd and the agave, from America; tobacco, from Mexico; anemum, from Madeira; the angelica, from the mountains of Lapland; the yellow day-lily, from Siberia; the balsamine, from India; the tuberose, from the island of Ceylon; the barberry and the cauliflower, from the East; horse-radish, from China; rhubarb, from Tartary; buckwheat, from Greece; the phormium-tenax, from Australia." *Drooping, Description de la France*, t. i. p. 51.—See, also, De Candolle, *Sur la Statistique Végétale de la France*; and Alex. Humboldt's *Botanical Geography*.

cisive character, Nantes and St. Malo, Rennes and Brest.

And yet this poor old province has saved us more than once. Often when our country has been held at bay and been at the point of despair, Breton heads and breasts have been found harder than the stranger's sword. When the Northmen were ravaging with impunity our coasts and rivers, the Breton, Nomenoe, was the first to resist. The English were repulsed in the fourteenth century by Duguesclin; in the fifteenth, by Richemont; and, in the seventeenth, were chased through every sea by Duguay-Trouin. The wars of religion and those of political liberty present no more purely and innocently glorious names than Lanoue's, and that of Latour d'Auvergne, the first grenadier of the republic. The story runs, that it was a native of Nantes who uttered the last exclamation heard at Waterloo—"The guard dies, but does not surrender!"

The Breton character is that of untameable resistance, and of blind, obstinate, intrepid opposition—for instance, Moreau, the opponent of Bonaparte. In the history of philosophy and literature, this character is still more plainly evidenced. The Breton, Pelagius, who infused stoicism into Christianity, and was the first churchman who uplifted his voice in behalf of human liberty,\* was succeeded by the Breton Abelard, and the Breton Descartes. Each of these three gave the impetus to the philosophy of his own age. However, Descartes' disdain of facts, and contempt for history and languages, clearly show that this independent genius, who founded psychology, and doubled the sphere of mathematics, was rather vigorous than comprehensive.†

This spirit of opposition, which is natural to Brittany, manifested itself in the last century and in ours, by two apparently contradictory facts. The same part of Brittany (St. Malo, Dinan, and St. Brieg) which, in Louis the Fifteenth's day, produced the unbelievers Diderot, Mably, and Lamettrie, has given birth in our own time to the poet and to the orator of Catholicism, to Chateaubriand and to La Mennais.

Now, to take a rapid survey of the country.

At its two gates, Bretagne has two forests—the Norman Bugey, and the Vendean Bugey, and two cities—St. Malo and Nantes, the one the city of pirates, the other of Guineamen‡

\* See above, book i. c. 3.

† He was far too great to see him without looking to the right and the left, and the first result of that vision which seemed to gaze so to man was so all know the truth is, that of man in the dream of Melancholic and the pantheism of Spinoza.

‡ I have stated two facts. But how much ought to be added to justify these two bare bones and to pay them the debt of truth and honor.

There are other original features of Nantes, worthy of notice—the uncontrived handiwork of businessmen from father to son, their shrewd and honestly acquired fortunes, their high intellect and the strength of their ideas. They are a somewhat strict and austere race, and desire to meet the responsibilities. Among folk there have their eye on each other, the morals of Nantes are superior to those of any other sea port.

St. Malo is of singularly ugly and sinister appearance; and there is in it, besides, something fantastical, observable throughout the whole peninsula as well, whether in costume, in pictures, or in monuments.\* It is a small, wealthy, sombre, and melancholy spot—the home of vultures and of ospreys; by turns, as the tide ebbs and flows, a peninsula and an island, and bordered with foul and fetid shoals where the seaweed rots at will. In the distance, is a coast of white, angular rocks, cut sheer as if with a razor. War is the harvest of St. Malo—they know no more delightful holiday. To feel this, one should have seen them on their black walls with their telescopes, which already brooded over the ocean, when, no long time since, they were filled with hopes of running down the vessels of the Hollander.†

At its other extremity lies Brest, our great military port—planned by Richelieu, created by Louis XIV.; fort, arsenal, and bagnio, cannon and ships, armies and millions, the strength of France amassed at one end of France—and all this in a contracted harbor, where one is pent up and stifled between two mountains, covered with immense buildings. The entrance into the port is like passing into a small boat between two lofty vessels—the heavy masses seem about to close upon and crush you. Your general impression is grand, but painful. You see a prodigious effort of strength, at once a defiance to England and to nature. You everywhere are conscious of the effort, and so are you of the air of the Bagnio, and of the galley-slave's chain. It is precisely at the point on which the sea, escaping from the Straits of Dover, dashes with its utmost fury, that we have pitched our great naval arsenal. Certes, it is well guarded. I saw a thousand cannon there.‡ All entrance is barred, but, at the same time, the port is not to be left at pleasure. More than one vessel has been lost in Brest channel.§ The whole coast is a grave-yard. Sixty vessels are wrecked on it every winter.¶ The sea is English at heart. She loves not France, but dashes our ships to pieces, and blocks up our harbors with sand.‡

\* For instance, in the steeples, either hanging or fish-tailed like houses of cards or rising in stages with heavy buttresses such as those of Treguier and Landernau, also, in the tortuous cathedral of Quimper, whose choir runs the wrong way with regard to the nave, and in the little church of Vannes, &c. St. Malo has no cathedral, notwithstanding its fine legends respecting which see the Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. vol. i. and P. Morice, Preuves de l'Histoire de Bretagne, t. i.

† I happened to be at St. Malo in the month of September, 1831.

‡ It is to be hoped that if Europe be ever mad enough to plunge again into war, it will not be wise enough to counterbalance its steering. The merit of directing attention to this point is due to the *Speculator* newspaper. I have seen it.

§ In the arsenal, and not reckoning those in the batteries.

¶ For instance, the *Republique*, a 130 gun ship in 1793.

‡ This number, which I give on the report of extracts of the place, is perhaps exaggerated. Altogether, six or eight vessels are yearly lost on our western coast between Dunkirk and St. Jean de Luz. Dictionnaire de M. Arago, *Météorologie*, March 21, 1833.

\* Dieppe, Havre, Rochelle, Oleron, &c.

Nothing can be more sinister and formidable than the coast of Brest; it is the extreme limit, the point, the prow of the old world. Here the two enemies, land and sea, man and nature, are face to face. When the sea madly lashes herself into fury, you should see what monstrous waves she hurls on point St. Matthew, fifty, sixty, eighty feet high. The spray is flung as far as the church, where mothers and sisters are at prayers.\* And even in those moments of truce, when the sea is silent, who has passed along this funeral coast without exclaiming or feeling—*Tristis usque ad mortem!* (the shadow of death is here!)

'Tis that there is here what is worse than shoal or tempest. Nature is fierce, man is fierce; and they seem to understand each other. As soon as the sea casts a hapless vessel on the coast, man, woman, and child hurry to the shore, to fall on their quarry. Hope not to stay these wolves. They plunder at their ease under the fire of the coast-guard.† It would be something if they always waited for shipwreck, but it is asserted that they often cause it. Often, it is said, a cow, led about with a lighted lantern at its horns, has lured vessels on the rocks. God alone knows the night-scenes that then take place! A man has been known to gnaw off a finger with his teeth, in order to get at a ring on the finger of a drowned woman.‡

On this coast, man is hard. The accursed son of creation, a true Cain, wherefore should he spare Abel! Nature spares not him. Does the wave spare him, when in the fearful nights of winter he roams the shoals to gather the floating sea-weed which is to fertilize his sterile field—when the billow which bears the plant so often carries off the man! Does it spare him when he tremblingly glides beneath Cape Raz, by the red rocks, where the *hell of Plogoff* yearns for its prey; or along *Deadman's Bay*, whose currents have for so many centuries swept corpses with them! The Breton proverb says, "None pass the Raz without hurt or a fright;" another, "Help me, great God, at Cape Raz,—my ship is so small, and the sea is so great!"§

Here nature expires; humanity becomes mournful and cold. There is no poetry, little religion, and Christianity dates but from yesterday. Michel Noblet was the apostle of

Batz in 1648.\* In the islands of Sein, Batz, and Ushant, the wedding festival itself is sad and severe. The very senses seem dead; and there is no love, nor shame, nor jealousy. The girls unblushingly make the marriage proposals.† Woman labors there harder than man, and in the Ushant isles she is taller and stronger. She tills the land, while the man remains seated in his boat, rocked and cradled by the sea, his rough nurse. The animals also degenerate, and seem to change their nature. Horses and rabbits are wonderfully diminutive in these islands.

"Let us seat ourselves on this formidable Cape Raz, upon this overhanging rock, three hundred feet above the sea, and whence we descry seven leagues of coast-line. This is, in some sort, the sanctuary of the Celtic world. The dot you discern beyond *Deadman's Bay* is the island of Sein, a desolate, treeless, and all but unsheltered sand-bank, the abode of some poor and compassionate families, who yearly save the shipwrecked mariners. This island was the abode of the sacred virgins who gave the Celts fine weather or shipwreck. There they celebrated their gloomy and murderous orgies; and the seamen heard with terror, far off at sea, the clash of barbaric cymbals.‡ This island is the traditionary birth-place of Myrddyn, the Merlin of the middle age. His tomb is on the other side of Brittany, in the forest of Broceliande, under the fatal stone where his *Vyvyas* has enchanted him. All these rocks around us are towns which have been swallowed up—this is Douarnenez, that is, the Breton Sodom; those two ravens you see, ever flying heavily on the shore, are the souls of king Grallo and his daughter; and those shrill whistlings, which one would take for the voice of the tempest, are the *crierien*, the ghosts of the shipwrecked clamoring for burial.§

At Lanvau, near Brest, there rises, as if to mark the limit of the continent, a large unhewn stone. From this spot as far as Lorient, and from Lorient again as far as Quiberon and Carnac, you cannot walk along the southern coast of Brittany without meeting at every step one of those shapeless monuments which are called druidical. You often descry them from the road on *landes* covered with briars and thistles. They consist of huge low stones, placed upright, and often a little rounded at top; or else of a stone laid flat on three or four

*Gollans, gollans,*

*Namnez-nous nos maris, nos amans.*

(Barks, barks, bring us back our husbands, our lovers.)—Apparently, the burden of a local song.—TRANSLATOR.

† The fact is vouched for by the coast-guard themselves. —The Bretons seem to consider the *bris* (wreck) as a sort of alluvial right. This terrible right of the *bris* was, as is well known, one of the most lucrative of the feudal privileges. The viscount de Léon, alluding to a reef, said, "I have a stone there more precious than those which enrich a king's crown."

‡ I give the tradition of the country, without guaranteeing it. It is needless to add, that the remains of these barbarous customs are daily disappearing.

§ *Voyage de Cambry*, t. ii. p. 241-257

\* Id. t. i. p. 100. I give my authority. The other facts, for which I am indebted to this agreeable work, have been confirmed to me by natives.

† Id. t. ii. p. 77.—Toland's *Letters*, p. 23. In the Hebrides, and other islands, the man took the woman on trial for a year, when, if she did not suit him, he resigned her to another. (Martian's Hebrides.) No very long time since, the peasant who wished to marry applied for a wife to the lord of Barra,—the lords of which had reigned over these islands for thirty-five generations. Solinus (c. 28) asserts that the king of the Hebrides takes no wives of his own, but makes free with those of his subjects.

‡ See above, book ii. c. 2.

§ *Cambry*, t. ii. p. 239-244.

standing stones. Whether we see in them altars, tombs, or mere memorials of events, these monuments are exceedingly imposing. Yet is the impression they make a saddening one, there being something singularly repulsive and rude in their effect. They seem to be the first essays in art of a hand already intelligent, but as hard and as little human as the rock which it has fashioned. Neither inscription nor sign is visible on them, if we except some marks under those stones of Loc Maria Ker that have been thrown down, so indistinct as to induce a belief that they are merely accidental.\* Question the people of the country, and they will briefly reply that they are the houses of the *Torrigans*, the *Courils*, wanton dwarfs, who at night bar your road, and force you to dance with them until you die of fatigue. In other parts they are fairies, who, descending from the mountains, spinning, have brought away these rocks in their aprons.† Those scattered rocks are a whole wedding party petrified. One solitary stone, near Morlaix, bears witness to the miserable fate of a peasant, who was swallowed up by the moon‡ for blasphemy.

Never shall I forget the day on which I set out, early in the morning, from Auray, the sacred city of the Chouans, to visit the great druidical monuments of Loc Maria Ker, and of Carnac, which are some leagues distant. The first of these villages lies at the mouth of the filthy and fetid river of the Auray, *with its islands of Morbihan, outnumbering the days of the year*, and looks across a small bay to the fatal shore of Quiberon. There was a fog, such as envelops these coasts one-half of the year. Sorry bridges lead across the marshes; at one point you meet with the low and sombre manor-

house, with its long avenue of oaks—a feature religiously preserved in Brittany; at another, you encounter a peasant, who passes without looking at you, but he has scanned you askance with his night-bird eye,—a look which explains their famous war-cry, and the name of *Chouans* (owls) given them by the *blues*.§ There are no houses on the road-side; the peasants return nightly to their villages. On every side are vast *landes*, sadly set off by purple heath and gorse; the cultivated fields are white with buckwheat. The eye is rather distressed than refreshed by this summer-snow, and those dull and faded-looking colors—resembling *Ophelia's* coronet of straw and flowers. As you proceed to Carnac, the country saddens. The plains are all rock, with a few black sheep browsing on the flint. In the midst of this multitude of stones, many of which stand upright of themselves, the lines of Carnac inspire no astonishment; although there are several hundred stones still standing, the highest of which is fourteen feet.¶

Morbihan is sombre to look at, sombre in its traditions—a country of old feuds, of pilgrimages, and of civil war—a land of flint and a race of granite. There, all is lasting; even time passes more slowly than elsewhere. The priests there wield great power. Yet it is a mistake to suppose the people of the West, the Bretons and Vendéans, to be deeply religious. In several cantons, the saint who turns a deaf ear to prayers runs the risk of a severe scourging.‡ In Brittany, as in Ireland, the Catholic religion is dear to men as the symbol of their nationality, and the influence of religion is in a large degree an affair of politics. An Irish priest who should favor the English party would soon be expelled his country.§ No church, in the middle ages, continued longer independent of Rome than those of Ireland and of Brittany. For a long time the latter endeavored to withdraw itself from the primacy of Tours—opposing to it that of Dôle.

The nobles, as well as the priests, are dear to Brittany and La Vendée, as defenders of old ideas and customs. No wide gulf separated the innumerable and poor nobility of Brittany from the laboring class. Some of the feelings of clanship prevailed there too. Numerous peasant families considered themselves noble, some traced their descent to Arthur and the fairy Morgana, and are said to have stuck their swords in the ground to mark the limits of their fields. They would sit down covered before their lord, to mark their independence. In sev-

\* See the plates in M. de Frobenius's work, and in the *Cours d'Antiquité Monumentaire de la France* by M. Caumont, Secretary to the Antiquarian Society of Normandy, and who was the first to distribute this branch of national Archaeology with an intelligent and enlightened criticism.

† This is the germ taken by the legend in Anjou. Transplanted into the beautiful provinces of the Loire, it there assumes a soft and winning character, yet not without grandeur in the midst of its simplicity.

‡ This star ever shines malignantly on the Celts. To avert its mischievous influence, they say to it—Thou hast found us well, leave us well! On the moon's rising they fall on their knees, and repeat *Fater and an fter*. (Cambray, t. i. p. 35.) In many places they call her—our Lady. Some take off their caps on first seeing the evening star. (Cambray, t. i. p. 103.) They also venerate lakes and fountains, and bring them on certain days bread and butter. (Cambray, t. i. p. 35.) See *Depping* t. i. p. 76. As late as the year 1790 they solemnly sang at Leaven on New Year's Day—*Gut na ou*. (Cambray, t. i. p. 26.) In Anjou children used to ask for their New Year's gifts by saying *Ma Goutte d'or*. Bodin *Recherches sur l'Anjou*, and in the Department of Haute Garonne by crying *Gut na ou*. Dr. Henry says that within twenty or thirty years when a party in Orkney agreed to marry, they went to the temple of the moon, which was semicircular, and there the woman fell on her knees and invoked *Woden*. (Lepan vol. ii. p. 20.) According to M. Champollion Figeac the sun's face is still celebrated in a village of Dauphine. See *Les Habitudes du Dauphine* p. 11. In the environs of Saumur on Trinity day the people used to go out to see three suns rise. On St. John's day they went to see the rising sun dance. Bodin, as quoted above. The people of Anjou used to call the sun *Lord*, and the moon *Lady*. (Id. *Recherches sur l'Anjou*, t. i. p. 68.)

\* The name given to the Republicans, from their unit form. Translation.

† In Mr. O'Higgin's magnificent work *Celtic Druids*, &c. (p. 20) the dimensions are greatly exaggerated. He makes one of the principal stones of Carnac four and twenty feet high.

‡ According to Cambray in *La Normandie*—The Chouans have even been known to beat their chests, and then obey them the moment after. I pledge myself to the truth of this.

§ See *Shel's Sketches*.

eral parts of the province serfhood was unknown. The domaniers and quevaisiers, however hard their condition might be, were personally free, though the land was in bondage. They would stand up in presence of the haughtiest Rohan,\* and say, in their solemn manner—*Me zo dezuar armorig*—I, too, am a Breton. A profound reflection has recently been made with regard to Vendée, and it is applicable to Brittany as well—"The people are at heart republicans."† Social, not political republicanism, is here meant.

We need not be surprised that the Celtic race, the most obstinate of the ancient world, made some efforts in later times to prolong its nationality, just as it defended it in the middle ages. It required the Plantagenets to become, by two marriages, kings of England, and dukes of Normandy and of Aquitaine, before they could subject Brittany to Anjou, an event which did not take place till the twelfth century, when Brittany, to escape them, threw herself into the arms of France, but only after the French and English parties, the Blois and the Montforts, had carried on the war for a century longer. After the marriage of Anne of Brittany with Louis VII. had united the province to the kingdom, and Anne had written on the castle of Nantes‡ the old device on the castle of the Bourbons—*Qui qu'en grogne, tel est mon plaisir*, (Let who will grumble, such is my will)—there began the legal struggle of the states, of the parliament of Rennes, its defence of the common law of the country against the Roman,§ and the war between provincial rights and monarchical centralization. Sternly coerced by Louis XIV.,|| the struggle recommenced in his successor's reign; and La Chalotais, in his dungeon in Brest, wrote with a toothpick his courageous plea against the Jesuits.

Resistance is now dying away, and Brittany is being gradually absorbed into France. Its language, undermined by the constant infiltration of the French tongue, recedes step by step.¶ Even the talent for poetic improvisation, which has endured so long among the Celts of Ireland and of Scotland, and which is not altogether lost among the Bretons, is become rare and unusual. Formerly, when a girl was sought in marriage, the *bazvalan*\*\* would sing stanzas

\* The pretensions of this family, which is descended from the Mac Tiern of Leam, are well known. In the sixteenth century the Rohans took this motto, which may serve as an index to their history—"Koi je ne suis, prince ne daigne, Rohan je suis," (King I'm not, prince I scorn to be, Rohan I am.)

† As stated in his evidence by captain Galleran at the Nantes assizes, October, 1892.

‡ *Ibid.* Histoire de Bretagne, t. II.

§ This point will be noticed hereafter.

|| See Madame de Sévigné's Letters from September to December, inclusive, for the year 1673. Great numbers were broken on the wheel, hung, or sent to the galleys. She mentions those things with a carelessness which is painful.

¶ According to M. de Romieu, sub-prefect of Quimperlé, one may measure how many leagues the Breton tongue loses in a given number of years. See this gentleman's ingenious articles in the *Revue de Paris*.

\*\* The *bazvalan* was the person deputed to ask girls in

of his own composition, to which she would respond; but this has now degenerated into a set form, learned by rote.\* The attempts, rather bold than successful, which have been made by some of the natives to revive, by instruction, the nationality of their country, have only been received with laughter. I have myself seen at T\*\*\*, Le Brigant's learned friend, the aged M. D., (known here only by the name of M. Système.) The poor solitary old man, sunk in an old armchair, with five or six thousand volumes scattered round, childless, and without a relative to care for him, was dying of fever, with an Irish grammar on one side, and a Hebrew one on the other. He rallied so as to repeat to me some stanzas in the Breton tongue, of emphatic and monotonous rhythm, which, however, was not without its charm. It touched me to the heart to see this representative of Celtic nationality—this dying champion of a dying language and dying poetry.†

We may trace the Celtic world along the Loire, as far as the geological limits of Brittany to the slate-quarries of Angers; or else, to the great druidical monument at Saumur, the most important, perhaps, of all that still exist; or else, to Tours, the ecclesiastical metropolis of Brittany in the middle ages.

Nantes is a semi-Bordeaux, less showy and more staid—a mixture of colonial opulence and Breton sobriety—standing civilized in the midst of two scenes of savage atrocity, carrying on commerce in the midst of two civil wars,‡ and thrown where it stands as if to break off all communication. The great Loire runs through it, sweeping with its eddies between Brittany and La Vendée—the river of the *Noyades*. "What a torrent," wrote Carrier, drunk with the poetry of his crime; "what a revolutionary torrent is this Loire!"

It was at St. Florent, at the very spot marked by the column in honor of the Vendéans, Bonchamps, that in the ninth century the Breton Nomenoé, the conqueror of the Northmen, had reared his own statue; which faced Anjou, faced France, that he looked upon as his prey.§ But the day was Anjou's. Its more disciplinable population was under the sway of the great feudal barons; while Brittany, with its innumerable petty nobility, could carry on no great war, nor effect any great conquest. The black city of Angers bears, not alone on its vast castle,

marriage, and was, usually, a tailor, who presented himself with one stocking blue, the other white.

\* I give this and several other facts on the authority of M. le Lédan, bookseller, of Morlaix, and a celebrated antiquarian. Other details I am indebted for to various natives of the country, and, among others, to M. de B. jun., who belongs to one of the most distinguished families in Brest. I place implicit confidence in the veracity of this honest young man.

† See Appendix.

‡ (Those of the League and of the Revolution? The barbarous acts alluded to, seem to be the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and the *Noyades*.)—TRANSLATOR.

§ D. Maurice, *Preuves de l'Hist. de Bretagne*, t. I. p. 288. Charles the Bald, in his turn, had one of himself carved with the face towards Brittany.

and its Devil's Tower, but on its very cathedral, this feudal impress. The church of St. Maurice is crowded, not with saints, but with knights armed cap-à-pie—and in its halting spires, the one charged with sculpture, the other plain, is typified the unfulfilled destiny of Anjou. Despite its fine situation on the triple stream of the Maine, and close to the Loire—where one can distinguish by their color the waters flowing from four provinces. Angers is now asleep. It is enough for it to have united for awhile, under its Plantagenets, England, Normandy, Brittany, and Aquitaine, and, at a later period, under the good Rene and his sons, to have possessed, contended for, or, at the least, claimed the thrones of Naples, of Arragon, of Jerusalem, and of Provence, while his daughter Margaret supported the red against the white rose, and Lancaster against York. And here slumber, likewise, to the murmurings of the Loire, the cities of Saumur and of Tours—the one, the capital of Protestantism—the other, that of Catholicism\* in France—Saumur, the little kingdom of the Calvinist preachers and of the aged Duplessis Mornay, in opposition to whom their good friend, Henri IV., built La Flèche for the Jesuits. The castle of Mornay and its vast *dolmen*,† will always render Saumur of historical import. And important historically, though in a different way, is the good city of Tours, with its tomb of St. Martin—the ancient asylum, the ancient oracle, the Delphi of France, where the Merovingians came to consult the lost—the great and lucrative resort of pilgrims, for the possession of which the counts of Blois and of Anjou splintered so many lances. Mans, Angers, and the whole of Brittany, were included in the see of the archbishopric of Tours. The Capets, and the dukes of Burgundy and of Brittany, and the count of Flanders, and the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the archbishops of Mentz, of Cologne, and of Compostella were its canons. Money was coined here, as well as at Paris; and here were early manufactured the silks, the precious tissues, and, if it must be owned, the sweetmeats and *religieuses*, for which Tours and Reims—cities of priests and of sensuality—have been equally famous. But the trade of Tours has been injured by Paris, Lyons, and Nantes. Something may be ascribed, too, to the influence of the mild sun and softening Loire—labor seems unnatural in the mild climate of Tours, of Blois, and of Chinon, in the country of Rabelais, and near the tomb of Agnes Sorel. Chenonceaux, Chambord, Montbazoin, Langeais, and Loches—all favored by our kings or their mistresses, have their several castles seated on the Loire. It is the country of laughter, and of the *far niente*. The

verdure is fresh in August as in May—fruits succeed fruits, trees succeed trees. Look into the river from the bank—the opposite bank seems hung in air, so faithfully is the sky reflected by the water. The sand glistens at the bottom; then comes the willow, bending down to drink of the stream; next you see the poplar, the aspen, and the walnut, and then islands floating in the midst of islands, and beyond, tufted trees, gently waving to and fro, and saluting each other. A soft and sensual country! the very spot to give birth to the idea of making woman queen of the monasteries, and of living under her in a voluptuous obedience, a compound of love and of holiness. And never was abbey so splendid as that of Fontevrault.\* Five of its churches still remain. More than one king desired to be buried there. Even the fierce Richard Cœur-de-Lion willed the nuns his heart, thinking, that murderous and parricidal as it was, it would win repose in woman's gentle hand, and sheltered by the prayers of virgins.

To find on this Loire something less soft and more severe, you must proceed up it to the angle by which it sweeps round towards the Seine, as far as the serious Orleans—in the middle ages, the city of legists, afterwards Calvinistical, then Jansenist, and now a manufacturing town. But I defer for the present speaking of the centre of France, in order to hurry to the South. I have spoken of the Celts of Brittany, and would now proceed to the Iberians, to the Pyrenees.

Poitou, which we meet with on the other side of the Loire, facing Brittany and Anjou, is a country composed of very different but still distinct elements. Three distinct races occupy three distinct belts of land, stretching from north to south; and hence the apparent contradictions presented by the history of this province. In the sixteenth century, Poitou is the centre of Calvinism, recruits the armies of Coligni, and attempts to found a protestant republic. In our own time, Poitou originated the Catholic and royalist opposition of la Vendée. The natives of the coast figure in the former attempt; those of the Vendean Bocage in the latter. Both, however, may be referred to the same principle, of which republican Calvinism and royalist Catholicism have been but the form—an indomitable feeling of opposition to the central government.

Poitou is the battle-field of the South and of the North. It was near Poitiers that Clovis defeated the Goths, that Charles-Martel repulsed the Saracens, and that the Anglo-Norman army of the Black Prince took King John prisoner. Blending the Roman with the common

\* At least during the Merovingian era.

† It is a kind of artificial grotto forty feet long, ten wide, and eight high, formed of eleven huge stones. This dolmen, which lies in a valley, seems to answer to another reared on a hill. I have often noticed this peculiarity in druidical monuments. (for instance, at Carnac)

See, above, book II. c. I.

\* Recherches de M. de Beaumont, Voyage en Anjou et Vendée, 1821. At this date, the remains of the abbey consisted of three cloisters supported by columns and pilasters, of five large churches and several statues, among others, that of Henry II. There was no trace of the tomb of his son, Richard Cœur-de-Lion.

law, giving her legists to the North and her troubadours to the South, Poitou is like its own Melusina,\* a compound of different natures, half-woman, half-serpent. The myth could have originated only in a mixed country—in a country of mules† and of vipers.‡

This mixed and contradictory character has hindered Poitou from ever bringing any thing to a conclusion; but it began every thing. The old Roman city of Poitiers, now so deserted, was, with Arles and Lyons, the first Christian school of Gaul. St. Hilary shared the battles of St. Athanasius, in defence of the divinity of Jesus Christ. In some respects, Poitiers was the cradle of our monarchy as well as of Christianity. From her cathedral shone during the night the column of fire which guided Clovis against the Goths. The king of France was abbot of St. Hilary of Poitiers, as well as of St. Martin of Tours. The latter church, however, less literary, but better situated, more popular, and more fertile in miracles, prevailed over her elder sister. The last light of Latin poetry had shone at Poitiers in the person of Fortunatus, and the aurora of modern literature dawned there in the twelfth century—William VII. is the first troubadour. This William, excommunicated for having run away with the viscountess of Châtelleraut, led, it is said, a hundred thousand men to the holy land,§ but he likewise took with him a crowd of his mistresses.¶ It is of him that an old author says, "*He was a good troubadour, a good knight, and he travelled a long time over the world, deceiving the ladies.*" Poitou would seem to have been at this period a country of witty libertines and of freethinkers. Gilbert de la Porée, born at Poitiers, and afterwards its bishop, who was Abelard's colleague in the school of Chartres, taught with the same boldness, was, like him, attacked by St. Bernard, like him, retracted, but did not persist in his relapses like the Breton logician. Poitevin philosophy is born and dies with Gilbert.

The political power of Poitou had no better fate. It began in the ninth century with the struggle maintained against Charles the Bald by Aymon, father of Renaud, count of Gascony, and brother of Turpin, count of Angoulême.¶ This family claimed its descent from the two famous heroes of romance, St. William of Toulouse, and Gerard of Roussillon, count of Bur-

gundy. It was, indeed, great and powerful; and for some time found itself at the head of the south. They took the title of dukes of Aquitaine, but had too difficult a game to play with the people of Brittany and of Anjou, who pressed them on the north. The Angevins took from them part of Touraine, Saumur, Loudun, and turned them by seizing on Saintes. However, the counts of Poitou exhausted themselves in strenuous efforts to establish in the south, and especially over Auvergne and Toulouse, their great title of dukes of Aquitaine. They spent their substance in distant expeditions to Spain and Jerusalem. Showy and lavish, these knightly troubadours were often embroiled with the Church; their light and violent manners giving rise to adulteries and domestic tragedies, which have been a world's talk. It was not the first time that a countess of Poitiers had assassinated her rival, when the jealous Elinor of Guyenne forced fair Rosamond to swallow poison in the labyrinth where her husband had concealed her.

Elinor's sons, Henry, Richard Cœur-de-Lion, and John, never knew whether they were Poitevins or English, Angevins or Normans. This internal strife of two contradictory natures is figured in their fluctuating and stormy career. Henry III., John's son, was governed by Poitevin favorites. The civil wars to which this gave rise in England are well known. Once united with the monarchy, Poitou, both of the marsh and of the plain, followed the general movement of France. Fontenai supplied her with great legists, with the Tiraqueaus, the Beals, the Brisseons; and many a skilful courtier (Thouars, Mortemar, Meilleraie, Mauléon, &c.) issued from the nobility of Poitou. The greatest politician and the most popular writer of France belong to eastern Poitou—Richeheu and Voltaire. The last, who was born at Paris, sprang from a family belonging to Parthenai.\*

But we have not seen the whole of the province. From the plateau of the Deux Sèvres descend the two rivers so named, the one running towards Nantes, the other towards Niort and Rochelle. The two eccentric districts which they traverse, stand aloof from France. The lower, a petty Holland,† spreading itself out in marshes and canals, faces only the ocean and Rochelle. Originally, the *white city*,‡ like

\* See Appendix.

† The mules of Poitou are highly esteemed throughout Auvergne, Provence, Languedoc, and even in Spain. Statist. de la Vendée, by La Bretonnière.—The birth of a mule is hailed with more joy than that of a son.—In the district of Mirabeau, a stallion ass will fetch as much as 3000 francs. Dupin, Statist. des Deux Sèvres. (Dupin was prefect of the Department.)

‡ The apothecaries buy numbers in Poitou.—Formerly, Poitiers exported its vipers as far as Venice. La Bretonnière, Dupin.

§ He reached Antioch with six men.

¶ The bishop of Angoulême said to him, "Reform."—the count replied, "When you shall comb your hair." The bishop was bald.

¶ Singular enough, the names of the heroes and of the famous author of the Chronicle figure on the same page.

\* According to M. de Genoude, there are still some of the family of Arouet in the village of St. Loup, near this town.

† The southern marsh is wholly a work of art. The difficulty to be overcome was not so much the tides, as the overflows of the Sèvre.—The dikes are often threatened with destruction.—The *caleniers* (the occupiers of farms called *cabanes*) walk with leaping-poles twelve feet long, in order to leap over the ditches and canals.—The wet marsh, beyond the dikes, is all the winter under water. La Bretonnière.—Noirmoutier is twelve feet below the sea-level, and artificial dikes occur throughout a tract eleven thousand toises in length.—The Dutch drained the marsh of *Land Poitou* by a canal, called the *Dutchmen's grève*, (*Oude van des Hollanders*.) Statistique de Poitiers et de Châtelleraut. See also, the Description de la Vendée par M. Chateaux, 1803.

‡ This name was given to Rochelle by the English Sea

black city,—Rochelle, like St. Malo,—was an asylum opened by the Church, for the Jews, the serfs, the *coliberts* of Poitou. The pope ally protected both against the barons, and as they were from tithe and tribute, they rapidly increased. A swarm of adventurers, issuing from their nameless populace, flocked up the seas as merchants or as pirates; others opened up the court, and placed at the service of their monarchs their democratic genius and hatred of the barons. Without going far back as to the *serf* Leudastès, of the island of Rhé, whose curious story has been preserved to us by Gregory of Tours, we may cite the famous cardinal de Sion, who got the Swiss to take up arms for Julius II., and the chancellor Olivier, Balue, and Doriole—the first, under Charles IX., the two last under Louis XI., so loved to make use of these intriguers—ving that he would lodge them afterwards in iron cage.

For a moment, Rochelle thought to become Amsterdam, of which Coligni would have seen the William of Orange. All know the famous sieges it supported against Charles I., and Richelieu, its numberless heroic efforts, its endurance, and the poniard which the mayor laid on the table of the Hôtel-de-Ville: his heart who should speak of surrender. It were its brave inhabitants constrained to yield, when England, betraying the Protestant cause and her own interest, suffered Richelieu to block up their port. The remains of the immense dike constructed for this purpose, are still distinguishable at low tide. Shut out from the sea, the amphibious city drooped and languished, and, to muzzle her the better, Louis IV. founded Rochefort, a stone's throw from Rochelle—the port of the monarch, by the side of the port of the people.

There was, however, a part of Poitou which did scarcely figure in history, which was but little known, and knew not itself. It was re-acted by the Vendean war. The principal and earliest scene of this fearful war, which added a conflagration throughout the whole west, was the basin of the Sèvre, Nantaise, the sombre hills with which it is surrounded, and the entire Vendean Bocage. This said Vendean Bocage has fourteen rivers, and not one navigable; one, at least—a country lost in its woods and

hedges—despite all that has been said, was neither more religious nor more loyal than many other frontier provinces; but it clung to its habits. These had been but little disturbed by the ancient monarchy, with its imperfect centralization; but the revolution sought to uproot them, and to bring over the province at once to national unity. Precipitate, and violent, and startling by the sudden and hostile light it threw upon everything, it scared these children of the night. The peasants stood up, heroes. It is a fact, that Cathelineau, the carrier, (*voiturier*), was kneading his bread when he heard the republican proclamation read. He just washed his hands, and shouldered his gun. Each did the same, and marched straight against the *blues*: and the struggle was not man to man, in woods and in darkness, as with the Chouans in Brittany—but in masses, and in the open plain. Nearly a hundred thousand men were present at the siege of Nantes. The war of Brittany is as a warlike ballad of the Scottish border; that of La Vendee, an *Iliad*.

Proceeding towards the south, we shall pass the sombre city of Saintes, with its beautiful plains—the battle-fields of Taillebourg and Jarnac—the grottoes of the Charente, and its vines in the salt-marshes. We must rapidly traverse the Limousin—that lofty, cold, rainy country, where so many rivers take their rise. Its beautiful granite hills, like semi-globes, and its vast chestnut forests, maintain an honest, but heavy race, timid, and awkward through their indecision: as if bearing the stamp of the sufferings inflicted on their country by the long struggle for its possession between England and France. Quite different with Lower Limousin—the lively and quick-witted character of the Southern is already very striking there; and the names of the Segurs, St. Aulaires, Noailles, Ventadours, Pompadours, and especially of the Turennes, will serve to characterize the genius of the men here—to indicate their attachment to the central power, and the profit to which they

but Châtelleraut opposes it through jealousy of the former city.—Were the Charente made navigable up to Civray, and united to the Gironde by a canal, the line would furnish a communication, in time of war between Rochefort, the Loire, and Paris.—See the description of Upper Vienne, by Texier, and La Bretonnière's Vendee.

\* I have already noticed captain Gallien's remarkable observation.—*Géomètre Voyage en Vendee*, 1821, observes, "The peasants still say, 'In the reign of M. Henri,' de Lamoignon." They named such Vendéens as were republicans *petits curés*. Speaking good French, they called *le petit curé*, speaking like a nobleman.—The priests had scarcely any property in La Vendee. The whole of the national forests, according to La Bretonnière, p. 62, belonged to the count d'Artois, of the emigrant nobles, only one of a hundred families in extent, belonged to the clergy.

\* *Mémoires de Madame Lamoignon*.—According to the evidence of M. d'Elber, the real cause of the Vendean insurrection was the levy of 300,000 men ordered by the republic. The Vendéens hate military service, which removed them from their homes. When a contingent was required for Louis the Eighteenth's guard, not a single volunteer offered. *Cav. Gen. Description de la Vendee*, 1818.

\* *Piquard de la Force*, at Boulaivilliers. "There is a proverb, 'Limousin will never die of drought.' *Histoire Vienne*, par Texier, (prefect of the department in 1804), p. 8.

reflection of the light on its rocks and domes. See *histoire de la Rochelle par le père Arceve de l'Oratoire du des*. For the *coliberts* see *capit. protest. des*.

Appendix.  
For the history of St. Malo, consult *Barth. Hist. de Bre-* tagne, t. 17, for that of Rochelle, Father Arceve's work, mentioned in the preceding notes. Raymond Perrussé, a native of Rochelle and who became bishop and cardinal, owed for the Rochelliers in 1562, bulls prohibiting the king from any foreign tribunal.

For the *Plan de la Port de la Vienne par le Préfet* then an A. As early as 1237, it was proposed to render Vienne navigable as far as Limoges, and then to connect it with the *Loire*, which falls into the *Indre*. It could have communicated with Bordeaux and Paris by the *se*, but the Vienne has too many rocks to allow of such undertaking. "The Gironde might be rendered navigable as far as Poitiers, so as to continue the navigation of the Vienne."



put it. That extraordinary personage, cardinal Dubois, came from Brives-la-Gaillarde.

The mountains of Upper Limousin ramify with those of Auvergne, which, in their turn, join the Cévennes. Auvergne is formed by the valley of the Allier, over which towers, on the west, the mass of the Mont-Dor, which rises between the Pic or the Puy-de-Dôme and the group of the Cantal. It is a vast extinct fire—the ashes now almost everywhere covered by a rude and strong vegetation.\* The walnut strikes root in the basaltic rock, and the corn sprouts out of the pumice.† Nor are the internal fires so far extinguished, but that smoke still rises in one of the valleys; and the *clouffis* of Mont-Dor‡ remind one of Solfaterra and the Grotto del Cane. Built of lava, the towns (Clermont, St. Flour, &c.) have a black, heavy look; but the country is beautiful, whether you traverse the vast and solitary meadows of the Cantal and the Mont-Dor, to the monotonous sound of the waterfalls, or gaze upon the fertile Limagne and on the Puy-de-Dôme, that pretty *thimble* seven hundred toises high, and which is alternately veiled and unveiled by the clouds which love it, and can neither fly it nor remain with it. In fact, Auvergne is buffeted by a constant but shifting wind,§ whose currents whirl and chafe with the ever-changing direction of its mountain valleys. With a southern sky, the country is cold; you freeze on lava; and the inhabitants of the mountain district bury themselves all the winter in their stables,|| and surround themselves with a warm and thick atmosphere. Laden, like the Limousins, with Heaven knows how many thick and heavy garments, they may be considered a southern race,¶ shivering in the bleak north wind, and pinched and stiffened by a foreign clime. Their wine is rough, their cheese bitter\*\*—like the rude herbage from which it is produced. They sell, too, their lava, their pumice-stones, the pebbles of the district,†† and the common fruits of the country, which are taken down the Allier in boats. Red—eminently the barbarian color

—is that which they prefer: they like rough red wine, red cattle.\* Rather laborious than industrious, they still often till the deep and strong soils of their plains with the small plough of the south, which scarcely scratches the surface.† Their yearly emigration from the mountains is thrown away; they bring back some money, but few ideas.

And yet there is real strength in the men of this race—a rough sap, *sour perhaps*, but full of life as the herbage of the Cantal. Age has no effect upon it: See the green old age of their old men, of the Dulaures, and the De Pradts—and the octogenarian Montlosier, who directs and superintends his workmen and all around him, who plants and who builds, and who, on the spur of the moment, could write a new book against the clergy, (*parti-prêtre*), or in favor of feudalism,—at once the friend and the enemy of the middle-ages.‡

This inconsequent and contradictory character, observable in other provinces of our middle zone, reaches its apogée in Auvergne. There sprang up those great legists,§ the logicians of the Gallican party, who never knew whether they were for or against the pope—the chancellor de l'Hôpital, a doubtful Catholic;|| the Arnauts; the severe Domat, that Jansenist Papinian, who endeavored to bound the law by Christianity, and his friend Pascal, the only man of the seventeenth century who felt the religious crisis going on between Montaigne's day and that of Voltaire, and in the struggles of whose conscience the battle of doubt and faith is so singularly depicted.

We might enter the great valley of the south by Rouergue, a province signalized by a rude hap;¶ and which, indeed, under its sombre chestnut trees, is but one enormous heap of coal, iron, copper, and lead. Its coal mines\*\* have been for ages on fire for several leagues. A fire, however, unconnected with any thing volcanic. Exposed to every vicissitude of cold

\* Texier-Olivier, pp. 44, 96, &c.

† The products both of the soil and of manufactures are rude and common, but abundant. De Pradt, Voyage Agronom., p. 104.—North of St. Flour, the ground is covered with a thick layer of pumice-stones, but is not the less productive. Id. p. 147.

‡ See Legrand d'Aussy, Voyage en Auvergne.

§ De Pradt, p. 74.

|| In winter they live in the stable, and rise at eight or nine o'clock. Legrand d'Aussy, p. 283. For various characteristic details, see the Mémoires de M. le Comte de Montlosier, t. i. The elegant picture of Puy-de-Dôme by M. Durhé, the curious Researches of M. Gonod into the Antiquities of Auvergne, and the work of the good octogenarian curé, Desbarrie, may also be advantageously consulted.

\*\* In Limagne there is an ugly race, apparently of southern extraction. From Brioude up to the source of the Allier, they look like cretins or Spanish mendicants. De Pradt, p. 70.

¶ The bitterness of the cheese may either be owing to the making, or to the coarseness and rankness of the grass. They never lay down a fresh grass. De Pradt, p. 177.

†† As late as 1784, the Spaniards came to buy the pebbles—common jewellery of Auvergne. Legrand d'Aussy, p.

\* De Pradt, p. 74.

† The *cravire*, a small plough unequal to strong soils, is used in the country beyond the Loire. Throughout the entire south the carts and all agricultural implements are of the smallest and poorest description. Arthur Young speaks with indignation of the small plough, that scratched the land and belied its fertility. De Pradt, p. 83.

‡ I trust this distinguished individual will not be offended at a critical remark which applies to all the great men of his country.

§ Domat, of Clermont; the Laguesnes, of Vic-le-Comte; Duprat, and Barillon his secretary, of Issouire; l'Hôpital, of Aigueperse; Anne Dubourg, of Roum; Pierre Lamoignon, president of the parliament of Paris, in the sixteenth century; the Du Vair, of Aurillac, &c.

|| See in the Mem. de d'Aubigné, the secret part the chancellor acted in the conspiracy of Amboise. There was a proverb—"God keep us from the chancellor's mass, the admiral's tooth pick, and the constable's paternoster."

\*\* Rouergue, I believe, is the first French province which paid a tax to the king. (Louis VII.) on the condition of his putting a stop to private wars. See the Glossaire de Languedoc, t. i. p. 164, at the word *Commun de Paix*, and the Decret of Alexander III. on the first canon of the council of Clermont, published by Marca.—For an account of Rouergue, see Peuchet and Chaulaire, Statistique de l'Auvergne, and particularly M. Monteil's excellent work.

¶ According to M. Blaisier, (Minéralogie de l'Auvergne, p. 15,) more than two-thirds of this department contain coal.

and heat by the variety of its aspects and of its climates, splintered by precipices, and cut up by two torrents, the Tarn and the Aveyron, the wild Cevennes need not envy it. But I prefer entering by Cahors. Here, nature is clad in vines. You meet with the mulberry before you reach Montauban. "The prospect before you, which contains a semicircle of a hundred miles diameter, has an oceanic vastness, in which the eye loses itself, an almost boundless scene of cultivation; an animated but confused mass of infinitely varied parts—melting gradually into the distant obscure, from which emerges the amazing frame of the Pyrenees, rearing their silvered heads far above the clouds." The ox, yoked by his horns, ploughs the fertile valley—the vine throws her tendrils round the elm. If you draw to the left, towards the mountains, you deary there the goat hanging on the arid hill-side, and the mule laden with oil, following the midway track. Southward there bursts a storm, and the country becomes a lake—in an hour, the whole has dried up before the thirsty sun. In the evening you reach some large and melancholy city, Toulouse, if you like. The sonorous accent with which strikes your ear would lead you to fancy yourself in Italy; but the houses, built partly of wood, partly of brick, and the abrupt, accost and bold and lively demeanor of the people, soon remind you that you are in France. The upper classes, at least, are French, the lower present quite a different physiognomy, and are, perhaps, Spanish or Moorish. You are in the ancient city of Toulouse, so great under its counts, which, through its parliament, became the monarch and tyrant of the south; whose hot and heady legists bore to Boniface VIII. the letter of Philip the Fair, for which they made but too frequent atonement at the cost of the republic, forming four hundred less than a century, and who, at a later period, were in the instruments of Richelieu's revenge, condemning Montmorency, and beheaded him in their beautiful hall, stained with red! The Toulousians made it their boast that they had the capital of Rome, and the greatest city north of Naples, in which corpses were cast for centuries without undergoing putrefaction. The city archives were kept in the same place, the chest, like those of the Roman senate, with the motto on the wall, *Reverentia secreti, sancti loci, sacrae vestigia legis*—the chest, in which the parliament kept

Toulouse is the central point of the great southern basin. Here or near it meet the waters of the Pyrenees, and of the Cevennes, the Tarn, and the Garonne, to fall with their united streams into the ocean—the Garonne receiving the whole. The sinuous and quivering rivers of Languedoc and of Auvergne, flow northward past Perigueux and Bergerac; while the Lot, the Vaur, the Aveyron, and the Tarn, after making several more or less abrupt turns, run from the east and the Cevennes, by Rodez and Alby. The north supplies rivers; the south torrents. The Arriege descends from the Pyrenees; and the Garonne, already swollen by the Gers and the Bazee, makes a beautiful curve to the northwest, which the Adour imitates on a smaller scale towards the south. Toulouse separates, or nearly so, Languedoc from Guyenne: provinces which, lying in the same latitude, are yet widely different. The Garonne passes through the antique Toulouse, through the old Roman and Gothic Languedoc, and constantly increasing its flood, opens to the sea, like a sea, beyond Bordeaux. This last-named town, long the capital of English France, and long English at heart, turns, on account of its commercial interests, towards England, the ocean, and America. Here the Garonne, which we may now call the Gironde, is twice the width of the Thames at London.

Rich and beautiful as is this vale of the Garonne, we cannot linger there; the distant summits of the Pyrenees are too powerful an attraction. But the road is a serious obstacle. Whether you pass through Nérac, the sombre signifiory of the Albrets, or proceed along the coast, you have before you a sea of *landes*, only varied by cack-tree woods, vast *pinadas*—a lonely and a cheerless route, with no other signs of life than the flocks of black sheep\* that annually migrate from the Pyrenees to the *landes*, leaving the mountains for the plain under the charge of shepherds of the *landes*, and going northward in search of the warmth. The wandering life of the shepherds is one of the picturesque characteristics of the south. You meet them sealing the Cevennes and the Pyrenees from the plains of Languedoc, and ascending the mountains of Gap and Barcelonnette from Cava in Provence. This nomad

The 1st and 2nd of the K. 1000 series gave the results expected, and in 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2

\* Mammals (p. 147). Black bears are also found in Roussell's and in Hutton's. Arthur Young Agricultural Four (p. 147) (p. 147). The following 6 mammals are listed in the table.

[illegible]

14. And, the fact that the Government has not even tried to establish that the Government of the Republic of Maldives is not a party to the alleged conspiracy, is a further indication of the gross failure of the Government to carry out its duty to investigate and prosecute the alleged conspirators.

1. The first step is to identify the problem. In this case, the problem is that the company is not meeting its sales targets.

2. The second part of the paper discusses the impact of the 1997-1998 Asian financial crisis on the performance of the Asian stock markets. The paper shows that the Asian financial crisis had a significant negative impact on the performance of the Asian stock markets. The paper also shows that the Asian financial crisis had a significant negative impact on the performance of the Asian stock markets.

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 2. What are the research objectives?  
 3. What is the research methodology?  
 4. What are the results of the study?  
 5. What are the conclusions of the study?  
 6. What are the limitations of the study?  
 7. What are the implications of the study?  
 8. What are the future research directions?  
 9. What are the contributions of the study?  
 10. What are the key findings of the study?  
 11. What are the main results of the study?  
 12. What are the primary outcomes of the study?  
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"Let the complete man be the master of the numbers."

race, carrying their all with them, with the stars as the sole companions of their eternal solitude, half astronomers, half astrologers, bring the life of Asia, the life of Lot and of Abraham, into the heart of our western world. But, in France, the husbandmen fear their passage, and confine them to narrow routes.\* It is in the Apennines, in the plains of Apulia, and in the Campagna of Rome, that they roam with all the freedom of the ancient world; while in Spain they are kings and lay waste the whole country with impunity. Protected by the all-powerful company of the *Mesta*, which employs from forty to sixty thousand shepherds,† the triumphant merigos devour the country from Estramadura to Navarre and Arragon.‡ The Spanish shepherd, wilder than ours, wrapped up in his sheepskin, and with his *abarca* of rough cowhide fastened on his feet and legs with string, resembles one of his own shaggy flock.‡

At last we see the formidable barrier of Spain in all its grandeur. It is not, like the Alps, a complicated system of peaks and valleys, but one immense wall, lowered at either end.§ Every other passage is inaccessible to carriages, and even to mules and man himself, for six or eight months of the year. Two distinct people who, in reality, are neither Spanish nor French—the Basques on the west, and on the east the Catalans and people of Roussillon—are the porters of the two worlds. The portals are theirs, to open and to shut. Irritable and capricious, and tired of the constant passage of the nations, they open to Abder-Rahman, and shut to Roland. Many are the graves between Roncesvalles and the Seu of Urgel.

It is not the historian's province to describe and explain the Pyrenees. We must look to

the science of Cuvier and of Elie de Beaumont, for the narrative of this ante-historic history. They were present—not I—when nature suddenly produced her amazing geologic epopée, when the burning mass of the globe elevated the axis of the Pyrenees, when the mountains were split asunder, and the earth, in the tortures of Titanic travail, reared against the sky the black and bald *Maladetta*. However, a consoling hand gradually covered the wounds of the mountain with those green meadows, that eclipse the Alpine.\* The peaks levelled and rounded themselves into beautiful towers; while smaller masses were put forth to break the abruptness of the declivities, to take off from their steepness, and to form, on the French side, that colossal staircase, each step of which is a mountain †

Let us then scale, not the Vignemale, not the Mont-Perdu,‡ but only the *por* of Paillers, the water-shed of the two seas; or else, let us ascend between Bagnères and Barèges, between the beautiful and the sublime.§ Here you will comprehend the fantastic beauty of the Pyrenees—their strange, incompatible sites, brought together as by some freak of fairy hands;‖ their magic atmosphere, which alternately brings every object close to you, and removes it to a distance;¶ and these foaming *gaces* of soft green hue, and their emerald meadows. To this scene of loveliness succeeds the wild horror of the loftier mountains, concealing themselves behind it, like a monster behind a mask

\* Ramond, *Voyage au Mont Perdu*, p. 54. . . . "these greenwards of the loftier mountains, compared with which there is something crude and false even in the verdure of the lower valleys."—Laboulinière, t. i. p. 230. "The waters of the Pyrenees are pure, and of a beautiful watery green, *vert d'eau*,"—Dralet, p. 203. "When the streams from the Pyrenees overflow, they do not deposit an injurious muddy sediment like those of the Alps; on the contrary," &c.

† Dralet, t. i. p. 5.—Ramond, "In the south, the descent is precipitous and sudden—the precipice sinking from a thousand to eleven hundred metres, and its base being the summit of the highest mountains in this part of Spain, which, however, soon degenerates into low rounded hills, beyond which appears the wide perspective of the Arragonese plains. On the north, the primitive mountains are closely packed together, so as to form a belt more than four myriamètres thick . . . this belt consists of seven or eight rows, which gradually decrease in height." This description, which has been contradicted by M. Laboulinière, is confirmed by M. Elie de Beaumont. The granitic axis of the Pyrenees is on the French side.

‡ The great poet of the Pyrenees, M. Ramond, searched for Mont-Perdu for ten years. "None," he says, "asserted that the boldest hunter in the country had only reached its top by the aid of the devil, who led him up to it by seventeen steps," p. 28. Mont-Perdu is the loftiest of the French Pyrenees, Vignemale of the Spanish. *Ibid.* p. 261.

§ It was between these two valleys, on the plateau called the *Houquette de Cinq Ours*, that the aged astronomer Pontécoulant breathed his last, with his quadrant by his side, exclaiming, "Great God! how beautiful this is!"

¶ Ramond, p. 190. "Securely do you plant your feet on the cornice than the decorations change, and the magic of the terrace cuts off all communication between two incompatible sites. From this line, which you cannot touch without leaving one or the other, and which you cannot cross without entirely losing sight of one of them, it seems impossible that they should both be real; and were they not brought in juxtaposition by the chain of Mont-Perdu, which slightly goes away with the contrast, one would be tempted to consider either the view you lose, or that you gain, a vision."

¶ Laboulinière, t. II. p. 12.

vennes and the plains of Languedoc about the end of Florent April, and reach the mountains of Lozère and Mûrre-de, where they stay the whole summer, returning to Lower Languedoc by the time the frost sets in." *Statistique de la Lozère*, par M. Jερphignon, préfet of the département, &c. &c. p. 31. "The flocks are brought from the Pyrenees to winter as far as the *landes* of Bordeaux." Laboulinière, t. i. p. 245.

\* Five toises in breadth. See the preceding note.

† A year in Spain, by an American, 1822. In the sixteenth century the troops of the *Mesta* amounted to about seven million head of sheep. They fell to two millions and a half at the beginning of the seventeenth, increased to about four millions at its close, and now number nearly five million head—about half the cattle in Spain.—The shepherds are more dreaded than the bandits, and they more cruelly abuse the right of dragging any citizen before the tribunal of the association, whose decisions are always in the *référé*. The *Mesta* employs *alcaldes*, *entregadores*, and *alcigueros*, who harass and oppress the farmers in the name of the association.

‡ Description des Pyrenees, par Dralet, Conservateur des eaux et forêts, 1813, t. i. p. 242.

§ The Basque word *mural*, signifies both wall and Pyrenees. W. de Humboldt, *Recherches sur la Lingué des Basques*.

¶ Arthur Young vol. 4, p. 23.—"Roussillon is, in fact, a part of Spain. The inhabitants are Spaniards in language and in customs. The towns must be excepted, which are for the most part filled with foreigners. The fishermen on the coast have a Moslem cast of countenance."—"The central district of the Pyrenees, the country of Fox, Arragon, is quite French both in disposition and language; few or no Catalan words are preserved.

portraying a lovely maiden. Nevertheless, we must persist, and boldly penetrate the gape of Pau by yon gloomy pass, threading those heaps of massy blocks, three or four thousand cubic feet in contents, then by the sharp rocks, everlasting snows, and windings of the gape, buffeted from one rock to another, till we reach the prodigious Circus with its towers soaring to the sky. At its foot rise twelve springs to feed the gape, which groans under bridges of snow, and yet falls thirteen hundred feet—the loftiest waterfall of the ancient world.\*

Here France ends. The *por* of Gavarnie, which you see above you, that tempestuous pass, where, as they say, the sun waits not for his father,† is the gate of Spain. This boundary of the two worlds is one wide field of historic poetry. Hence may be described, could vision reach so far, Toulouse on the one hand, on the other, Saragossa. This mountain embrasure, three hundred feet in length, was opened by Roland, with two strokes of his good sword Durandal,‡ and is the symbol of that enduring strife between France and Spain, which is, indeed, no other than the struggle between Europe and Africa. Roland perished, but France conquered. Compare the two sides of the mountain range: how superior is ours! The Spanish slope, facing the south, is abrupt, wild, and arid: the French trends away with a gentle fall, is better clothed with wood, and rejoices in beautiful meadows, which supply Spain with cattle. Barcelona, rich in vineyards and pastures, is obliged to buy our flocks and our wines, and lives on our oxen: On the one side of the range are a fine sky, a lovely climate, and want, on the other, fogs and rain, but intelligence, wealth, and freedom. Pass the frontier, contrast our splendid highways and their rugged paths; or simply look

at those strangers who have come to drink the waters of Cauterets, covering their rags with the dignity of the cloak; sombre, and scorning all comparison with others. Great and heroic nation, fear not our insulting your misery!

To see all the races and costumes of the Pyrenees, you must go to the fairs of Tarbes, which are frequented by nearly ten thousand persons, and whither the whole country flocks for twenty leagues round. Here you often see, at one and the same time, the white cap of Bigorre, the brown one of Foix, the red one of Roussillon, and, sometimes, the large flat hat of Arragon, the round hat of Navarre, and the peaked cap of Biscay.\* Hither comes the Basque *voiturier*, with his long wagon drawn by three horses, wearing the Bearnese *berret*;† but you will easily tell the Bearnese from the Basque—the sprightly, handsome little man of the plain, ready of tongue, and of hand as well—from the son of the mountain, with his rapid stride and huge limbs, a skilful farmer, and proud of the family whose name he bears.‡ To

France, the contrast is striking. When one crosses the sea from Dover to Calais, the preparation and circumstances of a naval passage lead the mind by some gradation to a change: but here, without going through a town, a harbor, or even a wall, you enter a new world. From the natural and miserable fairs of Catalonia, you tread at once on a noble causeway, made with all the solidity and magnificence that distinguishes the highways of France. Instead of beds of torrents, you have well built bridges; and from a country, wild, desert, and poor, we found ourselves in the midst of cultivation and improvement.

"Every other circumstance," adds Young, "spoke the same language, and told us by signs not to be mistaken, that some great and operating cause worked an effect too clear to be misunderstood. The more one sees, the more I believe we shall be led to think that there is but one all-powerful cause that insures mankind, and that is government. Others form exceptions, and give shades of difference and distinction, but this acts with permanent and universal force. The present instance is remarkable; for Roussillon is in fact a part of Spain, the inhabitants are Spaniards in language and in customs: but they are under a French government." Further on he remarks—"The traffic of the way demands such exertions, one third of the breadth is beaten, one-third rough, and one-third covered with weeds." Again—"Women without stockings and without shoes, but if their feet are poorly clad, they have a superb consolation in working upon magnificent causeways. . . . The roads of Languedoc are splendid and superb, and if I could free my mind of the recollection of the unjust taxation which pays for them, I should travel with admiration." The truth is, the splendid roads were made by *corvée* or the forced labor of the farmers and peasants, or else by an assessment which taxed lands held by noble tenure of the burden and threw on those held by a plebeian right. † Translation.

"In 1801, p. 22. Meet Highlanders, who put me in mind of those of Scotland, saw them first at Montauban, they have round flat caps, and loose breeches. . . . Pipers, blue bonnets, and staid air, found, says Sir James Stuart, in Catalonia, Arragon, and Navarre, as well as in Languedoc. . . . However, and probably of the difference of race and habits, there is another essential difference between the mountaineers of Scotland and those of the Pyrenees:—while it is that the latter are richer, and in some respects more polished than the races by which they are surrounded.

Which in my harvest cap I'll wear.

Perhaps in jeopardy of war

When gayer crests may dance afar."

Lady of the Lake. TRANSLATION.

† Histoire de Roussillon, Catalogne et Biscaye, 1785, p. 100. The Basques, who, together with their pastures, have preserved the means of improving their land, and who can feed swine in large numbers in their oak forests, live in

\* It is one thousand two hundred and seventy feet French high. For a full description, see Diction. U. L. p. 109-110.

† Diction. U. L. p. 217.

‡ Mém. de l'Ac. Diction. Etymologique, U. L. p. 165, 166.

§ The *Por* of Gavarnie extends to Barcelona, the *Carrière* westward to Toulouse and Bordeaux; while the canal of Languedoc answers to that of Louis XIV.: these are the only points of similarity.

¶ Diction. U. L. p. 107. Spain, being exposed to a constant invasion, has few positions rich enough to furnish food either upon land or upon sea, and hence are obliged to supply their food from the sea, and even the mountains use to furnish for tallow and tallow. The border departments are the nearest provinces of France, and import these animals from the large herds of Spain and the northern provinces of the island. The city of Barcelona alone consumes the French oxen for a daily supply of five hundred sheep, two hundred swine, thirty cows, and fifty goats, besides taking in of course, from six thousand to eight thousand head of cattle from the north and west.

¶ For these imports, at an average of one year by year, the French might furnish the French from Barcelona, and it imports into the other towns of Catalonia, and the whole of Catalonia, except in pasture, quadrupeds, and swine and cattle. Since Dec. 1792, the French changes must have taken place.

¶ Arthur Young, Vol. 1, p. 20. "Leave Juncos, come to a point in the road, where the king of Spain's main army, at the point that marks the boundary of the two monarchies, passing with the French road, it is not usually executed. Here take leave of Spain, and re-enter

find men like the Basque, you must search among the Celts of Brittany,\* of Scotland, or of Ireland. The Basque, eldest of the Celtic races, immoveably fixed in the corner of the Pyrenees, has seen all the nations pass in review before him—Carthaginians, Celts, Romans, Goths, and Saracens. He regards with pity our recent genealogies. A Montmorency said to one of them: "Do you know that we date a thousand years back?" "We," was the rejoinder, "have left off dating."

The Basques were momentary masters of Aquitaine, to which they have bequeathed in memorial of them the name of Gascony. Driven back to Spanish ground in the ninth century, they founded there the kingdom of Navarre, and in two centuries occupied all the Christian thrones of Spain—Gallicia, the Asturias and Leon, Arragon and Castile. But the Spanish crusade bearing southward, the Navarrese, cut off from the theatre of European glory, gradually lost every thing. Their last king, Sancho, the *Shut-up*, who died of a cancer, is the true symbol of the destiny of his people. Shut-up, in point of fact, in its mountains, by powerful nations, and eaten into, if I may so express myself, by the progress of Spain and of France, Navarre even implored the aid of the Mussulmans of Africa, and, at last, sought refuge in the arms of France. Sancho gave the death-blow to his kingdom by bequeathing it to his son-in-law, Thibault, count of Champagne—a Roland, breaking his Durandal to save it from the enemy. The house of Barcelona, the root of the kings of Arragon and of the counts of Foix, seized upon Navarre, and consigned it, but for a moment, to the Albrets, the Bourbons,

plenty and abundance; while throughout the greater part of the Pyrenees," &c.—Laboulinière, t. iii. p. 416—

"Bearnese  
Faus et courtes.  
Bigordan  
Pir que can—

The Bearnese is false and courteous, the Bigordan worse than a dog; so runs the proverb. The Bigordan has the advantage as regards frankness and plain uprightness."—"There are very few points of resemblance between these two races. The Bearnese, forced by the snows to descend with his flocks into the plain, polishes them, and loses his natural rudeness. Turning crafty, dissembling, but inquisitive withal, he nevertheless preserves his haughtiness and love of independence. . . . the Bearnese is variable and vindictive, as well as keen witted; but, through fear of disgrace, and of the pecuniary damage, has recourse to law for his revenge. It is the same with the other people of the Pyrenees, from Bearn to the Mediterranean; all are more or less litigious, and nowhere do lawyers more abound than in Bigorre, Comminges, Couserans, in the county of Foix, and in Roussillon—all lying along this mountain chain." Dralet, t. i. p. 179.

\* Arthur Young, vol. i. p. 85. "Fair day at Landevolader, which gave me an opportunity of seeing numbers of Bas Bretons collected, as well as their cattle. The men dress in great trousers like breeches, many with naked legs, and most with wooden shoes, strong marked features like the Welsh, with countenances a mixture of half-energy, half laziness; their persons stout, broad, and square. The women furrowed without age by labor, to the utter extinction of all softness of sex. The eye discovers them at first glance to be a people absolutely distinct from the French. Wonderful that they should be found so, with distinct language, manners, dress, &c., after having been settled here 1200 years."—TRANSLATOR.

† *Harce de Bidacouet.*

who lost it in order to gain France. However, through a grandson of Louis XIV., a descendant of Henri Quatre, the Basque race has recovered not alone Navarre, but the whole of Spain; and thus was verified the mysterious inscription on the castle of Coaraze, where Henry IV. was brought up—*Lo que a de ser no puede faltar*, (that which must be, cannot fail to be.)\* Our kings have styled themselves kings of France and Navarre—a title happily significant of the origin of the French people as well as of that of their sovereigns.

† The old and the pure races, the Celts and the Basques, Brittany and Navarre, had to yield to the mixed races—the frontiers had to give way to the centre, nature to civilization. The Pyrenees present in every direction the image of this decay of the ancient world. The remains of antiquity have disappeared, those of the middle ages are crumbling away. Those mouldering castles, those towers of the Moors, those bones of Templars which are preserved at Gavarnie,† image most significantly an expiring world. Singular to say, the existence of the very mountain seems at stake. Its bare summits attest its unsoundness.‡ Not in vain has it been battered by so many storms—whose wild work has been aided by the havoc of man at its base. Daily does he lay bare that thick girdle of forests which covered the nakedness of his mother earth. The soil, retained by the grasses on the slopes and ledges, being washed away by the rains, the rock is left bare; and splintered and exfoliated by heat and frost, and undermined by the melting away of the snows, is carried away by avalanches. Instead of rich pasture, there remains a dry and ruined soil. The laborer, who has expelled the shepherd, gains nothing by his usurpation. The waters which gently trickled down the valley across the turf and the forests, now rush down in torrents, and cover his fields with ruins of his own making.§ Numerous hamlets in the upper valleys have been deserted for want of firewood; and their inhabitants have fallen back on France in consequence of their own devastations.¶

As early as 1703, the alarm was raised, and a law was passed that each inhabitant should plant yearly one tree in the royal forests, and two in the lands of his commune. Foresters

\* Laboulinière, t. i. p. 236.

† Dralet.

‡ Laboulinière, t. i. p. 232.—Several species of animals have disappeared from the Pyrenees. Dralet, t. i. p. 31. The wild cat is rarely met with there; and, according to Buffon, the stag disappeared two centuries since.

§ Dralet, t. i. p. 197; t. ii. p. 220. Dralet wrote in 1812.

¶ *Id.* t. ii. p. 165. The inhabitants went even into Spain to pilfer wood.—Cutting but a branch in the large forest overhanging Canterets, and which protects it from the snows, subjects the offender to a heavy fine.—*Modorus Siculus* had said long since, (lib. ii.)—"Pyrenees comes from the Greek *pur*, 'fire,' because, in former times, the woods were fired by the shepherds."—"There is no forest but what has been purposely set on fire, on various occasions, by the inhabitants, in order to convert the woodland into arable or pasture." *Procès-verbal* du 6 Mai, 1878.



governed by the *custom of Paris*, only served to prepare the republican spirit of the province for monarchical centralization. A land of political liberty and of religious servitude, more fanatical than devout, Languedoc has always cherished a vigorous spirit of opposition. The Catholics even had their Protestantism here, under the form of Jansenism. To this day, at Alet, they rake the tomb of Pavillon, in order to drink the ashes that are a charm for fever.\* Since the days of Vigilantius and of Felix of Urgel, the Pyrenees have never been without heretics. The most obstinate of skeptics, and most undoubting believer in doubt—Bayle, was a native of Carlat. The Cheniers†—those rival brothers, whose rivalry did not, however, as is commonly supposed, lead to fratricide—were from Limoux. Need I name in the list the player of Carcassonne, the sanguinary *bel-esprit*, Fabre d'Eglantine? At least, one cannot deny the attributes of vivacity and energy to the Languedocians—a murderous energy, a tragic vivacity. Placed at the angle of the South—which it seems to bind and unite—Languedoc has frequently suffered from the struggles between jarring races and religions. Elsewhere I shall have to speak of the frightful catastrophe of the thirteenth century; but, even at this day, a traditional hatred exists between the inhabitants of Nîmes, and those of the mountain of Nîmes, which, it is true, has now but little to do with religion, and may be likened to the feuds of the Guelphs and Ghibelines. Poverty-stricken and rude as the Cévennes are, it is not surprising that at the point where they come in contact with the rich region of the plain, the shock should be one of violence and of envious fury. The history of Nîmes is but that of a battle of raging bulls.

The strong and hard genius of Languedoc has not been sufficiently distinguished from the quick-witted levity of Guyenne, and the hot-headed petulance of Provence; yet is there the same difference between Languedoc and Guyenne, as between the men of the Mountain and the Girondists, between Fabre and Barnave, between the smoky wine of Lunel and claret. Belief is strong and intolerant in Languedoc, often, indeed, to atrocity—so is disbelief. Guyenne, on the contrary, the country of Montaigne and of Montesquieu, has floated betwixt belief and doubt; Fenelon, the most religious of its celebrated men, was almost a heretic. Things grow worse as we advance towards Gascony—the land of poor devils, exceedingly noble, and exceedingly beggarly; joyous and reckless rogues, not a man of whom but would

have said, like their Henri IV.—“Paris is well worth a mass,” (*Paris vaut bien une messe*.) or, as he wrote to Gabrielle, just before he abjured his faith—“I am going to take the desperate leap,” (*Je vais faire le saut périlleux*.) Such men risk all to succeed, and do succeed. The Armagnacs allied themselves with the Valois—the Albrets, blending with the Bourbons, at last gave kings to France.

In some respects, the genius of Provence is more analogous with the Gascon than with the Languedocian; and it is by no means uncommon for the people of the same zone to be similarly alternated—for instance, Austria, which is further from Suabia than from Bavaria, is more akin to it in feeling and character. The provinces of Languedoc and of Provence, both of which lie along the Rhône, and are similarly intersected by corresponding rivers and torrents, (as the Gard, which answers to the Durance, and the Var to the Hérault,) form of themselves the whole of our Mediterranean coast; which has in both its ponds, its marshes, and its extinct volcanoes. But Languedoc is a complete system—a ridge of mountains or hills with their two falls; whence flow the rivers of Guyenne and Auvergne. Provence rests upon the Alps—but neither the Alps, nor the sources of her great rivers are here. She is only a prolongation, or fall of the mountain range towards the Rhône and the sea, at the base of which fall, stooping towards the ocean, are her beautiful cities—Marseilles, Arles, and Avignon. All the life of Provence is on the coast. The cities of Languedoc, on the contrary, from the less favorable nature of the coast, lie behind the sea and the Rhône. Narbonne, Aigues-Mortes, and Cette, have no ambition to be ports.† Thus the history of Languedoc is more continental than maritime; and the great events with which it deals are the struggles of religious liberty. In proportion as Languedoc retreats from the sea, Provence meets it, and throws into its bosom Marseilles and Toulon—seeming to spring forward towards maritime adventures, crusades, and the conquest of Italy and Africa.

Provence has both visited and sheltered all nations. All have sung the songs and danced the dances of Avignon, and of Beaucaire; all have stopped at the passes over the Rhône, and the great crossways of the high roads of the south.‡ The saints of Provence (true

Montfort's companions.—See further on the history of the crusade against the Albigenses.

This chapter completes the picture of Languedoc, as the first chapter of the first book began that of Gascony, by describing the Iberians, the ancestors of the Basques.

\* Trévoux, p. 238.—See Appendix.

† The two Cheniers were born at Constantinople, where their father was consul general, but their family belonged to Limoux, and their ancestors had long been inspectors of the mines of Languedoc and Roussillon.

\* A Gascon proverb says—“Every good Gascon may contradict himself thrice.” (*Tout bon Gascon peut se reprouver trois fois*.) In many of the southern departments it is thought shameful not to go to mass, but pitiful to attend confession. The truth of this has been warranted to me, especially as regards the department of Gers.

† Three unsuccessful attempts of the Romans, of St. Louis, and of Louis XIV.

‡ The bridge of Avignon, so noted in song, replaced the wooden bridge of Arles, which in its time had been—as Avignon and Beaucaire afterwards were—the rendezvous of the nations. Arles, according to Ausonius, was the little Gallic Rome—

“Gallia Roma Arles, quam Narbo Martia, et quam Accolit Alpina opulenta Vienna colenda,





filled with spectators, in order to be marked—and as the animals are thrown down in turns by some active and vigorous youth, and held on the ground, the red-hot marking iron is presented to the chosen lady, who steps from the wagon, and imprints it on the hide of the foaming beast.\*

Such is the genius of lower Provence, violent, noisy, barbarous, but not ungraceful. Here are the indefatigable dancers of the Moresco, with bells at their knees,† and of the sword-dance, the *barchuber*,‡ as it is called by their neighbors of Gap, and which is danced by parties of nine, eleven, or thirteen. At Riez, they yearly enact the *bravade* of the Saracens.§ The land of soldiers, of the Agricolas, Baux, and Crillons, the land of fearless sailors—this gulf of Lyons is a rough school. Witness the Bailli de Suffren, and that renegade who died, Capitan Pasha, in 1706.|| witness Paul the cabin-boy, (he was never known by any other name,) to whom a washerwoman gave birth at sea, who became admiral, and feasted Louis XIV. on board his ship. But not for all this did he forget his old comrades; and it was his wish to be buried with the poor, to whom he bequeathed all his property.

There is nothing surprising in finding this spirit of equality in this country of republics, in the midst of Greek cities and Roman municipalities. Even in the rural districts, bondage never pressed as heavily as in the rest of France. The peasants wrought their liberty for themselves, and were the conquerors of the Moors. They alone could till the steep hill-side, and confine the torrent within its bed. The intelligent hands of freemen alone could subdue such a land.

And in literature, and philosophy as well, Provence took a free and bold flight. The grand protest of the Breton Pelagius in behalf of liberty was hailed and supported in Provence by Faustus, by Cassian, and by the noble school of Lerins, the glory of the fifth century. When the Breton Descartes freed philosophy from theological influences, Gassendi, the Provençal, was attempting the same revolution in the name of sensualism; while, in the last century, Maupertius and Lamettrie, the atheists of St. Malo, were assembled with the Provençal atheist, D'Argens, at the court of Frederick.

Not without reason is the literature of the south in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries termed the Provençal, displaying, as it did, all the quick and graceful play of the Provençal genius. Provence is the land of fine speakers; copious, impassioned, at least in style, and, at

will, obstinate fashionists of language. It has given us Massillon, Mascarón, Fléchier, Maury—orators and rhetoricians. But Provence, in its every phase, municipal, parliamentary, and noble, popular and rhetorical—the whole invested with the magnificence of southern insolence—was concentrated in Mirabeau; in whom were joined the massy neck of the bull, and the impetuous strength of the Rhône.

How is it that this country did not conquer and rule France? It conquered Italy in the thirteenth century. How is it now so dull; with the exception of Marseilles, that is, of the sea? Besides the unhealthy coasts, and expiring towns, like Fréjus,¶ in every direction I see ruins only. I allude not to the beautiful remains of antiquity, to the Roman bridges and aqueducts, and the arches of St. Remi and of Orange, with numerous other monuments. In the mind of the people, and their tenacity to old customs,‡ which impart to them so original and antique a physiognomy—it is there I find ruins. They are a race who cast no serious look on the past, and yet preserve its traces.‡ Every nation having made their way through them, they ought, one would think, to have forgotten more: but no, they cling to their recol-

\* "This town daily becomes more deserted, and, in half a century, the neighboring communes have lost nine-tenths of their population." Fauchet, *an. ix. loc. cit.*

† In its pretty Moresco dances, in the *romerages* of its burghs, in the keeping up of the *bûche calendaire*, in eating *pois-chiches* at certain festivals, and in numerous other customs.

‡ The feast of the patron saint of each village is called *Roma-Fagi*, and, by corruption, *Romerage*, because of its frequently coming on just as the lord of the village was journeying, or was about to journey to Rome. (1) Millin, t. iii. p. 346.

At Christmas they burn the *calendans* or *calendans*, a large log of oak, which they sprinkle with wine and oil. They used to cry out as they put it on the fire, *Calendans, tant ben ven*, (Calendans come, all is well.) It was the office of the head of the family to set fire to the log: the fire was called *cara fœch*, (the friend's fire.) Millin, t. iii. p. 336. —The same custom is met with in Dauphiny. They call Christmas-day *Chalender*; and *chalender*, the large log of wood which they put on the fire on Christmas-eve, and which is left there till it is entirely burnt. Directly it is placed on the hearth, they pour a glass of wine upon it, making the sign of the cross, and this is what they call *bettes la chalender*. From this moment the log is sacred, and cannot be sat upon without some punishment following the offence—the litch, at the least. Champollion-Figeac, p. 124.

(The Yule-log of merry England will suggest itself to the reader, and the days when

"A Christmas gambol oft would cheer  
The poor man's heart through half the year.")

TRANSLATOR.

The custom of eating *pois-chiches* (chick or dwarf-peas) on certain festivals, is found not only at Marseilles, but in Italy and in Spain, at Genoa and Montpellier. The people of the latter town believe that when Jesus Christ entered Jerusalem, he traversed a *sesteron*, (a field of dwarf-peas;) and that it is in memory of this the custom of eating *seers* (dwarf-peas) has been handed down.—The Athenians used also to eat them at the Panopon. Millin, t. iii. p. 330.

‡ The procession of the good king René at Aix is a satire on fable, history, and the Bible. Millin, t. ii. p. 300. The duke d'Urbino (René's unfortunate general) and his duchess used to be paraded in it, mounted on asses. There was a soul, too, which two devils wrangled for; a cartoon of *fray*, or prancing horses; king Herod, the queen of Sheba, the temple of Solomon, and, at the end of a stick, the star of the wise men of the East, with figures of death, the abbé *de la jeunesse* covered with powder and ribbons, &c., &c.

\* Millin, t. iv. An ox and a little St. John the Baptist are led round Marseilles three days before Corpus Christi day. Nurses make their nurslings kiss the ox's muzzle to cure them in teething. Papon, t. i.

† Millin, t. iii. p. 360.

‡ *Id. ibid.*

§ Millin, t. ii. p. 54. In the Pyrenees it is Renaud, mounted on his good horse Bayard, who delivers a discourse from the hand of infidels. Laboulinere, t. iii. p. 404.

|| Papon, t. i. p. 263.—See Appendix.

lections. In various respects, Provence, like Italy, belongs to antiquity.

Cross the melancholy mouths of the Rhône, blocked up with sand, and as marshy as those of the Nile and the Po. Ascend to Arles. This old metropolis of Christianity in the south, numbered a hundred thousand inhabitants in the time of the Romans; it has now but a fifth part of that number, and is rich only in the dead and in sepulchres.\* It was long the common tomb—the necropolis of Gaul; and to rest in its Elysian fields (the *Aliscamps*) was considered happiness. Those who dwelt on the banks of the river were, it is said, accustomed, even as late as the twelfth century, to place the bodies of their deceased friends, and a piece of money, in a cask covered with pitch, and to commit them to the stream to be borne to the sacred spot—where they were faithfully interred.† Nevertheless, the town has constantly declined. Lyons soon deprived it of the primacy of Gaul; the kingdom of Burgundy, of which it was the capital, has passed away quickly and obscurely; and its great families are extinct.

When, leaving the coast and the pastures of Arles, and ascending the hills of Avignon, one ascends the mountains continuous to the Alps, the ruin of Provence is accounted for. It is an eccentric country, with its great towns on its frontiers only, and these, too, chiefly foreign colonies. The truly Provençal part was the least powerful. The counts of Toulouse managed to make themselves masters of the Rhône, the Catalans seized the coast and the ports; to the Baux, the indigenes of Provence, who had formerly delivered the country from the Moors, there remained Forcalquier and Sisteron, that is, the interior. Thus the states of the south fell to pieces until the arrival of the French, who overthrew Toulouse, drove back the Catalans into Spain, united the Provençals, and led them on to the conquest of Naples. Here closed the destinies of Provence. She reposed with Naples, under the same master. Rome lent her pope to Avignon, and dissoluteness and wealth abounded. Since the time of the Abigènes, religion had been on the decline in this region; it was annihilated by the presence of the pope. At the same time, the ancient municipal franchises of the south fell into neglect, and were forgotten. Roman liberty and the religion of Rome, republicanism and Christianity, expired at one and the same period. Avignon was the scene of this decrepitude. Believe it not then that

\* As where old Arles sees the stagnant flood  
Lying sepulchres deform the funeral field  
(Bante, *Internes*, c. vi.)

Among these remarkable bas-reliefs found on the tomb of Arles is one bearing the monogram of Christ in a crown of oak and oak-leaves, surmounted by an eagle, a beautiful symbol of Christian victory. Charles IV. sent here for some oak-panels of poplars, which were lost in the Rhône and have never been recovered. *Mémoires*, t. ii. p. 204.

\* *Le Languedoc*, Hist. d'Arles, t. i. p. 208.

it was for Laura alone, Petrarch watered the springs of Vaucluse with his tears. Italy also was his Laura, and Provence, and the whole of that antique South which was daily expiring.\*

Provence, in its imperfect destiny and incomplete form, is to me as a troubadour's song, a sonnet of Petrarch's—there is in it more impulse than depth. The African vegetation of its coasts is soon checked by the icy wind of the Alps. The Rhône hastens to the sea, and reaches it not. Pasturage gives place to arid hills, poorly adorned with myrtle and lavender, perfumed and sterile.

The South seems to linger and bewail its fate in the melancholy of Vaucluse, and in the unspeakable and sublime sadness of Sainte-Baume, whose height surveys the Alps and the Cévennes, Languedoc and Provence, and, beyond these, the Mediterranean. And I, too, could weep like Petrarch, on quitting this lovely region.

#### DAUPHINY, FRANCHE-COMTE, &c.

But I must make my way to the north, through the firs of the Jura and the oaks of the Vosges and of the Ardennes, to the discolored plains of Berry and Champagne. The provinces that we have just traversed, isolated by their very originality, cannot make up the unity of France. More flexible and docile elements are required—men more amenable to discipline, and more capable of forming one compact body to shield northern France from great invasions by sea and land, from the Germans and the English. The serried populations of the centre, the Norman and Picard battalions, and the deep and massy legions of Lorraine and Alsace are not more than sufficient for the end.

The Provençals call the men of Dauphiny, the *Franciaux*. In fact, Dauphiny belongs to the true France, the France of the north. Despite its latitude, this province is northern. Here begins that zone of rude countries and energetic men which covers the eastern flank of France—first, Dauphiny, like a fortress to the windward of the Alps; then, the marsh of la Bresse; then back to back, Franche-Comté and Lorraine, cemented by the Vosges, which

\* I know not which is the most affecting, the poet's lamentation over the fate of Italy, or his grief at having lost Laura. I cannot refrain from quoting the admirable sonnet in which the poor old poet at last confesses that he has only pursued a shadow.

"I feel I breathe it once more 'tis the air of past times. They are there, the sweet hills, where was born the beautiful light which, so long as Heaven permitted, filled my eyes with joy and desire, and now swirls them with tears."

"O fragrant hope! O foolish thoughts!" (the grass is withered and the waves are troubled. The nest which she occupied is cold and empty, that nest, where I should have watched her live and die.)

"I had hoped to find some rest after so many fatigues, in sweetly tracking her, and to have been soothed by those lovely eyes which have consumed my heart."

"Cruel, ungrateful servitude! I burnt as long as the object of my fires lasted, and I now wander weeping over her ashes."

Sonnet CVLXXIX.

bestow the Moselle on the last—on the first, the Saône and the Doubs. A vigorous genius of resistance and opposition, is the characteristic of these provinces; giving rise to inconveniences, perhaps, within, but our safeguard against the foreigner. To science they have contributed men of a severe and analytic cast of mind—Mably, and his brother, Condillac, are from Grenoble; D'Alembert belongs to Dauphiny by the mother's side; Lalande, the astronomer, and Bichat, the great anatomist, are from Bourg-en-Bresse.\*

Reasoning and selfish as they are in other respects, war is the grand lever of the thoughts and feelings of these men of the frontier, commanding their whole moral being and elevating it into poetry. Speak of passing the Alps, or of crossing the Rhine, and you will find that Dauphiny has yet her Bayards, and Lorraine her Neys and Faberts. On this frontier line are heroic cities, whose families have been accustomed to lay down their lives for their country from generation to generation.† The women have hardly been less sparing of themselves than the men.‡ Throughout the whole of this zone, from Dauphiny to Ardennes, the women display an Amazonian grace and courage, which you would vainly seek for elsewhere. Cold, serious, elaborate in their dress,§ impressing both strangers and their own families with feelings of respect, they live in the midst of a race of soldiers, whom they know how to awe. Themselves widows and daughters of soldiers, they are familiar with war, and know what it is to die and to suffer; but, brave and resigned, they do not the less freely commit those dearest to them to its chances; at need, they would go themselves. It was not Lorraine alone which saved France by a woman's hand. In Dauphiny, Margot de Lay defended Martélimart, and Philis la Tour-du-Pin la Charee barred the frontier against the duke of Savoy, (A. D. 1692.) The virile genius of

the women of Dauphiny has often exercised irresistible power over men; as, for instance, the famous Madame Tencin, D'Alembert's mother, and that washerwoman of Grenoble, who married husband after husband, until she at last married the king of Poland, and who forms the theme of the popular ballads, together with Melusina and the fairy of Sassenage.\*

√ There is a frank and lively simplicity, a mountaineer grace, in the manners of the people of Dauphiny, which charms one at first sight. As you ascend towards the Alps, you meet with all the honesty of the Savoyard,† the same kindness, but with less gentleness. Men, here, must love one another perforce—for nature, seemingly, loves them but little.‡ Life had need to be softened by the good hearts and good sense of the people, exposed as they are on bleak mountain ridges that front the north, or living in the depths of those gloomy shafts down which sweeps the accursed Alpine wind. Granaries are supported by the communes, to remedy the deficiencies of bad harvests. The widow's house will be built by her neighbors, and her wants attended to before they think of their own.§ These mountains send forth yearly a swarm not only of masons, water-carriers, wagoners, and chimney-sweepers, like the annual emigrations from the Limousin, Auvergne, Jura, and Savoy—but numbers of pedestrian teachers,|| who start each winter from the hills of Gap and Embrun. They proceed through Grenoble, to disperse themselves over the Lyonnais and the opposite side of the Rhône; and are welcome guests, teaching the children, and aiding in the labors of the farm. In the plains of Dauphiny, the peasant—less virtuous and modest than the mountaineer—often figures as a *bel esprit*, writing verses, and satirical verses, too.

Feudalism never pressed as heavily on Dauphiny as on the rest of France. The barons, ever at feud with Savoy,¶ were bound by inter-

\* The same critical spirit is observable in Franche-Comté—for instance, Guillaume de St. Amour, the opponent of the mysticism of the mendicant orders, the grammarian d'Olivet, &c. Did we wish to name some of the most distinguished of our contemporaries, we should mention MM. Charles Nodier, Jouffroy, and Brox. M. Cuvier was from Monthellard, but the character of his genius was modified by a German education.

† Singular traces of the old litigious spirit of the Dauphinese still remain in their provincial dialect. "The wealthier proprietors speak very tolerable French, but interlard it with ancient law terms, which the bar daries not yet entirely disuse. Previously to the Revolution, after a youth had been a year or two in an attorney's office, occupied in making fair copies of subpoenas and judge's orders, his education was considered to be finished, and he returned to the plough." Champollion Figeac, *Peuples du Dauphiné*, p. 67.

‡ Within a period of twenty years, five or six hundred officers and soldiers who had won the cross of the Legion of Honor, *militaires décorés*, and almost all of whom died on the field of battle, came from the little town of Surbahon alone, with a population of scarcely five thousand. I have mislaid my authority for this, but believe that I am correct as to the figures.

§ The rich and showy armor of the princesses of the house of Bourbon is preserved in the *Musée d'Artillerie*.

|| This is obvious to every eye in Franche Comté, Lorraine, and the Ardennes.

\* See *Les Montagnardes*, by Barginet, of Grenoble. Whatever remarks this ferid writer may provoke, one cannot but read with interest his romances written in prison, and annotated by a schoolmaster of the province.—See, also, *La Faye de Sassenage*, par J. Millet—containing the adventures of Claudine Mignot, called *la belle Llorada*, wife of Ambrièreux, treasurer of Dauphiny, of the marquis de l'Hôpital, and of Casimir III. king of Poland.—Louise Serment, the philosopher of Grenoble, died in 1692, aged thirty.—See Appendix.

† This simplicity and these almost patriarchal manners, are largely owing to the preservation of ancient traditions. The old man is the object of respect and the centre of the family, and the same firm is often in the hands of two or three generations at the same time.—The servants eat at the same table with their masters.—On the 1st of November (which is the *miada* of Brittany) a table of eggs and boiled corn is laid out for the dead—a plate to each of the family deceased. (Barginet, *Les Montagnardes*, vol. iii.) According to M. Champollion, the festival of the sun is still kept in one village.—The *coltic braves* (wide trousers) are met with in Dauphiny as well as in Brittany.

‡ In spite of the poverty of the country, the good sense of the people preserves them from every hazardous enterprise.

§ When a widow or an orphan suffers any loss of cattle, &c., they club to make it up.

|| Out of four thousand four hundred emigrants, seven hundred were teachers. Feuchet, &c.

¶ These wars gave great eclat to the nobility of Dauphiny.



with monuments of the Carlovingians,\* with its twelve great and illustrious houses, its hundred and twenty peers, and its sovereign abbey of Remiremont, where Charlemagne and his son held their great autumn hunts, and where the sword was borne before the abbeast—was the German empire in miniature. Here, Germany was everywhere confusedly mingled with France, and the whole country was frontier. Here, too, sprang up, in the valleys of the Meuse and the Moselle, and in the forests of the Vosges, a wandering and indeterminate race, themselves unconscious of their origin, living on the world at large, on noble and on priest, who alternately took them into their service. Metz was the city of these, and of all who had no other—a city of mixed races, if ever there were one. To reduce to one common system the contradictory customs of this Babel, ever proved an abortive effort.

The French tongue ceases in Lorraine, and I will not go beyond it. I refrain from crossing the mountain-chain, and gazing on Alsace. The German world is dangerous ground for me—for it has a lotos-tree, all-powerful to induce oblivion of one's native land. Were I once to look on thee, divine spire of Strasburg,—were I to desecry my heroic Rhine, I might be tempted to follow its current charmed by its legends,† and wander towards the red cathedral of Mentz, towards that of Cologne, and so

to the ocean; or perchance I should be stayed, enchanted on the solemn boundary of the two empires, by the ruins of some Roman camp, or of some church, once the cynosure of pilgrims—or else by the convent of that nobly-born nun, who passed three hundred years in listening to the birds of the forest.\*

No, I stop at the limit of the two tongues, in Lorraine, at the point of contact of the two races, at the *Chêne des Partisans*,† (the trying oak!) which is still shown in the Vosges. The struggle between France and the empire, between heroic stratagem‡ and brutal strength, was early typified in that of the German Swinibald and the Frank Regnier, (Rainier, Renier, Renard?) the ancestor of the counts of Hainault. The war of the Wolf and the Fox is the great legend of northern France, the theme of *fabliaux*, and of the popular poems. The last of these§ was written in the fifteenth century by a grocer of Troyes. For two hundred and fifty years, the dukes of Lorraine were Alsacian by descent, creatures of the emperors, and who, last century, became emperors themselves. They were almost always at war with the bishop and the republic of Metz,|| with Champagne, and with France: but, through the marriage of one of them in 1255, with a daughter of the count of Champagne's, becoming French on the mother's side, they lent a vigorous support to France against the English—against the English party in Flanders and Brittany. They fought for France, to death, or to captivity, at Courtray, Cassel, Crécy, and at Auray. A poor peasant girl, Joan of Arc, born on the frontiers of Lorraine and Champagne, did more—she awakened national consciousness; in her appeared, for the first time, the great image of the people, under a pure and original form. Through her, Lorraine was attached to France. The very duke, who had for a moment forgotten his king, and trailed the royal pennons at the tail of his horse, married his daughter, nevertheless, to a prince of the blood, to the count de Bar, René of Anjou. A younger branch of this family gave leaders to the Catholic party, in the person of the Guises, against the Calvinists, the allies of England and of Holland.

Descending by the Ardennes from Lorraine

\* The tomb of Louis le Débonnaire and the manuscript of the Annals of Metz (date, A. D. 894) used to be shown at Metz.—The bees, so often mentioned in the Capitularies, and which supplied Metz with its famous mead, used, before the Revolution, to be reared by the cures and hermits; they are now much neglected. In the last half-century, the quantity of honey yearly collected has decreased by one-half. Pruchet et Chaulaire, Statistique de la Meurthe.

† Pignini de la Forre, xiii. The abbess exercised half the jurisdiction of the city, and, together with her chapter, nominated deputies to the states of Lorraine.—The female dean and sacristan had each four livings in her gift. The *sonneur*, or stewardess, held joint jurisdiction with the abbess over Valdejoz, (val-de-joux,) which consisted of nineteen villages: all the bees swarmed there were her right. The abbey had a grand provost, a grand and petty chancellor, a grand *sonneur*, &c.—To be *dame de Remiremont*, it was necessary for the proposed abbess to prove her nobility, on both sides, for two hundred years back.—To be canoness, or *demoiselle*, at Epinal, the candidate had to prove herself noble for four descents, both by father and mother.

‡ In the seventh century lived a duke of Lorraine, who longed for a son. He had only a blind daughter, whom he ordered to be exposed to perish. Years after, he had a son, who brought back his daughter to the old duke, who, from his solitary life in the castle of Hohenbourg, had become stern and morose. At first he repulsed her, but at length yielding, he founded a convent for her, which was called after her, the convent of St. Odile. From the height on which it is seated you see Baden and Germany. Kings performed pilgrimage here from all quarters of the world.—The emperor Charles IV., Richard Cœur de Lion, a king of Denmark, a king of Cyprus, a pope, . . . here withdrew the widows of Charlemagne and of Charles the Fat.—At Winston, to the north of the Lower Rhine, the devil keeps watch over precious treasures concealed in a castle hewn out of the rock.—Between Haguenau and Wissembourg a fiery vision rises out of the *puchelbrunnen*, pitch-fountain.—'tis the *black huntman*, the spectre of an ancient lord who expiates his tyranny, &c.—The musical and child-like genius of Germany begins with its poetic legends. The minstrels of Alsace used to hold regular assemblies. The lord of Rapsolstein used to style himself *king of the violins*. The violinists of Alsace held of a superior: those of Upper Alsace were bound to present themselves at Rapsolstein,—those of Lower Alsace at Buchewiller.

\* A pendant to this beautiful legend, in which the ecstasy produced by harmony prolongs life for centuries, is the story of the woman who, in Louis the Debonnaire's reign, heard the organ for the first time, and died of ravishment. Thus, in the German legends, music gives life and death.

† In the arrondissement of Neufchâtel; this tree is seven-teen feet in diameter. Depping, t. ii.

‡ Guill. Britonis Philipp. l. x.  
Qui (Lotharingi) cum simplicibus soleant sermonibus uti,  
Non tamen in factis ita delirare videntur.

§ Equivalent to—"Simple as their speech may be, their acts are not." The writer alludes to Lothaire and the French.

|| See the notices of the manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Royale, at the end of the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*.

|| Marshal Fabert, Custines, and the bold and unfortunate *Pilâtre des Romers*, who was the first to ascend in a balloon, were born at Metz. The Ancillons were driven from it by the edict of Nantes.

into the Low Countries, the Meuse changes its character from the agricultural and industrious to the warlike. Verdun, Stenay, Sedan, Mézières, Givet, Maestricht, and numerous fortified places, command its course, and are covered by it. The whole country is wooded, as if to mask it either in defence or attack from the approaches of Belgium. The great forest of Ardennes, the *deep*, (as duinn,) stretching out on every side, is rather vast than imposing. You meet with villages, burghs, and pastures, and fancy yourself out of the forest—but they are only so many openings in it. The woods commence again, an humble and monotonous ocean of dwarfish oaks, whose uniform undulations you descry from time to time, from the summit of some hill. Formerly, the forest was much more continuous. The hunters could range, without ever losing the shade, from Germany, from Luxemburg to Picardy, and from St. Hubert to Notre-Dame de Laesse.

From the mysteries of the Druids down to the wars of the wild boar of Ardennes, in the fifteenth century, and from the miraculous stag whose apparition converted St. Hubert, down to the fair Isoult and her lover—whom her husband surprised asleep on the mossy bank, but so beautiful, so discreet, and with the large sword between them in token of their slumbering apart, that he withdrew without disturbing them—how many a history has been enacted under these shades, and how many a tale could be told by these oaks, laden with mistletoe, would they but tell it!

The Trou du Han, beyond Givet, where formerly none durst enter, deserves a visit; as well as the solitudes of Layfour and the black rocks of the Dame de Meuse, the table of the enchanter Manges, and the ineffaceable print left in the rock by the foot of Renaud's horse. The four sons of Aymon are the burden of traditionary tales at Château-Renaud as at Usez, in the Ardennes as well as in Languedoc. I still seem to see the spinner, who, while at work, holds on her knee the precious volume of the *Bibliothèque bleue*—the hereditary book of the house, worn, and blackened with use during many a nightly vigil.\*

This sombre land of Ardennes is not naturally connected with Champagne. It belongs to the history of Metz, the basin of the Meuse, and the ancient kingdom of Austrasia. As soon as you are past the white and colorless champagnes, which extend from Reims to Reims, Champagne is ended. The woods begin, and, with the woods, the pastures and small sheep of Ardennes. The chalk has disappeared, the dull red of tiles gives place to the somber sheen of slate, and the houses are rougher with steel filings. Manufactories of

arms, tanneries, and slate-quarries, do not much enliven the appearance of a country; but the inhabitants strike the eye as a marked race. There is intelligence, sobriety, economy about them; a dryness of look in their countenance, but with sharp, well-cut features. This dry and staid character is not peculiar to that little Geneva—Sedan—but prevails throughout the country, which is not rich, and has, besides, the enemy at its threshold; circumstances calculated to engender thoughtfulness. The people are serious, and of a critical habit of mind; not uncommon among those who feel themselves superior to their fortunes.

#### THE WINE-COUNTRIES.

Beyond this rude and heroic zone of Dauphny, Franche-Comté, Lorraine, and Ardennes, there stretches another as distinguished by its amenities, and more fertile in the products of thought—that of the provinces of the Lyonnais, Burgundy, and Champagne, a vinous, joyous zone, fraught with poetry, eloquence, and elegant and ingenious literature. Unlike the rest, these provinces had not to sustain the unceasing shock of foreign invasion. Better sheltered, they had leisure to cultivate the delicate flower of civilization.

And first, close to Dauphny, rises the large and amiable city of Lyons, eminently sociable in its character, and uniting men as it does rivers.\* This angle of the Rhône and Saône† appears ever to have been a sacred spot. The Segusi of Lyons were clients of the Druidical nation of the Edni; and, here, sixty tribes of Gaul united in raising an altar to Augustus, and Caligula founded those contests of eloquence, where the vanquished was thrown into the Rhône, except he preferred effacing his oration with his tongue.‡ In place of this, a custom arose of throwing victims into the river, according to an old Celtic and German usage; and the *arc merveilleux*, (the marvellous arch,) whence the bulls were precipitated, is still pointed out in St. Nizier's bridge.

The famous table of bronze on which may still be read the speech of Claudius, on behalf

\* The boundary line between France and the empire was formed by the Saône as far as the Rhône, and then by the latter to the sea. Lyons being for the most part on the left bank of the Rhône was an imperial city; but the counts of Lyons held the faubourgs of St. Just and St. Irenée of France.

† Saône.

‡ Val. de Max. *immense fluvius jugum. Quod Phœbus octo vinctis sideribus videt. Et Rhodanus ingens omni præcipiti fluit. Atque dubitans quæcunq; curvus agat, Tædæ quoque aliud ripæ vadit.*

I have seen the height hanging over the two rivers, always viewed by the rising sun, where the huge Rhône flows in headlong current, and the Arar the Saône with hesitating course, silently washes the banks with its quiet waters.

§ Custom in C. Caligula. Juvenal, l. 40.

¶ *Pellat ut nuda, pectus qui calcibus anguem.*

Aut Lugdunensem rhebo deturus ad aram.

Turns pale as one who has trod with naked heel on a snake, or is about to recite his rhetorical discourse at the altar of Lyons.

\* There is a tradition how the good Renaud played many a trick on his enemies, and how, after he made happy and happy himself, he knighted many a *chercheur de pain*, and went on his back enormous backs for the building of the holy church of Cologne.—See Appendix.

of the admission of the Gauls into the senate, is the earliest of our national antiquities, and the sign of our initiation into the civilized world. Another, and a far holier initiation, has its monument alike in the catacombs of St. Irénée, the crypt of St. Pothinus, and in Fourvières—the hill of pilgrims. Lyons was the seat of the Roman government, and, subsequently, the see of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction for the four *Lyonnaises*, (Lyons, Tours, Sens, and Rouen,) that is, for the whole of Celtic Gaul. During the fearful vicissitudes of the first centuries of the middle ages, this great ecclesiastical city opened her bosom to a crowd of fugitives, and was peopled by the general depopulation, just as Constantinople gradually concentrated the whole Greek empire, as it gave way before the Arabs or the Turks. Its inhabitants had neither fields nor land, only their arms and the Rhône: thus it turned to trade and commerce. It was a manufacturing city even under the Romans. Epitaphs are still extant—“*To the memory of a glass-maker, born in Africa*,” an inhabitant of Lyons; “*To the memory of a veteran who served in the legions, a paper-maker*.”† An industrious swarm,‡ shut in between the rocks and the river, and heaped up in the sombre streets that open upon its banks, under a clime of rain and constant fog, they had, nevertheless, their moral and their poetic side. It was thus with our master Adam, the cabinet-maker of Nevers—with the *meistersaenger* of Nuremberg and

Frankfort—coopers, locksmiths, and blacksmiths—and so, in our day, with the tinnmen of Nuremberg. In their darkling cities they dreamed of that nature which they did not see, and of that glorious sun which was denied them; and they hammered out in their black stithies idylls on fields, birds, and flowers. Poetic inspiration at Lyons has not been nature, but love; and more than one young shopwoman, seated in the dim light of the back shop, has composed, like Louise Labbé and Pernelle Guillet, verses full of sadness and of passion—which were not for their husbands.\* The love of God, and a voluptuous mysticism, were, it must be owned, traits of the Lyonnaise character. The church of Lyons was founded by the desired, (†*desiré*, St. Pothinus;‡ and it was at Lyons, at a later period, that St. Martin, the desired, established his school.‡ On Ballanche was born there;§ and the author of the *Imitation*, Jean Gerson, chose it as the spot in which to close his earthly pilgrimage;

It seems strange and contradictory that mysticism should have originated in large manufacturing and dissolute cities, such as Lyons and Strasbourg now are. The reason is, that nowhere else does man's heart so yearn for heaven. Where all the grosser pleasures are at one's call, there satiety soon begins. The sedentary life, too, of the artisan, seated at his trade, favors this internal ferment of the soul. The silk-weaver, in the humid obscurity of the streets of Lyons, and the weavers of Artois and of Flanders in their gloomy cellars, shut out from the world, have created a world for themselves, a moral paradise of sweet dreams and visions; to indemnify themselves for the nature of which they were deprived, they gave themselves to God. No class of men gave more victims to the fires and fagots of the middle ages. The Vaudois of Arras had their martyrs, as well as those of Lyons. The latter, disciples of the manufacturer, Valdo—Vaudois, or poor men of Lyons, as they were called—endeavored to restore the customs of primitive Christianity. They set an affecting example of brotherhood; nor did this union of hearts depend uniformly on conformity of religious belief. Contracts exist, of times long subsequent to the Vaudois, by which two friends

## D. M.

ET MEMORIE ETERNE JUL.  
I. ALEXANDRI NATIONE AFRI. CIVI  
CARTHAGINENSIS. OMNI OPTIMO OPIF  
CI ARTIS VITRICE QUI VIX ANOS LXX . . .

(Sacred to the manes and lasting memory of Julius Alexander, born in Africa, a citizen of Carthage, an excellent man, a glass-maker, who was aged seventy years. . . .)

## D. M.

ET. MEMORIE. ETERN  
VITALINI. FELICIS. VET. LEG  
M. HOMINI. SAPIENTISSIMO  
ET FIDELISSIMO NEGOTIA  
RI LYODUNENSIS. ARTIS. C  
TARIS. QUI. VIXIT. ANNIS  
VIII. M. V. D. X. NATUM EST. D  
MARTIN. DIE. MARTIS. PROP  
TIS. DIE. MARTIS. MISSIONE  
PEREGRIN. DIE. MARTIS. DEF  
RUIT. ET. FACIENDUM. C  
VITALINI. FELICISSIMUS. FI  
LIUS. ET. ILLIANICE. CON  
VIV. ET. SUB. ASCIA. DEDI  
(AVERVNT.

† Sacred to the manes and everlasting memory of Vitalinus Felix, a veteran of the legion . . . of Minerva, a very prudent man, who carried on the manufacture of paper with great repute for probity, who died, aged . . . eight years, five months, and ten days. He was born on a Tuesday, set out on his first campaign on a Tuesday, obtained his discharge on a Tuesday, and died on a Tuesday. . . . His son, Vitalinus Felicitissimus, and his wife, Julia Nice, erected this monument, and dedicated it beneath Asia.—Millin, t. i. p. 457, 504.

‡ Elsewhere I shall treat of the present state of the manufactures of Lyons. The state of this town is one of the gravest and most melancholy subjects of modern history, and embraces all the great questions of policy and political economy. To speak of Lyons under this point of view here, would be to draw a picture of the world in order to describe a town.

\* For these, as for many other persons (and things) indicated in this rapid survey of the country, see Appendix.

† See the martyrdom of St. Pothinus, in *Enchiridion*, l. i. c. 5.

‡ He was born at Amboise in 1743.—In 1747, a Polish bishop introduced the ceremonies of the church of Lyons into a church of his own building. *Cronmeyer*, l. vi. sp. Duchesne, *Andennes Villes de France*.—It is no very long time since service was performed at Lyons without regas, books, or any musical instrument, as in the first ages of Christianity.

§ As were MM. Ampère, Degerando, Camille Jordan, and de Senancour. Their families at least are Lyonnaise.

|| In 1429.—St. Remi or Remigius, of Lyons, espoused the cause of Gottschalk, and the doctrine of grace, against Joannes Erigena.—According to Du Boulay, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was first taught at Lyons.—In the reign of Louis XIII., one individual, Denis de Marquemont, founded fifteen religious houses at Lyons.

adopt each other for heirs, and covenant to share life and fortune.\*

The genius of Lyons is more moral, more sentimental at least, than that of Provence. Lyons may be said to belong to the north. It forms one of the centres of the south, without being southern, and which the south repels. On the other hand, France long denied Lyons as a stranger to her ; being loath to recognise the ecclesiastical primacy of an imperial city. Notwithstanding its fine position on two rivers, and between so many provinces, Lyons has never been able to extend itself. Behind, lay the two Burgundies—that is to say, French feudalism and the feudalism of the empire ; facing it—the Cevennes, and its rivals, Vienne and Grenoble.

Proceeding to the north from Lyons, you have to choose between Chabona and Autun. The Lyonnese Segusii were a colony from the latter city.† Autun, the old Druidical city,‡ had thrown out Lyons at the confluence of the Rhône and Saône, at the apex of that great Celtic triangle, whose base was the ocean from the Seine to the Loire. Autun and Lyons, the mother and the daughter, have enjoyed very different destinies. The daughter, seated on the great high road of the nations, beautiful, amiable, and of easy access, has constantly prospered and increased. The mother, chaste and severe, has remained solitarily on her torrent-stream of Arroux, in the depth of her mysterious forests, among her crystals and her lava.§ It was she who invited the Romans into Gaul, and their first care was to raise up Lyons against her. In vain did Autun renounce her sacred name of Bibracte for that of Flaviana; in vain did she resign her divinity,¶ and become more and more Roman. She went on but from decay to decay. All the great wars of Gaul were decided in her vicinity, and were

decided against her.\* She did not even preserve her famous schools: all she retained was her austere genius; and up to modern times her sons have been statesmen and legislators—the chancellor Rolin, the Montholons, the Jeannins, and numerous others. This grave east of mind is widely spread westward and northward. The Dupuis are from Clamecy; while Theodore de Beza, the orator of Calvinism, and mouth-piece of Calvin, is from Vezelay.

There is none of the amenity of Burgundy in the dry and sombre districts of Autun and Moryan. To know the true Burgundy, the Burgundy of cheering smiles and of the grape, you must ascend the Saône by Châlons, then turn, through the Cote d'Or, to the plateau of Dijon, and follow the current towards Auxerre—a goodly land, where vine-leaves adorn the arms of the cities,† where all are brothers or cousins, a land of hearty livers and of merry Christmases.‡ No province had greater or richer abbeys, or which ramified into more new and distant foundations—as the abbey of St. Benignus at Dijon; that of Cluny, near Macon, and the monastery of Cîteaux, close to Châlons. Such was the splendor of these monasteries, that Cluny once extended her hospitality to a pope, and a king of France, and the numerous princes in their suites, without the monks being at all inconvenienced by lodging so large a train. Cîteaux was on a still larger scale, or at least was more fertile in her offshoots. She is the mother of Clairvaux, the mother of St. Bernard. Her abbot, the *abbot of abbots*, was, in 1491, recognised as chief of their order by three thousand two hundred and fifty-two monasteries. It was the monks of Cîteaux, who, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, founded the military orders of Spain, and

recover their independence. "The prudent government of Antun," says Pottius, "suppressed the revolt of the fanatic bands of Mervus, a Bosnian sprung from the dogs of the past, and he gave himself out as a god, and the liberation of Gaul!" Antun 1.1. 61. The revolt of Mervus had been described in the first book. The Bosnians were sacked Antun when the Moslem schools, which the Greek Eumenes reopened under the patronage of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, were closed. Francis the First visited Antun in 1561, and named it his French Rome." According to Eumenes, it had already been called the sister of Rome. See R. P. L. 712-716-717.

It was attacked by the Bulgarians in 1240 by the Bagaude in the reign's time, by Artur in 1331 by the Saracens in 1332, and by the Normans in 1336 and 1337. The Hungarians were bought off in 1224. Hist. p. 4. Autun, par Joseph de Roux, 1892.

See the sums of Dyon and of Beaurne - A low relief at Dyon represents the trinitas each holding a golden globe in a local temple - The inscription on the vase of such high antiquity here has singularly influenced the character of its history by increasing the number of the power causes. This district was the principal scene of the war of the Hagnada - In 1620 there was a revolt of the wine drinkers, which led to the Tienler and solders when they sailed King Mathias

See the article Revisited in Memory. Pison born in 1901 died in 1977, was from Dign. The *Pison* was a celebrated A. variety in 1907. The monks played at ball, *posita*, in the nave of the cathedral, to 150'. The youngest monk finished the ball, and gave it to the dean as soon as the game was over, they danced and feasted. Milton, A. I.

\* When the contract was drawn up the adopted brothers were... by the gathering of flowers and golden hearts.

Phong Aun was a young soldier who, in a diploma dated 1189, Phong Aun and Aun have been given the right of regality and the right to govern the others. The first post Aun was of a high position of the state of Burgundy. The reader will find that the real name of the first Aun, the famous husband of Aun, and the first Aun, the first Aun.

1. The yellow 'A' was worn first by the 'Bund' or sergeant, who wore 2 and then by the boys, the number raised in the first year. (Rosen, p. 200). If the percentage of Autumn (the year of the ceremony) and political administration was to be taken, Vergara's 'School' (2) is a surprise. The school of the Borgia group (p. 200).

[illegible]

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\* The asphyxiated men to have given themselves up wholly to Rome, while the Liberal and popular party sought to



preached the crusade against the Albigenses, as St. Bernard had the second crusade to Jerusalem. Burgundy is the land of orators; of lofty and solemn eloquence. From the upper part of the province, from the district which gives rise to the Seine—from Dijon, and from Montbar—issued the voices which have most resounded through France, those of St. Bernard, of Bossuet, and of Buffon. But the amiable sentimentality characteristic of Burgundy, is observable in other quarters—more graceful in the north, more brilliant in the south. Not far from Semur were born the good Madame de Chantal, and her grand-daughter, Madame de Sévigné; at Maçon, Lamartine, the poet of the religious and lonely-minded; and at Charolles, Edgar Quinet, the poet of history and of humanity.\*

France has no more ductile element than Burgundy, or more capable of harmonizing the north with the south. Its counts or dukes, who sprang from two branches of the Capets, gave, in the twelfth century, kings to the monarchies of Spain; and, at a later period, to Franche-Comté, Flanders, and the whole of the low countries, but, despite English aid, they were unable to descend the valley of the Seine, or settle in the plains of the centre. The great king of Burgundy failed before the poor king of Bourges,† of Orléans, and of Reims; and the commons of France by whom he had at first been supported, gradually rallied against the oppressors of the commons of Flanders.

The destiny of France was not to be consummated in Burgundy. This feudal province was unable to impart to her the monarchical and democratic form to which she tended. The genius of France had to descend into the pale plains of the centre, to abjure pride and inflation, nay, the very form of oratory, in order to bear her last, most exquisite, and most French of fruits. Burgundy seems still to be allied to its wines; the spirit of Beaune and of Maçon mounts to the head like that of Rhenish. Burgundian eloquence trenches on the rhetorical; and the amplitude of its literary style is not ill typified in the exuberant charms of the women of Vermonant and Auxerre. Flesh and blood reign here: inflation, as well, and vulgar sentimentality; in proof, I need only cite Crebillon, Longepierre, and Sedaine. Something more sombre and severe is required to constitute the core of France.

'Tis a sad fall to step from Burgundy into Champagne, and to leave its smiling slopes for low and chalky plains. Not to speak of the

desert of Champagne-Pouillense, (the lousy,) the country is almost universally flat, pale, and of a chillingly prosaic aspect. The cattle are sorry; the plants and minerals present no variety. Dull rivers drag their chalky streams between banks poorly shaded by young or stunted poplars. The houses, young too, and frail at their birth, endeavor to protect their fragile existence, by hooding themselves under as many slates as possible, or, at least, poor wooden slates: but beneath this false slating and its paint, washed off by the rain, the chalk betrays itself, pale, dirty, and misery stricken.

Such houses cannot make fine cities. Châlons looks hardly more lively than the plains around it. Troyes is almost as ugly as it is industrious.\* The striking width of the streets of Reims makes its low houses appear lower still, and creates a gloomy impression—Reims, formerly the city of citizens and of priests, and twin sister of Tours, a sugary city, with a tinge of devotion, manufacturing rosaries and gingerbread, excellent common cloth, an excellent small wine, and the seat both of fairs and of pilgrimages.

These cities, essentially democratic and anti-feudal, have been the principal stay of the monarchy. The Coutume de Troyes, which consecrated the principle of equality of inheritance, early divided and annihilated the power of the nobility. A barony, by the constant subdivision flowing from this principle, might be distributed into fifty or a hundred parts, by the fourth generation; and the impoverished nobles endeavored to recover themselves by marrying their daughters to rich plebeians. The same coutume declares that rank goes by the mother's side, (*que le ventre anoblit*.)† This illusory precaution did not hinder the offspring of unequal marriages from finding themselves considered little more than plebeians; nor did the nobles gain by this addition of ennobled plebeians. At length, they discarded false shame, and betook themselves to commerce.

The misfortune was, that this commerce was neither elevated by its objects nor by the

\* The old walls of Troyes were built with ruins of Roman monuments, cornices, capitals, stones covered with inscriptions, &c., like those of Aries and Narbonne.

"La grand' ville de Bar-sur-Saône  
A fait trembler Troye en Champagne."

Froissart.

† This custom of rank's going with the mother is met with in other parts of France, even under the first race (See Beaumanoir.) Charles V. (by a decree dated November 15th, 1370.) subjected those noble by the mother's side to the law of freehold. On the occasion of the second drawing up of the Coutume de Chaumont, those who were noble by the father's side entered their protest against this—and Louis XII. left the question undecided.—The Coutume de Troyes consecrated equality of division between the children, whence the decay of the nobility. For instance, John, lord of Champierre and viscount of Troyes, left at his death several children, who divided the countship among them. Through successive divisions, Eustache de Couffians came into possession of a third, which he bestowed on a chapter of monks; and another third was divided into four parts, and each part into twelve shares, which went to various families, and to the city's and the royal domains.

\* The author of *Masverus*, born at Bourg, was brought up at Charolles.

Nor should we forget the picturesque and mystic little town of Pisy le Monial, which gave birth to the devotion of Sacre Cœur, and where Madame de Chantal died. A religious spirit certainly breathes over the country of the transitor of the *Symbolik* and of the author of *Solitude*—MM. Guignaut and Dargaud.

† The name given to Charles VII.



it owe any thing to the soil; it is the child of labor and of society.\* And here also grew that *trifling thing*,† profound nevertheless, and at once ironical and dreamy, that discovered and exhausted the domain of fable.

The river of the Low Countries and the river of France—the Meuse and the Seine—together with the Marne, the acolyte of the latter, flow negligently through the flat plains of Champagne, but swelling as they flow, in order to meet the sea with the greater dignity. The land, too, rises gradually into hills, in the island of France, in Normandy, and in Picardy. France becomes more majestic. She will not meet England, face to face, with lowered head; but arrays herself with forests and proud cities, swells her rivers, throws out in broad sweeps her magnificent plains, and confronts her rival with that other England—Flanders and Normandy.‡

Immense is the rivalry of these opposite shores which hate, yet resemble each other. On both sides the characteristics of the people are hardness, greed, and sobriety and travail of mind. Antique Normandy looks askance at her triumphant daughter, who smiles upon her in fulness of insolence from her lofty cliffs. Yet the rolls still exist on which are read the names of those Normans who conquered England. Does not England, too, date the commencement of her rise from the Conquest! To whom does she owe whatever of art she has to boast of! Did the monuments of which she is so proud exist before the Conquest! What are the wondrous cathedrals of England, but an exaggerated imitation of Norman architecture!§ How great was the change operated in the men themselves, and in the Saxon race, by this interfusion of French blood! The warlike and litigious spirit, foreign from

the Anglo-Saxons, which made England, after the Conquest, a nation of warriors and of scribes, is the purely Norman spirit. This acerbity of character is common to both sides of the straits. Caen, the *city of wisdom*, preserves the great monument of the Anglo-Norman system of finance, the accounts of the Conqueror's exchequer. Normandy has nothing to envy others for, and keeps up its good customs. It is common for the head of a family, on his return from his day's labor on his farm, to recreate himself by explaining to his attentive little ones, some article or other of the *code curi*.\*

The native of Lorraine or of Dauphiny cannot keep pace with the Norman in his passion for the law. The Breton character, harder and more negative, is less greedy and grasping. Brittany is resistance; Normandy, conquest; in our day, the conquest over nature, the conquest of agriculture and manufactures. This ambitious and conquering genius generally makes its way by fixity of purpose, though often by daring, and by sudden impulse; an impulse soaring at times to the sublime—as exemplified in the numerous heroic seamen† Normandy has produced, and in the great Corneille. Twice has French literature taken her upward flight from Normandy, while philosophy was aroused from her slumbers by Brittany. The old poem of Rou or Rollo‡ appeared in the twelfth century together with Abelard; and in the seventeenth, Corneille arose simultaneously with Descartes. Yet, why I know not, the Norman genius has been denied idealty, in the largest and most creative sense of the faculty. It soars high, but falls quickly. It falls in the meager precision of Malherbe, in the dryness of Mézerai, and in the ingenious researches of La Bruyère and Fontenelle. The very heroes of the great Corneille, whenever they cease to be sublime, sink into insipid special pleaders, rejoicing in the subtleties of a vain and sterile dialectic.

Assuredly, the genius of our stout and worthy Flanders is neither subtle nor sterile, but positive and real, and resting on a solid foundation—*solidis fundatum ossibus intus*. On its fat and plenteous plains, teeming with manure, with canals, and with a gross and exuberant vegetation, grass, men, and animals wax emulously fat and large, as if they had nothing to do but thrive. The ox and the horse swell out

\* An estate which, laid down in wheat, would give employment to only five or six families laid down in vines, will require five or six hundred hands, men, women, and children. The attention which the manufacture of the wine itself requires is well known. Bourgeois-Jersaint, *Statistique de la Marne*, p. 41.—More Champagne is drunk abroad (in Russia, England, and Germany,) than in France. We give the preference to Burgundy. The reason is, that, after so many troubles and scenes of agitation, we no longer want to sharpen our intellects by stimulating the nerves, but rather to strengthen our bodies.

† La Fontaine says of himself—

"Je suis chose légère, et vole à tout sujet.  
Je vais de fleur en fleur, et d'objet en objet.  
A beaucoup de plaisir, je mêle un peu de gloire.  
J'irais plus haut peut-être au temple de mémoire,  
Si dans un genre seul j'avais usé mes jours;  
Mais quel! je suis volage, en vers comme en amours."

(I am a trifling thing, and fly to whatever takes my fancy, from flower to flower, from object to object. Given mostly to pleasure, I have my dreams of glory, and perhaps should obtain a higher niche in the temple of Fame, had I devoted myself to one walk of poetry alone. But why talk of it! I am as fickle in verse as in love.)

"The poet," says Plato, "is a light and sacred thing."

‡ Dibdin, in his *Bibliographical Tour*, remarks that near Coutances, in particular, both people and landscape are strikingly English.

§ Dr. Milner alone gives the superiority to the English cathedrals, and ascribes the origin of the ogive to English architects. See M. de Caumont, *Cours d'Antiquités Monumentales*, t. II.

\* "Do you see that small field?" one day said to me M. D., ex-president of one of the tribunals of Lower Normandy; "should it pass into the hands of four brothers to-morrow, it would be at once intersected by four hedges; an essential is it here that property should be distinctly defined."—"The Normans are so given to the study of eloquence, says an author of the twelfth century, that one may hear even the little children declaiming like orators . . . "quasi rhetores attendas." Gaufred. Malinerra. l. i. c. 2.

† M. Estancelin's publication, and l'*Histoire des Villes de France*, par M. Vitet, Dieppe, t. II.—It seems that the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope was discovered by the Dieppois before the Portuguese, but that, through envy, to keep the discovery secret, they lost the glory of it.

‡ See the excellent edition by M. Auguste Prevost, of Rouen, one of our most distinguished antiquaries.

to elephantine size. Woman grows apace with man, and is often the better of the two. This large-built race, however, with all its bulk, is sleeked, and strong rather than robust, though of immensely muscular power. The Herculeses of our fairs are often natives of the department of the north.

The prolific power of the Belg of Ireland is common to the Belgians of Flanders and of the Low Countries. Men swarmed, like insects after a storm, in the thick ooze of those rich plains, in those vast and sombre marts of trade, Ypres, Ghent, and Bruges. 'Twas tempting fate to set foot on those ant-hills, whence would spring at a touch—pikes lowered—swarms of men by fifteen, twenty, or thirty thousand at a time, stout, well-fed, well-clothed, and well-armed. The feudal cavalry of the times found fighting with such masses no child's play.

And were these worthy Flemings in the wrong to be so proud? Fat and gross\* as they were, they thoroughly understood their own business. None were better acquainted with commerce, trade, and agriculture. No people were more distinguished by good sense, or comprehended more thoroughly the positive and the real. Perhaps no people of the middle-ages more thoroughly seized the spirit of the time, or knew better both how to act and how to narrate. At this date, Champagne and Flanders were the only countries which could compete with Italy in historians. In Froissart, Fluchart has her Villani, and in Comines her Machiavel—we may add to these her emperor in the ruins of Constantinople. Her authors of *tabulae* are historians as well; at least, in all that concerns public manners.

The sea had little in them to edify; were sensual and gross. And the further we proceed northward in this fat Flanders, and under its kind and moist climate, the softer does the country become; sensuality is more in the ascendant, and nature becomes more powerful! History and narrative no longer satisfy the want of reality, and the requisitions of the sense. The arts of design are called in to aid. Sculpture takes on France from Michel Angelo's famous pupil John of Bologna. Architecture, which starts up at first, no longer soberly and severely Norman, sharpened into ogives, and ascending to the heavens, like a verse of

<sup>1</sup> In the case of the Poles, government, the agreement may be particularly relevant. In the case of Belgium and the Netherlands, the JM agreement is the subject of a recent study by the European Commission on the impact of the agreement on the labour market.

<sup>a</sup> The number of subjects who were included in each group was determined by the number of subjects who completed the study.

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Corneille's, but rich and full and largely ample. The ogive bends into soft curves, and voluptuous roundings. The curve sometimes sinks and narrows, at others swells and arches out. Round and undulating in its every ornament, the charming tower of Antwerp rises taperingly by easy gradations, like a gigantic *corbeille*,\* branded with the rushes of the Scheldt.

Kept in as scrupulous order as the inside of Flemish houses, these Low Country churches dazzle the sight with their joint cleanliness and richness, with the splendor of their ornaments of brass, and their profusion of black and white marbles. They are cleaner than the Italian churches, and no less coquetish. Flanders is a prosaic Lombardy—to which the sun and the grape are wanting. It has another want, which is at once forced on one's notice by the innumerable figures carved in wood, that one meets at every step on the ground-floor of these cathedrals—an economic species of sculpture, which does not compensate for the want of the marble people of the cities of Italy.} Above these churches, from the summit of their towers, sound the uniform and well-arranged chimes, the delight and pride of the Flemish community. The same air, repeated for centuries, from hour to hour, has satisfied the musical wants of generation after generation of artisans, who have been born and who have died on their work-bench &

But music and architecture are still too abstract. Sounds and forms are not sufficient. Colors are required, true and lively colors, living representations of the flesh and senses—pictures of rude and hearty festivals, in which red-faced men and white-faced women drink, smoke, and dance heavily; pictures as well, of cruel tortures, of indecent and horrible-looking martyrs, of enormous, fresh, fat, and scandalously beautiful Virgin Marys. Beyond the Scheldt, in the midst of gloomy marshes, of deep waters, and under the lofty dikes of Holland, begins the sombre and serious style of painting. Rembrandt and Gerard Dow paint, where Verasius and Grotius<sup>o</sup> write. But in

\* *Coronet* is the first containing the bride's jewellery, as well as a list of places and all weddings of common interest in Essex. Translation.

\* We must begin with a prediction for the swim, which according to Vignati was the argument of the Minus and end of the other sources of the chart. Amongst the threshold of the swim of the Minus, that is, Venice, no Louis XIV. could not be the swim, as in the Minus. The swim, as we can see, is the swim.

2. The collection of Mammals is adorned with five thousand colored and black figures, and have been assumed to Mr. F. de Cuvier, the author of the description of this work.

It is not for nothing that the mathematical instinct has led to great things in the history among the Wallons.

Now, as the focus of the picture styled in the catalogue  
of the American Museum of Natural History. It is the expression  
of the feeling of the artist.

It is the only place in the world where you can see the most beautiful view of the world. The view is so beautiful that it is worth the journey. The view is so beautiful that it is worth the journey. The view is so beautiful that it is worth the journey.

Flanders, in wealthy and sensual Antwerp, the rapid pencil of Rubens will create the Bacchanalia of the art. The very mysteries of religion will be travestied\* in his idolatrous paintings, which yet seem quivering with the fire and brute force of genius.† This extraordinary man, though born at Cologne, had none of the idealism of Germany. Slavonic blood ran in his veins, and reared in all the passionate temperament of the Belgians, he deified nature in his pictures, like a barbarian.

This frontier country of European races and tongues‡ is the great scene of the conquests, both of life and of death. Men here start up quickly, multiply unto the stifling of one another,§ and are then disposed of in battle. Here is the great and lasting battle of races and of nations. That battle of the world which is said to have taken place on the death of Attila, is ever renewed in Belgium between France, England, and Germany, between the Celts and the Germans. This is the corner of Europe, the rendezvous of wars.|| And hence the fatness of these plains; blood has no time to dry up there. Dreadful and varied struggle! Ours are the battles of Bouvines, Rosebek, Lens, Steinkerke, Denain, Fontenoi, Fleurus, and Jemappes—

min Ege; and Spinoza, to institute the apotheosis of nature. However, the philosophy peculiar to Holland is that practical philosophy which applies itself to the political relations of nations, as exemplified in Grotius.—On comparing Germany with the Low Countries, we shall find Austria to be to Belgium what Prussia is to Holland; only, the latter is less energetic, its energies seeming to be sunk in its habitual calm and lethargic character. The pavers in Holland may be seen taking tea in the streets, three or four times a day. Among this class, says a traveller, you will neither meet with a thief to rob you, nor a guide to direct you the way.

\* In a picture by his pupil, Vandyke, is an ass on its knees before the host. See Forster's Travels in Germany and Flanders.

† His family was from Styria. The most impetuous of the European family lie at either extreme; on the east, the Slaves of Poland, Illyria, Styria, &c.; on the west, the Celts of Ireland, Scotland, &c.

‡ Dutch Flanders consists of places ceded by the treaty of 1648, and by the Barrier Treaty, (1715): a name full of significance.—The March, or Marquisate of Antwerp, created by Otto II., was bestowed by Henri IV. on the bravest Jean of the empire, on Godfrey of Bouillon.—A fosse was dug, in 980, at Sas de Gand, by orders of Otto, to mark the boundary between the empire and France.—At Louvain, says a traveller, the language is German, the manners Dutch, and the cookery French.—Together with the idiom of Germany begin the astronomical names of places, as *Mont Ost ende*. In France, as is the case in all Celtic nations, the names are borrowed from the earth, as *Lille, l'île*, (the island.)

§ Previously to the emigration of the weavers into England, about 1362, Louvain contained fifty thousand weavers. Forster, vol. i. p. 364.—At Ypres, the burgh of course included there were two hundred thousand in 1432.—In 1540, "the inhabitants of Ghent sallied forth with three armies," (Duchquier's *Chronique de Flandre*, folio 301.—This most country is, in many parts, as unhealthy as it is fertile. To signify a man of pitted complexion, they say "he is like an Ypres corpse."—Belgium, however, has suffered less from the natural inconveniences, than from the political revolutions of its soil. Brussels was ruined by the revolt of 1582; Ghent, by that of 1540; Antwerp, by the treaty of 1648, which raised Amsterdam to the height of prosperity by closing the navigation of the Scheldt.

|| The great battle of modern times was fought just at the boundary line between the two languages—at Waterloo. A short distance on this side of it is *Mont Saint Jean*. The mound reared in the centre of the plain looks like a barbarian tumulus, thrown up by Celts or Germans.

theirs, the battles of the Spurs and of Courtray. Must I name Waterloo!

England! England! you fought not on that day single-handed with France: you had the world with you. Why arrogate to yourself all the glory! What means your Waterloo-bridge! Is there then so much to glorify yourself withal, if the mutilated remnant of a hundred battles, if the last levy of France, a beardless legion, who had scarcely left school and their mother's tender kiss, were dashed to pieces against your mercenary army, spared in every battle, and kept to be used against us like the *dagger of mercy* with which the soldier, when at the last gasp, assassinated his victor!

Yet will I conceal nothing. Hateful as England is, she appears grand indeed, as she faces Europe, as she faces Dunkirk\* and Antwerp in ruins.† All other countries—Russia, Austria, Italy, Spain, and France—have their capitals on the west, opposite the setting sun; the great European vessel seems to float with her sails bellied by the wind, which erst blew from Asia. England, alone, has hers pointed to the east, as if in defiance of that world—*unum omnia contra*. This last country of the old continent is the heroic land; the constant refuge of the exiled and the energetic. All who have ever fled servitude, Druids pursued by Rome, Gallo-Romans chased by the barbarians, Saxons proscribed by Charlemagne, banished Danes, grasping Normans, the persecuted Flemish manufacturers, the vanquished Calvinists—all have crossed the sea, and made the great island their country: *arva, beata petamus arva, divites et insules*. . . . Thus England has thriven on misfortunes, and grown great out of ruins. But as these exiles, crowded into this narrow asylum, began to scrutinize each other, as they observed the differences of race and belief which separated them, as they perceived themselves to be Cymry, Gael, Saxons, Danes, or Normans, their hate arose, and they flew to arms. Like the fights in the amphitheatre on "a Roman holyday," between wild beasts of all kinds, astonished to find themselves together, hippopotami, lions, tigers, and crocodiles—this amphibious race, after having long worried and torn each other in their ocean circus, cast themselves into the sea, and began to worry France. But the strife between themselves, to a certainty, is not yet at an end. Vainly does the triumphant beast defy the world from his sea-girt throne. A furious

\* Faulconier, *Histoire de Dunquerque*, 1728, fol. c. 1. Vain were the petitions of the inhabitants of Dunkirk to Queen Anne, and their attempts to prove that the Dutch would be greater gainers than the English by the demolition of Dunkirk. No part of history is more painful or humiliating reading to a Frenchman than this. Cherbourg had not then been created; and from Ostend to Brest there did not remain one fortified harbor.

† "There," said Bonaparte, "I have a loaded pistol, pointed at England's heart."—He said at St. Helena—The fortress of Antwerp is one of the great causes of my being here; its cession, one of the motives which determined us not to sign the peace of Châtillon.

gnashing of teeth mocks his derisive smile—whether that the shrill and creaking wheel of Manchester refuse to turn, or that the Irish bull, which he has pinned to the ground, lift up its head with sullen bellow.

The war of wars, the battle of battles, is that between England and France; all others are episeical. The names dear to France are those of the men who have greatly dared against England. France has only one saint, the Pucelle, (Joan of Arc;) the great Gunse, who wrung Calais from their grasp, and the founders of Brest, of Dunkirk, and of Antwerp,\* theirs are the names—whatever else they may have done—which are dear and sacred to France. For my own part, I feel under personal obligations to these glorious champions of France and of the world, and to those whom they armed, to the Duguay-Trouins, the Jean-Barts, the Surcoufs—to those who disturbed the rest of the men of Plymouth, who made these islanders sadly shake the head, who forced them out of their taciturnity, who compelled them to elongate their monosyllables.

And thank you undeserving of the praise and thanks of France, the brave Irish priests, the Jesuits, who on our every shore, and in the monasteries of St. Columbanus,—at St. Waast, St. Bertin, St. Omer, St. Amand, and at Douai, Dunkirk, and Antwerp† organized the Irish missions—popular orators, ardent conspirators, lions and foxes, who would plot, fight, lie, or die for their country, as the crisis required!

The struggle with England has done France immense service. It has confirmed and stamped her nationality. By dint of banding against the common enemy, the provinces have become one people. The near view of the Englishman has made them feel themselves to be Frenchmen. It is with nations as with individuals; they know and distinguish their identity by the opposition of some extrinsic body. The *Être* is marked out by the *Not Être*. France has thus been formed under the influence of her great wars with England, at once by opposition and by composition; the opposition distinctly perceptible in the western and northern provinces through which we have just passed, while the composition is the work of the central provinces, of which we have still to speak.

#### THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Behind the centre of France, the nucleus round which the rest is constructed, we must take the central point geographically considered, that would be about Bourges and the Bourbons, the cradle of the dynasty. We must neither fix on the main watershed, which would be to choose the pathway of Dijon or of Langres, between the sources of the Seine and the Rhone, nor the Moselle, nor even the point where the

different races separate, which would be on the Loire, between Brittany, Auvergne, and Touraine. No; the centre is marked by political rather than natural, by human rather than material causes. It is an eccentric centre, derived from and supported by the North, the principal theatre of national activity, and bordering on England, Flanders, and Germany. Protected, not isolated by the rivers which surround it, it is rightly characterized by its name of the *Isle of France*.

Looking at the great rivers of our country, and the grand territorial lines in which they are set, one would say that France runs with them to the ocean. On the north, the fall of the land is gentle, the rivers tame. There has been no physical hinderance to the free action of the policy which sought to group the provinces around the centre to which they tended. In every respect the Seine is the first, the most docile, and perfectible of our rivers. It has neither the capricious and treacherous gentleness of the Loire, nor the abruptness of the Garonne, nor the terrible impetuosity of the Rhone, which descends from the Alps like a wild bull, traverses a lake eighteen leagues in length, and hurries, eating into its banks, to the sea. The Seine hardly rises before it bears the impress of civilization. On reaching Troyes, it suffers itself to be cut and divided at will,—seeking out manufactories, and lending them its waters. Even when Champagne has rendered it the tribute of the Marne, and Picardy of the Oise, it needs no strong dikes, but quietly allows itself to be restrained by our quays; and after supplying the manufactories of Troyes, and before supplying those of Rouen, it quenches the thirst of Paris. From Paris to Havre is but one town. To know the beauty of this beautiful stream, it should be seen between Pont de l'Arche and Rouen, wandering among its innumerable islands, all encircled by the setting sun with waves of gold, while the apple-trees that border either bank view therein their streaked fruit of red and yellow, topped by whitish masses, (*sous des masses blanchâtres*.) This is a sight to which I can only compare the view of the Lake of Geneva, which, it is true, presents in addition the vineyards of Vaud, Meillerie, and the Alps. But the lake moves not on, it is immobility, or, at least, agitation without visible progress. The Seine moves onward, and bears with it the mind of France, of Paris—towards Normandy, the ocean, England, and far-distant America.

The first gentle round Paris consists of Rouen, Amiens, Chalons, and Reims, which are carried off in its vortex. To this is attached an external belt—Nantes, Bordeaux, Clermont, and Toulouse—Lyons, Besançon, Metz, and Strasbourg. Paris has another belt in Lyons, in order to reach, by the Rhone, to the eccentric Marseilles. The whirlwind of national life is densest at the north, in the south, the circles which it describes grow fainter and wider.

\* *Revue*, vol. xiv. p. 30, 31, 32.

† *Revue*, vol. xiv. p. 30, 31, 32. See also the picture in the *Revue*, vol. xiv. at Antwerp, where it was commanded.

The true centre was early defined, and was specified from the time of St. Louis in the two works which laid the foundation of our jurisprudence—the *ETABLISSEMENTS DE FRANCE ET D'ORLÉANS*, and the *COUTUMES DE FRANCE ET DE VERMANDOIS*.<sup>\*</sup> It is between the Orléanois and the Vermandois, between the angle of the Loire and the sources of the Oise, between Orléans and St. Quentin, that France at length found her centre, her seat, and place of rest, which she had vainly sought for in the druidical countries of Chartres and of Autun, in the chief towns of the Gallic clans, Bourges and Clermont, (*Avaricum, Urbs Arvernorum*.) and in the capitals of the Merovingian and Carolingian church, Tours and Reims.†

The Capetian France of the *king of St. Deny*† lies between feudal Normandy and democratic Champagne, and extends from St. Quentin to Orléans and Tours. The king is abbot of St. Martin's in the latter city, and first canon of St. Quentin's. From the situation of Orléans near the junction of her two great rivers, this city has often shared the fate of France. The names of Cæsar, of Attila, of Joan of Arc, and of the Guises, tell of the wars and sieges that Orléans has witnessed. The serious Orléans§ is close to Touraine, close to the soft and laughing country of Rabelais, just as the choleric Picardy is close to the ironical Champagne. Picardy seems to embrace the whole of the ancient history of France. Fredegonda and Charles the Bald held their courts either at Soissons,|| Crépy, Verberly, or Attigny. When the throne succumbed to feudalism, the monarchs sought refuge on the mountain of Laon.¶ Alternately asylums or prisons, Laon, Peronne, and St. Médard's abbey at Soissons, received within their walls Louis the Débon-

naire, Louis d'Outremer, and Louis XI. The royal tower of Laon was destroyed in 1832:‡ that of Peronne still remains—still does the monstrous feudal tower of the Coucy's rear its proud head—

*Je ne suis roi, ne duc, prince, ne comte aussi,  
Je suis le sire de Coucy.*§

But the noblesse of Picardy early comprehended the great truth of French nationality. The heroic house of Guise,—the Picard branch of the princes of Lorraine,—defended Metz against the Germans, took Calais from the English, and had all but taken France from its king. The reign of Louis XIV. was described and judged by the Picard, St. Simon.¶

Strongly feudal, strongly communal and democratic, was this ardent Picardy. The first communes of France are the great ecclesiastical cities of Noyon, St. Quentin, Amiens, and of Laon. The same country produced Calvin, and the league against Calvin. A hermit of Amiens|| hurried off all Europe, princes and people, to Jerusalem, in a religious transport. A legist of Noyon¶ changed the religion which had given birth to this transport in one-half of the countries of the West, founding a Rome of his own in Geneva, and making republicanism a matter of faith. Republicanism was pushed onwards in its frenzied course by Picard hands, from Condorcet to Camille Desmoulins, and from Desmoulins to Gracchus Babeuf,\*\* and was sung by Béranger, in whose happy verse "*Je suis vilain, et très vilain*," (I am low-born, low-born very,) speak the feelings of our new France; in the first rank of which *vilains* we may well place

\* See two articles by Victor Hugo, and by M. de Montalembert, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

† The tower of Coucy is a hundred and seventy-two feet high, and three hundred and five in circumference. Parts of the walls are thirty-two feet thick. Mazarin blew up the outward wall, in 1652, and, on the 18th of September, 1693, an earthquake split the tower from top to bottom.—As a recent romance makes one of the old Coucy's nine feet high Enguerrand VII., who fought at Nicopolis, had his portrait, and that of his first wife, of colossal size, placed in the monastery of the Celestins at Soissons.—Among the famous Coucy's, we may name Thomas de Harle, author of the law of Vervins, (a law favorable to vassals,) who died in 1138; Raoul I., the trouvère, and the lover, true or pretended, of Gabrielle de Vergy, who died in the crusade, in 1191; Enguerrand VII., who refused the sword of constable as he got it given to Clisson; he died in 1397.—It has been mistakenly asserted that Enguerrand III., in 1229, sought to make himself master of the throne during the minority of St. Louis. *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, xii. 319, seq.

§ Nor king, nor duke, nor prince, nor count am I,  
I am the lord of Coucy.

¶ This family, of recent date, which pretends to trace back to Charlemagne, should deem it sufficient honor to have produced one of the greatest writers of the seventeenth century, and the boldest thinker of our own age.

¶ The author alludes to the *Dur de St. Simon*, to the recent publication of whose *Mémoires* we owe our knowledge of the true character of Louis XIV., and of his times, and to the founder of the St. Simonians, or French socialists.

—TRANSLATOR.

¶ Peter the Hermit.

¶ Calvin was born in 1509, died in 1564.

\*\* Condorcet, born at Ribemont in 1743, died in 1794.—Camille Desmoulins, born at Guise, in 1762, died in 1794. Babeuf, born at St. Quentin, died in 1797.—Béranger was born at Paris, but is of a Picard family. See *La Biographie de l'Alsace, par de Vismes*.

\* To Orleans we owe the knowledge and teaching of the Roman law—in Picardy, the foundation of the feudal and common law. Two Picard, Beaumanoir and Desfontaines, laid the beginnings of our jurisprudence.

† Bourges, likewise, was a great ecclesiastical centre. The archbishop of Bourges was patriarch, primate of the Aquitaine, and metropolitan. As patriarch, his jurisdiction extended over the archbishops of Narbonne and Toulouse, as primate over those of Bordeaux and of Auch, (the metropolitan city of the second and third Aquitaine,) and, as metropolitan, he had anciently eleven suffragans—the bishops of Clermont, St. Flour, Le Puy, Tulle, Limoges, Meaux, Rodez, Vabres, Cahors, Cahors. But the erection of the bishopric of Alby into an archbishopric, only left the five first of these sees under his jurisdiction.

‡ So he is often termed in the chivalrous poems of the middle ages.

§ The gallery peculiar to the natives was bitter and rude, and won for them the nickname of *gros nez*, (the waspish.) There was also a saying—"The glass of Orleans is worse than the test"—Sologne bears a similar character—"A Sologne many more knave than fool."

¶ P. Jon was chosen king here, in 750, and Louis d'Outremer died here.

¶ This mountain rises fifty toises above the plain where it stands, ninety above the level of the Seine at Paris, and a hundred above the sea level.—Penchet et Chabrière, *Statistique de l'Aisne*—Three leagues from Laon is Notre-Dame de Liesse, founded in 1141. Three knights of the Laonois, made prisoners by the Saxon, refused to abjure their religion, and when the Saxon sends his daughter to seduce them, they convert her, showing her a miraculous image of the Virgin. Flying with them, she carries off the image, which, on reaching the burgh of our Lady of Liesse, becomes too heavy to be carried further.

It had to be made, it is his nature." This is one



selves; in it, they love and admire themselves under a superior form, hardly knowing themselves—

"Miranturque novas frondes, et non sua poma."

This beautiful centralization, through which France is France, is at the first view saddening. Its life is either at the centre or the extremities—all between is weak and pale. Between the rich Banlieue of Paris and the rich Flanders, you cross Picardy, old and sad: 'tis the fate of centralized provinces, which are yet not the centre. The powerful attraction of the latter would seem to weaken and attenuate them. They look up to it only, are great through it only. Yet greater are they when thus preoccupied by their interest in the centre, than the eccentric provinces can possibly be by their originality. Centralized Picardy has given us Condorcet, Foy, Béranger, and many others in modern times: what names have wealthy Flanders or rich Alsace produced in our day to compare with these! In France, man's chiefest boast is that he is born a Frenchman. The extremities are opulent, strong, heroic, but their interests are often different from those of the nation: they are less French than the rest. The Convention had to conquer provincial federalism, before it conquered Europe. Carlism is rife at Lille, and at Marseilles. Bordeaux is French, certainly, but equally colonial, American, or English. She must ship sugars, and sell her wines.

Nevertheless, 'tis one of the elements of the greatness of France, that on her every frontier she has provinces which blend something of foreign genius with their national character. To Germany, she opposes a German France; to Spain, a Spanish France; to Italy, an Italian France. Between these provinces and the adjoining countries, there is a certain degree of analogy, and yet an intense opposition. Different shades of the same color do not harmonize so well together as opposite colors, and all great hatreds are between relatives. Thus, Iberian-Gascony loves not Iberian-Spain.—These analogous yet differing provinces, with which France confronts the foreigner, oppose either a resisting or a neutralizing power to his attacks; and are so many various powers by which France touches the world and has a hold upon it. Sweep on then, my brave, my beautiful France, sweep with the long waves of thy undulating territory on to the Rhine, the Mediterranean, and the ocean. Heave against hard England, hard Brittany, and tenacious Normandy; to grave and solemn Spain, oppose scoffing Gascony; to Italy the fire of Provence; to the massive German empire, the deep and solid battalions of Alsace and of Lorraine; to Belgian inflation and rage, the cool, strong

wrath of Picardy—the sobriety, reflection, orderly spirit, and aptitude for civilization of the Ardennes and of Champagne.

On passing the frontier, and comparing France with the conterminous countries, the first impression is unfavorable. On almost every side, the advantage seems to rest with the stranger. From Mons to Valenciennes, and from Dover to Calais, the difference is painful. Normandy is an England, a pale England. What are the trade and commerce of Rouen and Havre, in comparison with those of Manchester and Liverpool? Alsace is a Germany, without that which constitutes the glory of Germany—philosophic omniscience and depth, with true poetic simplicity.\* But we must not take France on this fashion, piece by piece, but embrace her in her entirety. It is precisely because centralization is powerful, and general life strong and energetic, that local life is weak; and this it is which constitutes the beauty of our country. France has not the calculating head of England, ever perfecting new schemes of trade and money-making; but then she has neither the desert of the Scottish Highlands, nor that cancer, Ireland. She has not, like Germany and Italy, twenty central points of science and of art. She has but one; and but one centre of social life. England is an empire; Germany, a country—a race; France is a person.

Personality and unity form the steps by which the human being mounts high in the scale of being. I cannot explain my meaning better than by quoting the language of an ingenious physiologist.

In animals of an inferior order, as fish, insects, mollusca, and others, local life is strong. "Each segment of a leech contains a complete system of organs, a nervous centre, vascular recesses and enlargements, a pair of gastric lobes, respiratory organs, and seed vessels; and it has been noticed that one of these segments can live for some time when cut off from the others. In proportion as beings rise in the scale of animal existence, the segments become more intimately united, and the collective whole more clearly individualized. Individuality in composite animals consists not only in the juncture of all the sets of organs, but in the common enjoyment of a number of parts,—a number that is found to increase the higher the animal rises in the scale, and the centralization to be more perfect as it ascends."† Nations may be classified in a similar manner. The common enjoyment of a large number of parts, the continuity of these parts, and the recipro-

\* I do not mean to say that Alsace is without all this, but only that it has it in an inferior degree to Germany. It has produced, and still possesses, many distinguished physiologists. Nevertheless, Alsacian genius is rather practical and political than speculative. The second house of Pfalz, and that of Austrian Lorraine, drew their origin from Alsace.

† Memoir read at the Académie des Sciences, by M. Dugès. (See the *Troops of the 31st of October, 1891.*)

out of many, of those bold figures of speech, which I have not altered—however forced, strange, or strong, since they constitute a marked feature of my author's style.—TRANSLATOR.

cal functions which they discharge to each other, constitute in their perfectness social superiority. Hence the social supremacy of France—the country of all others in which nationality, or national personality, is most closely united with individual personality.

To lessen, without destroying, local and private life to the advantage of common and federal life, is the great problem of human sociability, and mankind daily draw nearer to its solution. The foundation of monarchies and of empires forms the steps by which it is to be reached. The Roman empire was a first step, Christianity a second. Charlemagne and the Crusades, Louis XIV., and the Revolution, and the French Empire which rose out of the latter, are so many advances in the road. The nation whose centralization is the most perfect, is likewise that which, by its example, and by the energy of its action, has done most to forward the centralization of the world.

Thus condensation of France into oneness, and annihilation of provincial feeling, is frequently considered to be the simple result of the conquest of the provinces. Now, conquest may fasten and chain hostile parts together, but never unite them. Conquest and war have only led open provinces to each other, and brought isolated people in contact, the rest has been accomplished by the quick and lively sympathy and social instinct of the Gallic character. Strange! these provinces, differing in climate, habits, and tongue, have comprehended and loved one another, until they feel themselves one. The Gascon has been disturbed about Flanders, the Burgundian has rejoiced or suffered from what has taken place in the Pyrenees, the Briton, seated on the shores of ocean, has felt the blows struck on the Rhine.

In this manner has been formed the general, the universal spirit of the country, the local has disappeared daily, the influence of soil, climate, and race, has given way before social and political action. Local fatalities have been overcome, and man has escaped from the tyranny of material circumstances. The Frenchman of the North has enjoyed the South, and gathered life from her sun. The southern has gained something of the tenacity,

seriousness, and reflectiveness of the north. Society and liberty have subdued nature, and history has effaced geography. In this marvellous transformation spirit has triumphed over matter, the general over the particular, and the ideal over the real. Individual man is a materialist, and spontaneously attaches himself to local and private interests. Human society is a spiritualist; it tends unceasingly to free itself from the miseries of local existence, in order to attain the lofty and abstract unity of a country.

The deeper we plunge into past times, the further we are removed from this pure and noble generalization—the growth of modern feelings. Barbarian epochs present only the local, special, and material. Man holds by the soil; he is bound to it, and seems a part of it. History, in these epochs, has to consider the land, and the race that inhabits it; and each race is powerfully influenced by its own land. By degrees, the innate strength of man will disengage and uproot him from this narrow spot. He will leave it, reject it, trample it under foot, and require, instead of his natal village, town, or province, a great country by which he may himself become a sharer in the destinies of the world. The idea of such a country—an abstract idea but little dependent on the senses—will conduct him, by a new effort, to the idea of a universal country, of the city of Providence.

In the tenth century, the period to which the present history has now come down, we are very far from this light of modern times. Humanity must suffer and be patient, and deserve to reach . . . . . alas! what a long and painful initiation she has yet to undergo! What rude trials to sustain! How sharp will be the pangs of her own travail in bringing forth herself! She must sweat blood as well as sweat to bring into the world the middle-age, and must see it die after she has so long reared, nursed, and caressed it—a child of sorrow, torn out of the very entrails of Christianity, born in tears, reared in prayer and in visions, and in anguish of heart, and that died without having brought any thing to a conclusion—but beseeching to us so touching a memory of itself, that all the joys and the greatness of modern times will fail to console us.

## BOOK THE FOURTH.

## CHAPTER I.

THE YEAR 1000. THE KING OF FRANCE AND THE  
FRENCH POPE; ROBERT AND GERBERT.—FEU-  
DAL FRANCE.

THIS vast revelation of France which we have just traced in *space*, and are about to track in *time*, begins with the tenth century, with the accession of the Capets. From this period each province has its history: each acquires a voice, and becomes its own chronicler. At first, this immense concert of simple and barbarous voices—like the chanting on a Christmas eve, in the sombre light of a huge cathedral—sounds harsh and grating on the ear. Strange accents, singular and fearful, and hardly human voices, mingle in the deep acclaim—so as to render it doubtful whether you hear the hymn of thanksgiving for our Saviour's birth, or the dissonant strains of the Festival of Fools, or that of the Ass;\* making a wild, fantastic harmony, unlike aught else, and in which every hymn seems to mingle, from the solemn strains of the *Dies iræ* to the thrilling burst of the *Alleluia*.

It was the universal belief of the middle age, that the thousandth year from the Nativity would be the end of the world.† In like manner, before Christianity, the Etrusci had fixed ten

centuries as the term of their empire; and the prediction had been fulfilled. Christianity, a wayfarer on this earth, a guest, exiled from heaven, readily adopted a similar belief. The world of the middle age was without the external regularity of the ancient city, and the firm and compact order within was not easily discernible. It only saw chaos in itself; but longed for order, and hoped to find it in death. Besides, in those days of miracles and legions, in which every thing assumed a strange hue, as if seen through the sombre medium of a stained casement, it might well be doubted whether all that met the eye in this apparently tangible world were other than a dream. Every day life was made up of marvels. The army of Otho had seen the sun fading; and as yellow as saffron.\* King Robert, excommunicated for having married within the forbidden degrees, had received, when his queen lay in, a monster in his arms. The devil no longer took the trouble to conceal himself; for at Rome he had appeared openly to a pope who practised the black art. What with all these apparitions, visions, and strange voices, what with God's miracles and the devil's witchcrafts, who could deny the likelihood of the earth's resolving itself some morning into smoke, at the sound of the fatal trumpet! Then, might it well have happened that what we call life would have been found to be death; and that the world, in coming to a close, might, like the saint of the legend, *begin to live and cease to die*, ("et tunc vivere inceptit, morique deaut.")

The idea of the end of the world, and as that world was, was at once the hope and the terror of the middle age. Look at those antique statues of the tenth and eleventh centuries—mute, meager, and their pinched and stiffened lineaments grinning with a look of living suffering, allied to the repulsiveness of death. See how they implore, with clasped hands, that dreaded yet dreaded moment, that second death of the resurrection, which is to redeem them from their unspeakable sorrows, and raise them from nothingness into existence, and from the grave to God. Here is imaged the poor world itself and its hopelessness, after having witnessed so many ruins. The Roman empire had crumbled away; so had that of Charlemagne. Christianity had then believed itself intended to do away with sorrow here below; but suffering still went on. Misfortune succeeded misfortune, ruin, ruin. Some other advent was needed; and men expected that it would arrive. The

\* ("In each of the cathedral churches there was a bishop or an archbishop of fools elected; and in the churches immediately dependent on the papal see, a pope of fools. . . . During the divine service this motley crowd were not contented with singing of indecent songs in the choir; but some of them ate and drank and played at dice upon the altar, by the side of the priest who celebrated mass. . . . These spectacles were always exhibited at Christmas-time, or near it. . . . When the ceremony took place on St. Stephen's day, they sang, as part of the mass, a burlesque composition, called the *Prose of the Ass*, or the *Fool's Prose*. It was performed by a double choir, and at intervals, in place of a burden, they imitated the braying of an ass." Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, &c., p. 345-6. See also, the note, p. 175.)—TRANSLATOR.

† "Even now the day of His coming, in the terror of His majesty, is at hand, when all shepherds with their flocks will come into the presence of the ever living Shepherd," &c., Concil. Tresley, ann. 909, (Mansi, xvin. p. 296.)—"Already he (Bernard, the hermit of Thuringia) said the last day was nigh, and that the world would speedily be consumed," *Tritheim Chronic*, ann. 930.—"I heard a discourse delivered to the people in the church of Paris, on the end of the world, in which the preacher stated that Antichrist would come as soon as the thousand years were completed, and that the day of judgment would shortly follow." *Abbas Floriacensis*, ann. 930. (Gallandus, xiv. 141.)—"In the year of our Lord 1000, such a rumor prevailed throughout many parts of the world, that the hearts of many were filled with fear and sorrow, and many thought the end of the world was nigh," *Will. Godell. Chronic*, ap. *Scr. R. Fr.* x. 262.—"For it was reckoned that the seasons and elements would relapse into chaos, to the destruction of the world." *Rad. Glaber*, l. iv. *ibid.* 49.

\* *Rad. Glaber*, l. iv. c. 9.



In this general despair, few enjoyed any peace save under the shadow of the Church. Men crowded to lay on the altar gifts of lands, of houses, and of serfs; all which acts have the imprint of the one universal belief:—"The end of the world draws nigh," so they ran, "each day brings fresh destruction; therefore I, count or baron, give to such or such church for the benefit of my soul" . . . or else, "Reflecting that slavery is contrary to Christian liberty, I declare such or such a one, my born thrall, him, his children, and his heirs, free."

Even this did not set their minds at rest. They longed to forsake the sword, the baldric, and all the insignia of the military service of the age, in order to screen themselves among monks, and under monkly garb, seeking but a corner of a convent in which to bury themselves. The difficulty was to hinder the great of the earth, kings and dukes, from becoming monks, or at least lay brothers. William I., duke of Normandy, would have forsaken all and retired into the monastery of Jumièges, had the abbot permitted him; still, he managed to carry away a cowl and a frock, which he secured in a small coffer, the key of which he always wore at his girdle.\* Hugh I., duke of Burgundy, and, before him, the emperor Henry II., had desired to turn monks. Hugh was prevented from carrying his wish into effect by the pope. Henry, on entering the church of the abbey of St. Vanne, at Verdun, had exclaimed with the Psalmist—"This is my rest for ever, here will I dwell, for I have desired it!" Being overheard by a monk, who put the abbot on his guard, the latter invited him to attend a chapter of the house, and then inquired into his intentions. "By the grace of God," replied the emperor with tears, "I seek to renounce the garments of this world, to assume yours, and to live, serving God, with your brethren."—"Will you then," said the abbot, "in compliance with our rule, and the example of Jesus Christ, promise obedience until death?"—"I will," was the answer.—"Well, I accept you as monk; from this day forward I take on myself the care of your soul, and what I order, that do you with the fear of God before you. I bid you return to the government of the empire, which God has confided to your charge, and to watch with all your soul, in fear and trembling, over the safety of the whole kingdom."† The emperor, bound thereto by his vow, sorrowfully obeyed. However, he had long previously been a monk, having lived with his wife as brother with sister; and he is hon-

ored by the Church, with the name of St. Henry.

Another saint, though not canonized by her, is our own king Robert. "Robert," says the author of the Chronicle of St. Bertin, "was very pious, wise, and well read, not unskilled in philosophy, and an excellent musician. He set to music the hymn *Adsit nobis gratia*, and the responses, *Judæa et Hierusalem, Concede nobis quesumus*, and *Cornelius Centurio*, which he laid, arranged and scored, on St. Peter's altar at Rome, as well as the anthem, *Eripe*, and many other fine things. His wife, who was named Constance, asked him one day to do something in her honor; when he composed the response, *O constantia martyrum*, which the queen, on account of the word *constantia*, thought he had written on purpose for her. The king used to go to the church of St. Denys in his royal robes and crowned with his crown, to superintend the choir at matins, vespers, and at mass, to sing with the monks, and to challenge them to trial of skill in singing. Thus, as he was besieging a certain castle on St. Hippolyte's day, for which saint he had a peculiar veneration, he left the siege and repaired to the Church of St. Denys to lead the choir during mass; and, while he was piously singing with the monks the *Agnus Dei, dona nobis pacem*, the walls of the castle suddenly fell down, and the king's army took possession of it; and this, Robert always attributed to the merits of St. Hippolyte."

"One day on his return from prayers, in performing which he, as was his wont, had shed showers of tears, he found his lance adorned by his vain spouse with silver ornaments. While examining them, he bethought himself of looking out to try to see some poor person who might want this silver; and, seeing a poor man in rags, he asked him privily for something to take off the silver with. The poor man did not know what he meant to do with it; but this servant of God told him to make haste to fetch him some tool or other that would serve: meanwhile, he betook himself to prayer. The other returning with a tool, they shut themselves up together, and strip the lance of its ornaments, which the king put with his own holy hands into the poor man's wallet, advising him, as he was used, to take care that his wife did not see him. When the queen came she was much surprised at seeing his lance so stripped; and Robert swore by the Lord's name—though not in earnest—that he knew not how it was done."‡

"He had a great horror of lying. Thus to screen those who tendered him their oaths, and himself as well, he had a crystal shrine made, let into a golden one, in which he took care there should be no relic; and he made his nobles, who were not aware of his pious deceit,

It was decreed that from Wednesday evening to the morning of the following Monday, none should dare to lay violent hands on any thing, or to seek to gratify any private revenge, or even to require surety of another. The punishment for breaking this law was death, or banishment from one's country and from Christian society. Thus all the world agreed to give this law the name of *treugus de Dieu*." Rad. Glaber, l. v. c. 1.

\* Will. Gemet. l. iii. c. 3.

† Vita S. Richardi, ap. Scr. R. Fr. x. 373.

\* Chronic. St. Bertin, ap. Scr. R. Fr. x. 222.

† Heigaldi, Vita Roberti, c. 3. § 4. 122.



upon it. In like manner, he caused the sword to swear on a shrine in which he placed an egg. Oh! how exactly do the words of the prophet apply to this holy man—who shall dwell in thy tabernacle, or shall rest upon thy holy hill? Even he, leadeth an uncorrupt life, and doeth the which is right, and speaketh the truth from art. He that hath used no deceit in his life, nor done evil to his neighbor, and hath injured his neighbor."<sup>6</sup>

Robert extended his forgiveness to all sin-

"As he was supping at Etampes, in a which Constance had just built for him, he ordered the gate to be opened to all the poor, of them stationed himself at the king's who fed him under the table. But he not forgetting to take care of himself, cut off a knife a golden ornament six ounces t which hung from his knees, and made quickly as possible. On rising from the queen perceived her lord to be despoiled, riving way to her passion, assailed the holy with violent words. "What enemy of God, od lord, has dishonored your gold-adorned?" "No one," he replied, "has dishonored undoubtedly, he who took it wanted it more for, and with God to aid, it will be of service to him." Another thief cutting off the fringe of his cloak, Robert turned and said to him, "Get thee away, get thee be content with what thou hast taken, one else will want the rest." The thief, covered with confusion. He showed me indulgence to those who laid their on sacred things. One day while at in his chapel, he saw a clerk, named, stealthily ascend the altar, take down a and carry off the candlestick under his re. The priests, who should have him, the thief, are in trouble, and begin to on the king, who assures them that he saw g of it. This story coming to the queen's nursing with rage, she swears by her fas- sed that she will have their eyes torn out

keepers' heads, if they do not recover has been stolen from the treasury of the nd the just. As soon as this sanctuary ty knew this, he sent for the thief, and him, "Friend Ogger, haste thee hence, my inconsistent Constance eat thee up, thou hast taken will be enough to carry on thy own country. The Lord be with

He even gave him money to defray his ses, and when he thought the thief out of ach of pursuit, he said cheerfully to those him, "Why all this trouble in looking after d stock? The Lord has given it to some of his poor." Finally, another time, hav- sen in the night to go to church, he saw vers lying in a corner. He immediately

undid from his neck a costly fur, and threw it over these sinners. Then, he went to pray for them."<sup>6</sup>

Such was the gentleness and innocence of the first Capetian king. I say the first king, since his father, Hugh Capet,† intrusting his title, never would wear the crown, but was contented with wearing the cape, as abbot of St. Martin's at Tours. It was in the reign of this good Robert that the dreaded year 1000 came and passed away; and it seemed as if Divine wrath had been disarmed by this simple-minded man, who was as an incarnation of the peace of God. Man was comforted, and hoped to last yet a little while, seeing, like Hezekiah, that the Lord was pleased to add to his days, and, rising as if out of his death-struggle, set once more about living, working, and building—but first of all, building the houses of God. "About three years after the year 1000," says Glaber, "throughout almost the whole world, and especially in Italy and Gaul, the basilicas of the churches were restored, although most of them were still so beautiful as not to require it. Yet the people of Christendom seemed to contend with each other who should erect the most magnificent ones. One might have thought that the world was shaking off its weight of years, to assume the white robe of the Church."<sup>7</sup>

To reward such piety, miracles abounded. Marvellous revelations and visions discovered holy relics, which had long been buried and concealed from every eye. "The saints appeared to claim the honor of resurrection upon earth, and manifested themselves to the faithful, whom they filled with comfort."<sup>8</sup> The Lord himself descended on the altar. The doctrine

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. c. 18.

<sup>7</sup> It has been supposed that the word Capet was used sarcastically as coming from *capite* "large head." Undue largeness of the head is often a mark of folly. (One chronicle terms Charles the Simple *Capet* = *Karlus Stultus* vel *Capet*.) Chronic. St. Vincent ap. Ser. R. Fr. ii. 53.—But Capet is clearly used for *Capetum* or *Capitulum*. Many French chronicles written long afterwards translate it *Hic Capet* or *Capet*. Ser. R. Fr. i. 293, 303, 313. Thus the Chronic. St. Medard. Quen. lib. ii. 36 says: "Hugo cognominatus *Capet*." See, also, Richard de Fontenay, lib. 24, and the Chron. Andegav. i. 272. In Altier. Tr. Font. ii. 296, we find Hugo *Capetius*, and a little further on, *Capet* in Gaul. Nong. ii. 92. Hugo *Capetius*, and in Chron. Strass. i. 271 Hugo *Capetius*. The latter chronicle adds that the son of Hugh, the pious Robert changed the name with a reason: "The ancient standard of the kings of France was the eagle of St. Martin, and from this, says the monk of St. Gall, they gave the *cap* (eagle) the name of *Capet*. *Capet* a quo nunc Francorum reges propter eaput. St. Martin quoniam semper obitu tuorum et hominum appropinquat, et per ad bellis potentiss. Sancti sui appellatione solent." Mon. Sang. ii. c. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Rod. Glaber. lib. ii. c. 4. ap. Ser. R. Fr. i. 29. "Igitur infra hoc communis fides per interminabilem annis contigit in universa pene terrarum, et in principibus tamen in Italia et in Gallia, cum videretur christum imitari, licet perique decemque gentes in eum indignarentur. Quibus tamen quique gentes in christum adherens, aliam deventio trinitatem et deus et in unitate per via dicitur venit, repleta virtutibus pacem candidam resurrectionem vestem induit."

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. c. 6. Revelata sunt diversorum argumentorum indicia quodam die intererat plurimum concilium pignora. Nam vultu quodam resurrectionis decorem præstantes Dei nota librum oblationis patris, quorum octo membris plurimum intulit solamen.

goldens. c. 11.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. c. 1.

goldens. c. 7.

say on his wife's name, Constance

goldens. c. 9.

of the real presence, till now obscured and veiled in shadow, burst forth in the belief of the people, like a sunlight of poetry illuminating and transfiguring the West and the North. "All this was surely foretold by the very position of the cross of our Lord, when the Saviour was suspended on it on Mount Calvary. In fact, while the East, with its fierce tribes, was concealed behind the face of our Lord, the West, catching His looks, received from His eyes the light of the faith with which it was soon to be filled. His all-powerful right hand, extended for the great work of mercy, showed the North, which was about to be softened by the effect of the Divine word, while his left fell to the share of the barbarous and tumultuous nations of the South."<sup>\*</sup>

This grand idea of the struggle between the West and the East, which has just fallen in infantile words from the ignorant mouth of the monk, is prophetic of futurity and of the march of mankind. Great are the signs displayed already; thousands of men proceed one by one, and as pilgrims, to Rome, to Monte-Cassino, and to Jerusalem. Already, the first French pope, Gerbert, proclaims the crusade. His spirited letter,† in which he summons all princes in the name of the holy city, precedes by a century the preaching of Peter the Hermit. Thus, preached by a Frenchman, and executed under a French pope, Urban II., executed chiefly, too, by Frenchmen, the great common undertaking of the middle age, that which served to combine the Franks into one nation, will be ours, will belong to us, and will make known the deep-rooted social sympathies of France. But, there is still a century to it: the world must settle down before plunging into action. In the year 1000, a politician founds the popedom, and a saint founds royalty—these are two Frenchmen, Gerbert and Robert.

<sup>\*</sup> Rad. Glaber, l. i. c. 5.

† Gerberti Epist. 107, ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 496. "The church at Jerusalem to the Church Universal governing the sceptres of the kingdoms."

"Since thou art flourishing, O immaculate spouse of God, of whom I profess myself to be a member, I have a lively assurance that by thy aid I shall be enabled to lift my bruised head. Could I doubt thee, mistress of the world, shouldst thou recognise me as thy own? Will any of thine think that my unnumbered sufferings are no care of his, or spurn me as a vile thing? Though now cast down, the world once thought me its chosen spot. Mine were the oracles of the prophets, the ensigns of the patriarchs. From me went forth the Apostles, the illuminators of the world; in me, the world sought the faith of Christ, and in me found its Redeemer. For although his Divine presence is every where, yet here he put on humanity, was born, suffered, buried, and ascended to heaven. But though the Prophet said 'His sepulchre shall be glorious,' the devil tries to make it inglorious, the heathen making it a scene of havoc. Be up, then, and doing, O soldier of Christ, bear at once the standard and the sword, and what arms cannot do, that effect by counsel and money. What wilt thou give, or to whom? Verily, little out of much, and to one who has given thee freely all thou hast, not yet receives without a return, for He returns manifold, and with everlasting treasure. Through no He blesses thee, so that giving becomes usury, and releases thy sins, that thou mayst live and reign with Him." This letter stirred the Franks to instant action. They set out at once, and massacred, it is said, a prodigious number of infidels in Africa. Ser. R. Fr. x. 496.

This Gerbert, they say, was nothing less than a magician.\* Expelled from his monastery at Aurillac, he takes refuge at Barcelona, and unfrocks himself, in order to study literature and algebra at Cordova. Repairing then to Rome, he is chosen by the great Otho as tutor for his son and grandson. Subsequently, he gets the appointment of professor at the celebrated school of Reims, where our good king Robert is his disciple. Taken by the archbishop as his secretary and confidant, he manages to have him deposed in his own favor by the influence of Hugh Capet. It was a great thing for the Capets to have such a man attached to their interests: if they help him to become archbishop, he helps them to become kings.

Being forced to seek the protection of Otho III., he becomes archbishop of Ravenna, and, finally, pope. He sits in judgment on the great: nominates kings, (those of Hungary and Poland,) gives laws to republics, and rules both by the influence of the popedom and of his own knowledge. He preaches the Crusade: an astrologer has foretold that he will die in Jerusalem. All seems conspiring to this end, when one day that he was sitting at Rome in a chapel called Jerusalem,† the devil makes his appearance and claims the pope. The bargain had been struck between them, among the Spanish Moors. Gerbert was then a student; when finding that he was engaged in a tedious pursuit, he sold himself to the devil for a short cut to knowledge, and learned from him the mystery of Arab numerals, and of algebra, and of making a horologe, and of getting himself made pope. How could he have done all this, otherwise? He has sold himself, and therefore belongs to his master. The devil proves it to him, and then carries him off—"Thou didst not think that I was a logician."‡

Apart from their friendship for this diabolical man, there was no wickedness in the first Capets. The good Robert, indulgent and pious, was a *king man*, a king sympathizing with his people, a crowned monk. The Capets were commonly supposed to be of plebeian race, and of Saxon descent. Their ancestor, Robert the

\* Guill. Malmshur. l. ii. ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 343. "It were not amiss to set down the prevailing rumors . . . Gerbert, repairing to the Rascenes, who, according to the common custom of their race, were studying divination and incantations, satisfied his longings . . . There he learnt what the flight and notes of birds portended, and to call up phantoms from the shades below . . . Having raised the devil by charms, he covenanted to worship him." Fr. Andreu Chron. libd. 240. "Some accuse him of practising necromancy . . . he is said to have died, struck by the devil." —Chron. Reg. Francorum, libd. 301. —"the monk Gerbert, a philosopher, nay, rather, a necromancer."

† This story of dying in Jerusalem will remind the reader of the death of our Henry IV. —TRANSLATOR.

‡ Dante, Inferno, c. 27—

"Tu non pensavi, ch'io lo dico fosse!"

The two great myths, identifying the philosopher with the magician, in the legends of the middle age, are those of Gerbert and Albert the Great; and it is remarkable that France here anticipates Germany by two centuries. In compensation, however, the German sorcerer leaves a deeper impression, and revives, in the fifteenth century, in Faust the inventor of printing.





being crowned at Christmas. But the duke of Lorraine, the count of Namur, the bishops of Liege and of Metz, and all the barons of the country, hastened to meet and give him battle. He was slain while attempting to escape, and was only known by his wife's recognising a secret mark on his body.\* (A. D. 1037.)

His states, which, on his death, were divided into the countships of Blois and of Champagne, ceased to form a formidable power. More amiable than warlike, the counts of Blois and of Champagne, poets, pilgrims, and crusaders, had neither the settled purpose nor the tenacious spirit of their rivals of Normandy and of Anjou.

The house of Anjou was neither Norman, like those of Blois and of Normandy, nor Saxon, like that of the Capets, but indigenous. It ascribed its origin to a Breton, a native of Rennes, Tortulf, the stout huntsman.† His son took service with Charles the Bald; and, for his valorous deeds against the Normans, was rewarded with some lands in the Gatinais, and the hand of the duke of Burgundy's daughter. After these, Ingelger, Tortulf's grandson, and the two Fulk, were implacable enemies of the Normans of Blois and of Normandy, as well as of the Bretons; disputing with the first and second the possession of Touraine and of Maine, and, with the third, that of the territory extending from Angers to Nantes. Braver than the Poitevins and Aquitanians, and more united and amenable to discipline than the Bretons, the Angevins gained great advantages in the south, extended their conquests beyond the Loire, and pushed on as far as Saintes, succeeding to the preponderating influence momentarily possessed by the counts of Blois and of Champagne. When king Robert was obliged to give up Bertha—the widow and the mother of these counts—the Angevin, Fulk Nerra, forced him to marry his niece Constance, daughter of the count of Toulouse.‡ Fulk's brother, Bouchard, was already count of Paris, and held the important castles of Melun and of Corbeil: his son became bishop of Paris.§ Thus the good Robert, in the hands of the Angevins, and guided by his wife Constance and her uncle Bouchard, had leisure to compose hymns and attend to the choral service. Hugh de Beauvais, one of his immediate attendants, who endeavored to pro-

cure the recall of Bertha, was slain with impunity in his very presence.\* Beauvais was of the family of the counts of Blois, into which Bertha had been previously married. The bishop of Chartres, Fulbert, wrote to Fulk, accusing him of having instigated the murder. Fulk was already in bad repute with the Church for his daily spoliation of her possessions. He started for Rome with a round sum of money, purchased absolution from the pope, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and, on his return, built the abbey of Beaulieu, near Loches, which, on the refusal of the bishops, he got consecrated by a legate. The whole career of this bad man was an alternation of signal victories, of crimes, and of pilgrimages. He went thrice to the Holy Land, the last time on foot; he died of fatigue at Metz.† He was twice married: and one of his wives he banished to Jerusalem, the other he burned as an adulteress. But he founded numerous monasteries, as those of Beaulieu, St. Nicolas d'Angers, &c., and built many castles; among others, those of Montrichard, Montbazon, Mirebeau, and Château-Gonthier. His black *Devil's Tower* is still pointed out at Angers. He is the true founder of the power of the counts of Anjou. His son, Geoffrey Martel, defied and slew the count of Poitiers, took prisoner the count of Blois, and exacted Touraine as the price of his ransom; and, as guardian of its young count, he also governed Maine. Despite internal discord, the house of Anjou finally prevailed over those of Blois and of Champagne; both of which were allied by marriage to the Norman conquerors of England. But the counts of Blois had but temporary possession of the English throne; while the Angevins, under the name of Plantagenets,‡ kept possession of it from the twelfth to the thirteenth century, annexed to it for a time the whole of our coast from Flanders to the Pyrenees, and had all but annexed France.

The Isle of France and the king, both for a while in the power of the Angevins, soon escaped from their hands. As early as the year 1012, we find the Angevin, Bouchard, withdrawing to the abbey of St. Maur-des-Fosses, and leaving Corbeil to the Normans, who, at the time, are ruling under the name of king Robert, and striving to make him master of Burgundy; which would have been to make themselves masters of the whole course of the Seine. This poor king, whom they kept with them, finding the bishops and abbots of Burgundy against him, besought their pardon for making war upon them;§ and, indeed, the rela-

\* *Id. ibid.* It is the tale of the discovery of Harold by his mistress Edith, and is reproduced at the death of Charles the Rash.

† *Gesta Consul. Andegav. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vii. 256.* *Habitu rusticanus fuit, ex copia silvestri et venatico exercitio victitans.*

‡ *Filius Guillelmi Tholosani comitis, nomine Constantium, says an historical fragment, ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 211.—Will. Godefridus, ibid. 202.—"Surnamed Candida, on account of her excessive fairness." Rad. Glaber, l. iii. c. 2.—She was born to William Taille-Fer, by Arsinde, daughter of Geoffrey Grise-Gonelle, count of Anjou, and sister to Fulk.—Rouil Glaber complains that the new queen brought a crowd of Aquitanians and Auvergnats to the court, "full of frivolity, as tentacles in dress as in manner, shaven like mimmers, futility and lawless." Glaber, l. iii. ad calcem.*

§ *Vita Burchardi, ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 333.*

\* *Rad. Glaber, l. iii. c. 2.* *Misit a Fulcone . . . . . Hugonem ante regem trucidaverunt. The chronicler adds, "But though the king long mourned the deed, yet, as was fitting, he was subsequently reconciled to the queen."*

† *Id. l. ii. c. 4.*

‡ An expressive name to those who know the *Loire*.—(*Plantagenet*, i. e. *planta genista*, the broom or heath.)

§ He was preparing to lay siege to the abbey of St. Germain d'Auxerre, when a thick fog rose from the river. The king thought that St. Germain was coming to fight.



Europe into the crusades, France bears the principal share in this enterprise, which contributes so powerfully to their aggrandizement, and arms them with irresistible strength in the struggle between the Hierarchy and the Empire.

The great contest of the eleventh century is between the Holy Roman pontificate and the Holy Roman Empire. Germany, which has overthrown Rome by barbaric invasions, endeavors to become her successor by assuming her name; and not only desires to succeed to her temporal dominions, (already the emperor's supremacy is recognised by the other monarchs,) but affects a moral supremacy, intituling itself the *Holy Empire*, as if out of its pale was neither order nor sanctity. Just as on high the celestial powers, thrones, dominations, and arch-angels are so many successive links of obedience, so are margraves and barons to look up to the dukes, the dukes to the kings, and the latter to the emperor—a haughty claim, indeed, but one pregnant with future consequences. A secular body assumes the title of a holy body, seeks to make civil life a reflection of celestial order and of the divine hierarchy, and to bring down heaven upon the earth. The emperor holds the globe in his hand on days of ceremony; his chancellor calls the other monarchs, the *provincial kings*,\* his jurisconsults declare him the *living law*.† He aspires to establish a perpetual peace as it were on earth, and to substitute a state of law for the state of nature in which the nations still exist.

At the time being, has he the right to do this great thing? Is this feudal prince, this barbarian of Franconia or of Suabia, worthy of accomplishing it? Is it his part to be the instrument of so great a revolution upon earth? Is it for the emperor of Germany to realize this idea of rest and order so long pursued by mankind, or is it to be deferred to the end of the world, to the fulfilment of time?

They say that their great emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, is not dead—he only sleepeth. His place of rest is in an old deserted castle, on a mountain. A shepherd, who had forced his way through briars and brambles, saw him there. He was arrayed in his iron armor, and sitting, leaning on his elbow on a stone table, and must have long been there, since his beard had grown round and encircled it nine times. The emperor, scarcely raising his heavy head, only said to the shepherd, "Do the Ravens still fly round the mountain?"—"Yes, still."—"Ha, well! I can go to sleep again."

Let him sleep: it is neither for him, nor for kings, nor for emperors, nor for the holy empire

of the middle age, nor for the holy alliance of modern times, to realize the grand idea cherished by mankind of peace under the shadow of the law—of the definitive reconciliation of the nations.

Undoubtedly, that feudal world which slumbers with the house of Suabia was a noble world; nor can one survey it, even after Greece and Rome, without casting upon it a wistful and regretful look. There were in it very faithful companions, devoted in all loyalty to their lord, and the lady of their lord, joyous at his table and by his hearth, to the full as joyous when crossing with him the defiles of the Alps, or following him to Jerusalem, and as far as the desert of the Dead Sea—pious men, and with white and unstained souls under their steel breastplates. And were these magnanimous emperors of the house of Suabia, this race of poets and of "vary parfit, gentle knights," so very much in the wrong for aspiring to the empire of the world? Their enemies admired even while combating them. The messengers in pursuit of Enzo, the fugitive son of Frederick II., discovered him by a lock of his hair.—"Ah!" said they, "there is no one in the world but king Enzo who has such beautiful fair hair."\* But all this fair hair, poetry, and high courage, availed them not. Not the less did the brother of St. Louis behead the poor young Conradin, or the house of France succeed to the supremacy of the emperors.

The emperor, the Empire, and the feudal world—whose centre and highest type the Empire is—are doomed to perish. There is a blemish in that world, which draws down both its condemnation and its fall; this is, its profound materialism. Man has attached himself to the earth, and has struck root in the rock from which his tower rises. The saying, *no land without its lord*, is convertible into *no lord without his land*. Man belongs to a spot; and his fate is settled as soon as it can be ascertained whether he is from *above* or *below*. You see him located, fixed, immovable under the weight of his heavy castle, his heavy armor.

The land, is man; and in it dwells true personality. As person, it is indivisible; it must remain one, and devolve on the eldest. As person, too, immortal, indifferent, and pitiless, it knows not nature or humanity. The eldest is to be sole possessor; what do I say! it is he who is possessed: the haughty baron is governed by the customs of his land. His land is his master, and imposes his duties upon him. According to the forcible expression of the middle age, he *must serve his fief*.

The son is to have all; the eldest son. The daughter has nothing to ask; is not her dower the chaplet of roses, and her mother's kiss?†

\* *Reges Provinciales*. This was the term applied by the chancellor of the empire to all monarchs, at a diet held at Ratisbon, by Frederick Barbarossa.—"The patronage of the whole world belongs to the emperor." Otto Frising, vii. 24. This was the reason advanced by Boris, king of Hungary, for claiming the title of the emperor in 1146. Alberici, 399.

† Imperator est, *animatus lex in terra*. Urk. in Meichelb. Hist. Frising. ii. l. 7.

\* A young girl visited him in his prison in order to console him. They had a son, called *Rentevogel*, (i. e. *I wish you well*), who, according to tradition, was the founder of the illustrious family of that name.

† For instance, in the ancient customs of Normandy.

There is but one sure asylum, the Church. In her bosom, the cadets of the great houses seek refuge. The Church, powerless to repulse the barbarians, has been obliged to delegate force to the feudal power—gradually, she becomes feudal herself. The monk's cowl does not make the knight, less a knight. As early as Charlemagne's time, the bishops feel indignant at the peaceful mule's being brought them, or at others to assist them into the saddle. They must have a charger, and vault on its back, unassisted.\* They "skur the country," hunt, fight, bestow blows by way of benison, and *carpe* heavy power *with their iron mauls*†. That he was a *good clerk and brave soldier*‡ is the funeral oration over a bishop. A Saxon abbot, at the battle of Hastings, led on two *hundred monks*, and the whole thirteen "fighting folk." A German bishop is deposed by his brethren, as being *pacific and unwarlike*.§

One only thing was wanting to this system—that these noble and valiant priests should no longer purchase the enjoyment of the goods of the Church by the pains of celibacy; that they should combine sacerdotal splendor and saintly dignity with the consolations of marriage; that they should raise around them swarms of little priests; that they should enliven their family meals with the sacrificial wine, and gorge their little ones with consecrated bread. Sweet and holy hopes—these little ones, God to aid, will grow up! They will succeed, quite naturally, to their father's abbey and bishoprics. It would be hard to deprive them of the palaces and churches; for the church is theirs, their rightful fief. Thus the elective principle is succeeded by that of inheritance, and merit gives place to birth. The Church mutates feudalism, and goes beyond it. More than once it has given females a share of the spoil, and a daughter has been dowered by a bishopric. The priest's wife takes her place by him.

\* They do not hesitate to pour out their little woes to the pastoral office. — most laugh, others weep as if

The pastor's wife, Mrs. Fugitt, warmly reports as it were in the home of the infant. The child, too, is questioned on a few articles of religion which he explains from memory if he can learn the answers by heart, or else reads faithfully out of some "Apostle's hour." Also Verrellena, one of Volney's young girls, 429

Laymen are so concerned that one ought to be un-  
married, that in the past people who were not alone a priest  
married them, but in a more recent time, a Catechist, de-  
voted to the priest, married them. In the month of June  
of 1965, the priest of the parish of St. Michael, who was  
offering a priest and a free woman were accused to be  
the wife of the husband, they did not marry the accused in  
order to keep up the prestige of the priest, but by the civil  
court, no longer as a woman, but as a wife, he was married  
p. 22 up. Vol. 1, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619,

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close to the altar; and the bishop's disputes precedency with the count's.

Certes, I am not the man to speak against marriage. Married life has its sanctifying part, no less than single. Nevertheless,\* is not the virgin hymeneal of priest and church somewhat disturbed by a less pure union? Will he to whom nature gives children according to the flesh, remember the people whom he has adopted in the spirit? Will the mystic paternity hold its ground against the other? The priest may deny himself in order to give to the poor; but he will not take from his children for their relief! And, though he should hold out, and the priest triumph over the father, though he should fulfil all the obligations of his sacred office, I should fear his preserving its spirit. No, in the holiest marriage, there is something soft and enervating connected with a wife and family that breaks iron and bends steel. The firmest heart loses in the union a part of itself. The priest was more than a man: he is now but a man. He may exclaim, as did Jesus when the woman touched his garments—"I perceive that virtue is gone out of me."

And believe not that the poetry of solitude, the stern satisfaction of abstinence, the fullness of charity and of ecstatic sentiment in which the soul embraces God and the world, can subsist undeteriorated by wedlock. Undoubtedly, to awaken, and to see, on one hand, the cradle of one's little ones, and pillowed by one's side their mother's loved and honored head, is fraught with a pious emotion—but where are the solitary meditations, the mysterious dreams, the sublime storms in which God and the old Adam battled within us? *He who has never watched in sorrow, and watered his bed with tears, knows you not, ye heavenly powers!*†

Christianity was sped if the Church, softened, and with her soaring aspirations checked by marriage, should lapse into the selfish materialism of the law of feudal inheritance. The salt of the earth would have lost its savor: all would have been said. Thenceforward, no more internal strength; no more yearning towards heaven. Such a church would never have reared the ceiling of the choir of Cologne cathedral, or the arrowy spire of that of Strasbourg; never would it have brought forth the soul of St. Bernard, or the penetrating genius

of St. Thomas: men like these, require the concentration of solitude. Thenceforward, too, no crusade: to have a right to attack Asia, Europe must subdue the sensuality of Asia, must become more European, more pure, more Christian-like.

The endangered Church collapsed, in order to prolong her days, and summoned all her life to the heart. Ever since the tempest of barbaric invasions the world had taken refuge in the Church, and had sullied her. The Church took refuge with the monks; that is to say, with the severest and most mystical, let us say, too, with the most democratic portion of herself. Their life of self-denial was less sought after by the barons, and the cloisters were peopled by the sons of serfs.\* Facing this proud and splendid Church which arrays herself in aristocratic pomps, there rose another, poor, sombre, solitary, the Church of suffering, opposite to the Church of enjoyment. The last judged the first, condemned her, purified her, and gave her unity. To the aristocracy of the bishops succeeded the sovereignty of the pope. The Church became incarnate in a monk.

The reformer, like the Founder of Christianity, was a carpenter's son.† He was a monk of Cluny, an Italian by birth, being born at Saona; and thus belonging to that poetic and positive Tuscany, which has produced Dante and Machiavel. This foe to Germany, bore the German name of Hildebrand.‡

While he was yet at Cluny, Pope Leo IX., a relative of the emperor's, and nominated by him, lodged on his way to Rome in that monastery; and so great was the religious authority of the monk, that he persuaded the prince to repair thither barefooted, and as a pilgrim, and, renouncing the imperial nomination, to seek to be elected by the people.§ He was the third pope of the emperor's nomination, and there seemed no room to complain, for these German popes were exemplary. Their nomination had put a stop to those frightful scandals of Rome, when two women—each in turn—gave the popedom to their lovers,|| and when a Jew's son, a child, twelve years of age, was placed at the head of Christendom. Nevertheless, it was, perhaps, still worse for the pope to be nominated by the emperor, since the two powers were thus brought together. The spiritual power

Clerge de Noyon, 1079, et de Cambrai, 1076.—The clergy complained of the *injustice* of refusing their children ordination. In the ninth century they not only married off their daughters with benefices, but their wives openly assumed the style of priestesses. D. Lobineau, 110. D. Mornet, Preuves i. 463, 542.—According to the biographers of the blessed Bernard de Trion, and of Harduin, abbot of Bec, it was the same in Normandy. "Per totam Normanniam hoc erat, ut presbyteri publice uxores ducerent, filios aut filias procreant, quibus hereditatis parte ecclesiarum relinquere et filias suorum nuptum tradere, si alia deesse non querebant, ecclesiarum dabant in dotem."

\* The author necessarily places himself here in the strict Catholic point of view of the middle age; and one ought to recall to mind all that is great in it, now that St. Simonism is proposing a re-construction of spirit with matter, which could only prove the triumph of matter over spirit.

† Goethe, Wilhelmmeister.

\* The clergy of Laon reproached their bishop with having one day said to the king, "that the clergy were not to be revered, since almost all were born of royal bosoms." Guibertus Novigentinus, de Vita Ruz. i. iii. c. 8.—See above, how the Church was recruited under Charlemagne and Louis the Debonnaire. Helio, archbishop of Reims, was a serf's son.—See a passage from Theganus, in a note at p. 92.

† Voigt, Hist. de Gregoire VII. initio.

‡ Signifying "son of the flame," or else, "flame of the son."

§ Otto Frisingens. i. vi. c. 33. Inclinator Leo ad montem ejus, purpuram deponit et . . . a clero et populo in summum Pontificem eligitur.—See Wilert, in Vita Leonis IX. i. ii. c. 2. Bruno, Vita Leonis IX. ap. Voigt, p. 14.

|| Theodora and her daughter, Marozia, both equally infamous in character, raised to the popedom, the first John XI. the last, Sergius III.—John XIII. was not twelve when made pope.—TRANSLATOR.

(as was the case at Bagdad and at Japan) must have been annihilated. Life springs from the opposition and balance of forces—unity and identity are death.

To enable the Church to escape out of the hands of laymen, she must cease to be herself laical, must recruit her strength by abstinence and sacrifices, must plunge into the icy waters of Styx, and steep herself in chastity. "Twas by this, the monk began. Already, and during the power of the two popes who had preceded him in the pontificate, he had given out that a married priest was no priest;\* and great agitation had ensued. An active correspondence commenced, leading to a common effort on the part of the priests; when, emboldened by their numbers, they loudly declare that they will keep their wives. "We prefer," they said, "abandoning our bishoprics, abbeys, and cures: let him keep his benefices." The reformer did not blench. The carpenter's son did not hesitate to let loose the people on the priests.† In all directions, the multitude declared against the married pastors, and tore them from the altar. The people once given the rein, a brutally levelling instinct made them delight in outraging all they had adored, in trampling under foot those whose feet they had kissed, in tearing the alb, and dashing to pieces the mitre. The priests were beaten, cuffed, and mutilated in their own cathedrals; their consecrated wine was drunk, and the host scattered about.‡ The monks pushed on, and preached. The people became impregnated with a bold mysticism, and habituated to despise form and dash it to bits, as if to set the spirit free. This revolutionary purification of the Church shook it to the foundation. The means resorted to were atrocious. The monk, Dunstan, had had the wife or concubine of the king of England grossly mutilated. The wild anchorite, Pietro Damiani, traversed Italy with curses and maledictions, careless of life, and stripping bare, with pious cynicism, the turpitude of the Church.§ This was to

mark out the married priests for death. Manegold, the theologian, taught that the opponents of reform might be slain without compunction.\* Gregory VII., himself, approved of the mutilation of a refractory monk.† The Church, armed with a fierce purity, resembled the sanguinary virgins of Druidical Gaul, or of the Tauric Chersonesus.

A strange thing took place at this time. In the same manner as the middle age repulsed Jews, and buffeted them as murderers of Jesus Christ, woman was held in disgrace as the murderess of mankind. Poor Eve still paid for the apple. She was looked upon as the Pandora, who had let loose woes upon the earth. The doctors taught that the world was sufficiently peopled, and declared marriage to be a sin, or, at best, a venial sin.‡

Thus was the purification of the Church accomplished. She redeemed herself from her fleshly bonds, by cursing the flesh. It was then that she attacked the Empire. Then, in the savage fierceness of her virginity, having resumed her virtue and her strength, she questioned the age, and summoned it to restore to her the primacy which was her due. She called to account the adultery and simony of the king of France,§ the schismatic isolation of the Anglican Church, and the feudal monarchy—personified in the emperor. Of whom does the emperor hold the land which he dares to enfeoff to the bishops, except from God? By what right does matter presume to direct spirit? Virtue has subdued nature, and it behooves the ideal to be commanded by the real, strength to yield to intelligence, and the law of succession to the elective principle. God has placed in the heavens two great luminaries—the sun, and the moon which borrows her light from the sun. On the earth there is the pope, and the emperor, who is the reflection of the pope,|| a

they pounced upon the canon of a council held at Tiber, which countenanced the marriage of priests. But I answered them, I care nothing for your council, I consider all councils which differ from the decisions of the bishops of Rome as null and never held." At another time, addressing the wives of the clergy, he said to them, "To you in whom I address myself, seductresses of the clergy, heirs of Satan, scum of Paradise, prison of souls, cowed of hearts, proud birds, toys, screech-owls, she-wolves, insatiable leeches." "Come, then, hearken to me, ye harlots, priests' wives, slaves of fat porkers, dams of unclean spirits, virgins' laime." &c.

\* Manegold, *Epist. Theodoricæ*, c. 26, ap. Gieseler, p. 23. Whosoever slays an excommunicated person, not to revenge a private wrong, but in defence of the Church is not to do penance, or be punished as a felon." &c.

† He professed himself shocked by the conduct of the abbot, and shortly after made him a bishop.

‡ However, this I think was Peter the Lombard, who lived at a somewhat later age.

§ Your king," says Gregory VII. in his epistle to the French bishops, "who is not to be called a king but a tyrant, has polluted the whole of France by his crimes and foul acts." But it he would not hearken to us, as the whole kingdom of France enters in interdict, *Regis de Rebus*, p. 121, 122. But if the king refused obedience to these exhortations, he threatened to slay him off, like a rotten apple, with the sword of excommunication, from the unity of Holy Mother Church."

|| Gregory VII. *Epist. ad reg. Angl.* c. 1, l. 6. "Sicut ad mundum, per hoc videmus, sic carnis, dicitur, imperatoribus representandum. Potens et lunam omnibus alios emittens."

\* Berthold, *Constantin ap. R. Fr.* c. 23. *Hujus constitutionis maxime fuit vector Hildebrandus.*

† Martin, *Thes. Anecd.* c. 211. *Pictorum error . . . unique ad furores sui satietatem iniquitate, ut ait, in clericorum continentibus obedientia considerat absolutur.* &c. —Gregory the Seventh's character is brought out into full relief in M. V. Guizot's fine work. I shall say no more of this book than that it is profoundly true, which, in my opinion, compels every praise. Contemporary chroniclers grasp the truth of details, but it is only at the distance of centuries, in a great effort of erudition and a rare achievement of art and talent.

‡ Martin, c. 211. *Hildebrandus, in contumacia et contumacia, deinde in contumacia, perit in peritiam.* The writer goes on to say: "The lady deplores the misdeeds of the Church, she detests them, she does it, she says, and even think it religious to depart this life without of the humble confession of sinners, and the solemn absolution of the Church." *Sighef. Lund.* c. 102. The lady deplores the misdeeds of sinners, and she says, and even think it religious to depart this life without of the humble confession of sinners, and the solemn absolution of the Church." &c.

§ Dunstan, says in one of his letters, was not a saint, but a man. When at last, after the death of the king, our noble king, when many rebels were great, and the king was if they would have spat the whole of their gall in my face.

mere reflection, a pale shadow—let him recognise who he is. Then, the world restored to true order, God will reign, and the vicar of God. An hierarchy will be reared after the spirit, and in holiness, for election will raise up the worthiest. The pope will lead the Christian world to Jerusalem; and his vicar will receive the oath of the emperor, and the homage of the kings, at the liberated tomb of Christ.

Such were the ideas which impelled the Church to vindicate the majesty of the law over nature, respectively represented by the popedom and the empire. The emperor was the fiery Henry IV., as wilful according to nature, as Gregory VII. was hard according to the law. At first these opposing forces seemed very unequal. Henry III. had bequeathed to his son vast patrimonial estates, feudal omnipotence in Germany, immense influence in Italy, and a claim to the nomination of the popes. Hildebrand had not Rome even; he had nothing, and he had every thing. It is the true nature of spirit to occupy no place. Everywhere expelled, and everywhere triumphant, he had not a stone whereon to lay his head, and with his dying breath he exclaimed, "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, and therefore I die an exile."\* (A. D. 1073-1086.)

Both parties have been accused of obstinacy. It has been overlooked that this was not a struggle between *men*. Mankind sought to unite, but could not. When Henry IV. remained for three days in his shirt upon the snow, in the court of the castle of Canossa,†

the pope could not help admitting him. Peace was desired on both sides. Gregory joined in communion with his enemy, beseeching to be struck dead if he were guilty, and imploring the judgment of God.\* God interfered not. Judgment and reconciliation were equally impossible. Nothing will reconcile spirit and matter, flesh and spirit, the law and nature.

The fleshly party was conquered, and as for us, men of flesh, our hearts bleed to think of it: nature was conquered, but in an unnatural manner. It was Henry the Fourth's son, who carried the decree of the Church into execution. When the poor old emperor was seized at the interview which took place at Mentz, and the bishops who had remained free from simony, tore off his crown and the royal robes,† he besought with tears in his eyes this son, whom he still loved, to abstain from his parricidal violence for the safety of his eternal soul. Stripped, abandoned, and a prey to cold and hunger, he sought Spire, and that very church of the Virgin which he had himself built, and implored to be admitted as a priest, alleging that he could read, and could also sing in the choir. Even this favor was refused him; nay, a resting place was refused to his mortal remains, which lay for five years unburied in a cellar at Liege.

In this terrible struggle which the holy see carried on throughout Europe, it had two auxiliaries, two temporal instruments. The first was the famous countess Matilda, so powerful in Italy, the chaste and faithful friend of Gregory VII. This princess, a French woman by birth, had grown up in exile and under the persecution of the Germans. She was allied to the family of Godfrey of Bouillon; but Godfrey sided with Henry IV. He bore the banner of the Empire in the battle in which Rodolph, Henry's rival, was slain, and slain by his hand. Matilda, on the contrary, knew no other banner than that of the Church. She restored woman to her position in the eyes of the world. As pure and as courageous as Gregory himself, this heroic woman was the grace and strength of her party. She supported the pope, combated the emperor, and interceded for him.‡

Next to this French princess, the best sup-

thors dispo-suit (Deus) luminaria, sic. . . . See, also, Innoc. III. l. i. epist. 401.—Bonifacii VIII. epist. ibid. 197. Fecit Deus duo luminaria magna, scilicet, Solem, id est, ecclesiasticum potestatem, et Lunam, hoc est, temporalem et imperialem. Et sicut Luna nullum lumen habet nisi quod recipit a Sole, sic. . . . The following calculation occurs in the Gloss of the Decretals: "Since the earth is seven times greater than the moon, but the sun eight times greater than the earth, therefore the pontifical dignity is fifty-six times greater than the regal."—Laurentius goes further. . . . "the pope is a thousand seven hundred and four times greater than emperor or kings." Gieseler, ii. pt. ii. p. 98.

\* Paul. Bernied. c. 110. Otto Frising. l. vi. c. 36. Dilexi iustitiam, et odivi iniquitatem; propterea morior in exilio.—He wrote to the abbot of Cluny, "My grief and my despair are at their height, when I see the Eastern Church separated by the craft of the devil from the Catholic faith; and if I turn my looks to the West, to the South, or to the North, I find scarcely any who are lawful bishops, whether as regards their conduct in their high office, or the manner in which they attained it. They govern their flocks, not for the love of Jesus, but through a profane ambition; and among secular princes, I find not one to prefer the honor of God to his own, or justice to his interest. The Romans, Lombards, and Normans, among whom I live, will soon be—and I often tell them so more execrable than Jews and pagans. And when I turn my looks upon myself, I see that my vast enterprise is beyond my strength, so that I should lose every hope of ever securing the safety of the Church; did not the mercy of Jesus Christ come to my assistance; for if I hoped not for a better life, and were it not for the safety of the holy Church, I take God to witness that I would stay no longer at Rome, where I have already lived twenty years in spite of myself. I am even as if struck with a thunder-bolt; I am a man suffering from a never-ending malady, and all whose hopes, unhappily, are only too far distant."

† Grægor. Ep. ap. Gieseler, ii. 21. Ad oppidum Consilii cum pons ædificatus . . . . . Deque per portadum, depositum in m. . . . . cum multo fletu.—Domino, Vita Mathildis, ap. Muratori, v. 366. He threw himself at the

pope's feet, his arms extended in the figure of a cross, and implored pardon.—"It was the first time," says Otto of Freysingen, "that a pope had dared to excommunicate an emperor. I read our histories over and over again, but to no purpose, for I can't find an instance." Chronic. l. vi. c. 33. De Gestis Friderici I. l. i. c. 1.

\* See M. Villenain's History, referred to in a preceding note.

† He wrote to the king of France in 1106, "So soon as I saw him, touched to the very bottom of my heart, as well with grief as paternal affection, I threw myself at his feet, beseeching and conjuring him in the name of his God, and for his faith's sake, and the safety of his soul, though my sins might have deserved punishment at the hand of God, to refrain from sullying, through me, his son, his honor, and his name, for that no decree or divine law had ever appointed sons to be the punishers of their father's faults." Gemblac. ap. Struv. l. 836. Sismondi, Républiques Italiennes, t. i. p. 194.

‡ At their interview at Canossa. See Domino, Vita Mathildis, ap. Muratori, v. 366.

I have spoken elsewhere of the origin of the Normans. They were a mixed race, in whom the Neustrian predominated by far over the Scandinavian element. Undoubtedly, as seen on the Bayeux tapestry, with their scale-armor, peaked casques, and nose-pieces,\* one would be tempted to believe these iron fish the pure and lawful descendants of the old pirates of the North. However, they spoke French from the third generation, at which period not one among them understood Danish. They were obliged to send their children to learn it of the Saxons of Bayeux.† The names of William the Bastard's followers are pure French.‡ The conquerors of England, says Ingulphus, abhorred the Anglo-Saxon tongue.§ Their predilection lay towards Roman and ecclesiastical civilization. We discern in them, as early as the tenth and eleventh centuries, that character—compound of scribe and legist—which has rendered their name proverbial in Europe; and this partly accounts for the prodigious multitude of ecclesiastical foundations met with among a people, by no means devout in other respects. The monk, William of Poitiers, tells us that Normandy was an Egypt, a Thebaid, as regarded the number of its monasteries||—which were so many schools of writing, philosophy, art, and law. The famous Lanfranc, who raised the school of Bee to such celebrity, before he crossed the straits with William, and

Normandy was small, and too strictly governed for them to be able to plunder to any extent from each other.†† Behooved them, then, to go—to use their own term—*gaugnant*†† throughout Europe. But feudal Europe, brist-

the small many no-masters."

From whom I had three in their own tent, of who had taken on the lake and pleasure almost daily started for Italy and Germany and 1920. (cont.) April 1, 1920



ling with castles, was not easily run over in the eleventh century. The time was past, when the little Hungarian horses galloped to the Tiber and Provence. Every ford, and every commanding position, had its tower. At each defile, down stalked from the hill some man at arms, with his knaves and his dogs, to demand toll or battle. He would examine the traveller's baggage, and take part of it; sometimes, indeed, the whole, and the traveller into the bargain. In travelling on this fashion, there was not much to *gaagner*. Our Normans set about it better. Many of them would join company, well mounted and well armed, though muffled up as pilgrims, and bearing staff and cockle-shell; nor had they any objection to carry a monk along with them. Then, if any one sought to stay them, they could meekly reply, in their drawling and nasal tone, that they were poor pilgrims, wending their way to Monte-Cassino, to the holy sepulchre, to the shrine of St. James of Compostella; and so stoutly armed a devotion was generally respected. The fact is, they loved these distant pilgrimages; for it was their only means of escaping the dull routine of their manorial life. And then the roads they took were well frequented: good hits were to be made on the way, and there was absolution at the end of their journey. Or, at the worst, as these places of pilgrimage were the seats of fairs as well, they could do a little business, and get more than their cent per cent, while securing their salvation.\* Dealing in relics was the best trade going. They would bring back a hair of the Virgin's, or one of St. George's teeth, sure to dispose of it to great advantage, for there was always some bishop eager to bring custom to his church, or some prudent prince, who was not sorry to enter the battlefield with the safeguard of a relic under his cuirass.

A pilgrimage first took the Normans to Southern Italy, where they were to found a kingdom. Here there were, if I may so speak, three wrecks, three ruins of nations—Lombards in the mountains, Greeks in the ports, Sicilian and African Saracens rambling over the coasts. About the year 1000, some Norman pilgrims assist the inhabitants of Salerno to drive out a party of Arabs, who were holding them to ransom. Being well paid for the service, these Normans attract others of their countrymen hither. A Greek of Bari, named Melo or Meles, takes them into pay to free his city from the Greeks of Byzantium. Next, they are settled by the Greek republic of Naples at the fort of Aversa, which lay between that city and her enemies, the Lombards of Capua, (A. D. 1026.) Finally, the sons of a poor gentleman of the Cotentin,† Tancred of Hauteville, seek

their fortune here. Tancred had twelve children; seven by the same mother.

It was during William's minority, when numbers of the barons endeavored to withdraw themselves from the Bastard's yoke, that these sons of Tancred's directed their steps towards Italy, where it was said that a simple Norman knight had become count of Aversa. They set off penniless, and defrayed the expenses of their journey by the sword,\* (A. D. 1037.) The Byzantine governor, or *Katapan*,† engaged their services, and led them against the Arabs. But their countrymen beginning to flock to them, they no sooner saw themselves strong enough than they turned against their paymasters, seized Apulia, and divided it into twelve countships. This republic of Condottieri held its assemblies at Melfi.‡ The Greeks endeavored to defend themselves, but fruitlessly. They collected an army of sixty thousand Italians;§ to be routed by the Normans, who amounted to several hundreds of well-armed men. The Byzantines then summoned their enemies, the Germans, to their aid; and the two empires of the East and West confederated against the sons of the gentlemen of Coutances. The all-powerful emperor, Henry the Black, (Henry III.,) charged Leo IX., who had been nominated pope by him, and who was a German, and kin to the imperial family, to exterminate these brigands. The pope led some Germans and a swarm of Italians against them; but the latter took to flight at the very beginning of the battle, and left the warlike pontiff in the hands of the enemy. Too wary to ill-treat him, the Normans piously cast themselves at their prisoner's feet, and compelled him to grant them as a fief of the Church, all that they had taken, or might take possession of in Apulia, Calabria, and on the other side of the strait;|| so that in spite of himself, the pope became the suzerain of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, (A. D. 1052, 1053)—a fantastical scene which was reacted a century afterwards, when one of the descendants of these Normans made a pope prisoner, forced him to receive his homage, and forced him, moreover, to declare himself and his successors, legates of the holy see in Sicily. This nominal dependence rendered them in reality independent, and secured them that right

Alberic. ap. Leibnitz Access. Histor. p. 194. "Of middling parentage."

\* Gaufred. Malaterra, l. i. c. 5. Per diversa loca militanter lucrum quarentes.

† *Kerá xav*, commander-in-chief. William of Apulia explains the meaning in the following verse—

"Quod Catapan Græci, non juræ dicturus comes."  
L. i. p. 254.

‡ Each of the twelve counts had his quarter and his house apart, as shown by the pre-quoted in the preceding note—

"Pro numero comitum bis sex statuerunt plateas,  
Atque domus comitum totidem fabricantur in urbe."  
Id. *ibid.* p. 256.

§ Gaufred. Malaterra, l. i. c. 9. Græci . . . maximam multitudinem ex Calabria et Apulia sibi conducunt, usque ad sexaginta milia armatorum.

|| *Id. ibid.* c. 14. Guill. Apul. l. ii. p. 261. *Normanni. Couta. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xl. 21.*

\* Baron. *Annal. Eccles.* ad ann. 1064.

† *Chron. Malleac. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xl. 644.* "Wiscard, . . . being of a poor and unknown family."—Richard Cœneac. "Robert Wiscard, a poor man but a knight."

of investiture which, through all Europe, was the subject of the war between the priesthood and the Empire.

Robert *l'Arise* (Guiscard) completed the conquest of Southern Italy; and made himself duke of Apulia and Calabria, notwithstanding the claim of his nephews,\* as sons of an elder brother. Robert treated no better the youngest of his brothers, Roger, who had come rather late to seek his share of the conquest. The latter supported himself for a while by horse-stealing;† then crossed over to Sicily, which he wrested from the Arabs after a struggle of the most unequal and romantic character. Unfortunately, our only accounts of these events are from panegyricists of the family. One of Roger's descendants united Southern Italy to his insular dominions, and so founded the kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

This feudal kingdom lying at the extremity of the peninsula, in the midst of Greek cities, and of the world of the Odyssey, was of great advantage to Italy. The Mahometans durst but seldom approach it; at least, until the creation of the Barbary states in the sixteenth century. The Byzantines quitted it; and their empire was even invaded by Robert Guiscard and his successors. The Germans, indeed, in the course of their ever-enduring expedition into Italy, more than once dashed heavily against our French of Naples; but the truly Italian popes, such as Gregory VII., shut their eyes on the plunderings of the Normans, and entered into close league with them against the Greek and German emperors. Robert Guiscard drove the victorious Henry IV. out of Rome, and gave an asylum to Gregory, who died with him at Salerno. (A. D. 1086.)

This prodigious good fortune of a family of simple gentlemen, roused the emulous zeal of the duke of Normandy, (A. D. 1035-1087.) William the *Bastard* (he so styled himself in his charters‡) was of low origin on the mother's

side. Duke Robert had had him, by chance, by the daughter of a tanner of Falaise. He was not ashamed of his birth, and drew round him his mother's other sons. At first, he had much difficulty in bringing his barons, who despised him, to their allegiance; but he succeeded. He was a large, bald-headed man, very brave, very greedy, and very *saige*, (sage,) according to the notions of the time, that is, dreadfully treacherous. It was asserted that he had poisoned his guardian, the duke of Brittany; and a count, who disputed Maine with him, had fallen dead on rising from a dinner given in token of reconciliation, and William at once laid hand on the province.† He had no trouble from Anjou and Brittany, as they were convulsed by civil wars; and he contrived to put an end to the constant feud between Flanders and Normandy, by marrying his cousin Matilda, the daughter of the count of Flanders. This alliance was his stronghold; and, consequently, he burst out into a violent rage when he heard that the famous theologian and legist, Lanfranc, who taught in the monastic school of Bee, denounced his marriage as being with one too near of kin, and he issued orders to burn the farm from which the monks drew their subsistence, and for the banishment of Lanfranc. The Italian was not alarmed; but, like a shrewd man, instead of taking to flight, repaired straight to the duke. He was mounted on a sorry, lame horse; and he addressed the duke by saying, "If you wish me to leave Normandy, give me another steed."‡ William saw the advantage to which he might turn this man, and sent him at once to Rome with a commission, to render the pope propitious to the very marriage against which he had preached. Lanfranc succeeded; and William and Matilda were absolved for the founding those two magnificent abbeys, which still adorn Caen.

The friendship of William, indeed, was precious to the Roman church, already governed by Hildebrand, who was soon to be Gregory VII. Their projects agreed. In front of the Normans, on the other side of the channel, was another Sicily to be conquered,§ and which, though not in the power of the Arabs, was no less hateful to the holy see. The Anglo-Saxons, at first submissive to the popes, and therefore

\* Gesta d'Arc. p. 285. "Guiscard sent word to his nephew Alberic, that he had just got his brother in his power, but that if he would put his Guiscard's troops in possession of his fortress of San Severino, he would restore his prisoner to liberty as soon as he should reach Mount Gargano. Alberic immediately ordered the gates of the place to be thrown open, and replying to his uncle with all speed, pressed him to repair to Gargano and fulfil his promise. 'My nephew,' said Guiscard, 'I do not think that I shall be able to get there these seven years.'"

† Geoff. Malherb. l. i. c. 25.

‡ See Guillelmus cognominatus Bastardus.

§ See a charter quoted in the twelfth volume of the *Recueil des Historiens de France*, p. 468. "Unde scilicet, the appellation of Bastard was not derived from reproach in Normandy. We read in *Recueil d'histoire* l. i. c. 6, ap. Ser. R. Fr. n. 51. "William was Robert's son by a concubine." Robert made all the nobles of his duchy swear military homage to him. "From the first arrival of this people in Gaul, it was extremely with them to have princes born of concubines." The author of the *Recueil d'histoire* has also given such a high regard to this passage. Ser. R. Fr. n. 265. "William the first great of the Bastards." *Chron. Norm.* ap. Ser. R. Fr. n. 31. "We know, however, that William would make a fine reflection on the baseness of his birth by the mother's side." "Living eager to a certain point the young lord would not be long in coming, and crying out, 'The hide the hub!' (His mother was a tanner's daughter. He had the feet and hands of thirty-two of them cut off.

\* Will. Malm. l. i. ap. Ser. R. Fr. n. 190. "He was a just height, immensely fat of bone, countenance, his forehead bald, with very strong arms and of great dignity whether sitting or standing, notwithstanding the too great protuberance of his belly."

† Order Vital. ap. Ser. R. Fr. n. 272.

‡ Acta 88. l. i. c. 8. Bened. sec. vi. pars 2. p. 635.

§ England had long entertained a dread of Normandy. In 1066 Ethelred had sent an expedition against the Normans. When his men returned he asked whether they had brought the duke of Normandy along with them. "We have not seen the duke," was their reply, "but we have fought, to our loss, with the terrible population of one county alone. We not only found there valiant warriors, but warlike women, who with their pitchforks break the heads of the stoutest enemies." On this the king, recognizing his folly, flushed full of grief. Will. Gemet. l. v. c. 4, ap. Ser. R. Fr. n. 146. In the year 1064 King Canute, through fear of Robert of Normandy, offered to give up half of England to Ethelred's sons. Id. l. v. c. 12, ibid. at 37.

set up by them against the independent church of Scotland and of Ireland, soon acquired that spirit of opposition which was, it seems, necessary and fated in England; but it was not a philosophical opposition, such as that of the old Irish church in the times of St. Columbanus and John Erigena. The Saxon church seems to have been, like the people, gross and barbarous.\* For ages the island had been the scene of constant invasions. All the people of the North, Celts, Saxons, and Danes seem to have rendezvoused there, as those of the South did in Sicily. The Danes had ruled it for fifty years, living at will upon the Saxons—the bravest of whom had fled into the forests and become *wolf-heads*, as such outlaws were called. Disputes among the conquerors had enabled Edward the Confessor, the son of a Saxon king and of a Norman woman, and brought up in Normandy, to return and take possession of the throne. This good man, who was made a saint for having lived with his wife as with a sister, was impotent for good or for ill. But the people have loved him for his good wishes, and have mourned in him their last national sovereign, just as Brittany has remembered Anne de Bretagne, and Provence, king René. His reign was but a short interlude between the Danish and Norman invasions. Friendly to the more civilized Normans, amongst

whom he had passed his happiest years, he vainly strove to escape from the protectorship of a powerful Saxon chief, named Godwin, who had expelled the Danes and restored him to the throne, but who in reality reigned himself, and who possessed either of his own or by his sons the counties of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hereford, and Oxford, that is to say, the whole of the South of England.\* Godwin was accused of having formerly invited Alfred, Edward's brother, and of having betrayed him to the Danes. This powerful family cared neither for the king nor the law; for Sweyn, one of Godwin's sons, having slain his cousin Beorn, the poor king Edward had been unable to avenge his murder.† The Normans whom he opposed to Godwin were forcibly driven from the island;‡ Godwin's sons became the masters, and one of them named Harold, who was, indeed, endowed with great qualities, acquired so much power over the weak monarch, as to induce him to name him his successor.

The Normans, who made sure of reigning after Edward, persevered with their customary tenaciousness of purpose. They asserted that he had named William his successor. Harold contended that his title was better founded, that Edward had named him on his death-bed, and that in England bequests made at the last moment held good.§ William, however, averred that he was prepared to plead either by the Norman or the English law;|| and, by a singular chance, he had acquired a right over England and over Harold, its new king.

Harold, forced by a storm on the lands of the count of Ponthieu, William's vassal, was by him given up to his suzerain. He pretended that he had left England to require from the duke of Normandy his brother and his nephew, whom the duke retained as hostages. William treated him well, but did not let him go so easily. He dubbed him knight, and Harold thus became his son at arms. Next, he made him swear on certain holy relics that he would assist him to conquer England¶ after Edward's

\* "The Anglo-Saxons," says William of Malmesbury, "had, long before the arrival of the Normans, neglected the study of letters and of religion. The priests were content with a hurried education, could scarcely stammer out the words of the sacraments, and were all astonished if any one of them were acquainted with grammar. They all drank together; and this was the study to which they vowed their days and nights. They consumed their revenues in the joys of the table, in small, wretched houses; very different from the French and the Normans, who, dwelling in vast and superb buildings, go to very little expense in living. Hence, they had all the vices which attend drunkenness, and which enervate men's hearts. And thus, after having fought William with more rashness and blind fury than military skill, they were easily conquered by a single battle, and they and their country submitted to a hard slavery.—At this period, the dress of the English fell to the middle of the knee. They wore their hair short, their beard shaven, golden bracelets on their arms, and their complexion heightened by paint and colored pigments. They were gluttonous to corpulence, and drunken to brutishness. They imitated their conquerors with these two vices; in other respects, they adopted the customs of the Normans. On their side the Normans were, and are still," in the middle of the twelfth century, the period at which William of Malmesbury wrote, "careful in dress, even to fastidiousness, delicate in their food, though temperate; accustomed to warfare, and unable to live without it though impetuous in attack, they know how to make use of stratagem and corruption when force is powerless. As I have said, they build fine buildings, and lay out little on their table. They are envious of their equals, would wish to outvie their superiors, and while despoiling their inferiors, will protect them against strangers. Faithful to their lords; yet the least offence will make them unfaithful. They can weigh perfidy against fortune, and sell their oath. Lastly, they are of all people the most susceptible of friendly sentiments: they will honor strangers equally with their own countrymen, and do not disdain to intermingle with their subjects." William of Malmesbury, *de Gestis Regum Anglorum*, l. ii. c. 1. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 185. Mith. Paris, ed. 1644, p. 4. "The Saxon nobles . . . did not repair to church in the morning, according to Christian use, but loitering in their courches and their wives' chambers, they were content with hastily snatching a word of the solemn rites of matins and of mass." Order Vital, l. iv. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 232. "The Normans found the Angles boorish, and almost without tincture of letters."

\* Thierry, *Conq. de l'Angleterre*, &c. 1836, t. i. p. 222.

† See Lingard's *History of England*, vol. i. p. 405, 406.

‡ Guill. Malmesh. xi. p. 174. Godwinus tantum brevi valuit, ut Normannos omnes ignominiose notatos ab Anglia effugaret.

§ Guill. Pietav. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 94.

|| Id. *ibid.* 95.

\* Id. *ibid.* 87. Heraldis ei fidelitatem sancto ritu Christianorum juravit. . . . Se in curia Edwardi, quando superesset, ducis Guillelmi vicarium fore; enleumum . . . ut Anglica monarchia post Edwardi decessum in ejus manu confirmaretur. "He swore, too," adds the same writer, "to put Dover castle in William's hands on Edward's death." See, also, Guill. Malmesh. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 176.—"According to some," says Wace, "king Edward disowned Harold from this voyage, telling him that William had seduced him, and would play him some trick." Roman de Rou, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xiii. 223. See, too, Eadmer, *ibid.* xi. 192.—According to others, he sent him to ratify to the duke his promise of leaving him the throne of England—

"N'en sai mie votre occasion,  
Mais l'un et l'autre escrit trovons."

"I know not which to yield credit to, but we find written both one and the other report."

Guillaume de Jumièges, (ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 68.) Ingulf de Croyland, (*ibid.* 154.) Orderic Vital, (*ibid.* 234.) the Chronicle

§ Victim delirious. Raper de Hoveda, *ibid.* 21, 219.

made no haste; but dispatched a monk to tell the Saxon that he would be content to divide the kingdom with him. "If he obstinately refuse my offer," added William, "you will tell him before his followers, that he is perjured and a liar, that he and all who support him are excommunicated by the pope's own mouth, and that I can show the bull."<sup>\*</sup> This message had its effect. The Saxons began to doubt the goodness of their cause; and Harold's own brothers endeavored to persuade him not to fight in person, since, after all, was their argument, he had sworn.<sup>†</sup>

The Normans passed the night devoutly confessing themselves; while the Saxons drank, indulged in loud and tumultuous festivity, and sang their national songs. In the morning, the bishop of Bayeux, William's brother, celebrated mass, and gave his benediction to the troops, armed with a hauberk under his rochet. William himself wore hung from his neck the most sacred of the relics on which Harold had sworn, and the standard blessed by the pope was borne before him.

At first, the Anglo-Saxons, intrenched behind palisades, remained immovable and impassable under the discharges of William's archers, and although Harold fell struck to the brain by an arrow which entered his eye, the Normans had the worst. A panic seized them, for there was a rumor that the duke was slain; and, indeed, in the course of the battle he had three horses killed under him;<sup>‡</sup> but he showed himself, stopped the fliers, and led them back to the fight. It was precisely the advantage gained by the Saxons, which ruined them. They came down to the plain, and the Norman cavalry gained the upper hand. The lances bore down the axes. The palisades were forced; and all were put to the sword, or compelled to fight. (A. D. 1066.)

To fulfil the vow which he had made to St. Martin, the patron saint of the soldier of Gaul, William built a fair and rich abbey—*Battle Abbey*—on the hill on which primeval England had fallen with the last Saxon king. The names of the conquerors were read not long since there engraved on tablets—constituting the golden book of the English nobility. Harold was buried by the monks on this hill, in face of the sea. "He guarded the coast," said William; "he may guard it still."<sup>§</sup>

The Norman began by bearing his honors meekly, and by showing some consideration for the conquered. He degraded one of his followers who had struck Harold's dead body<sup>||</sup> with his sword; took the title of king of the English;

promised to observe the good laws of Edward the Confessor; attached London to him, and confirmed the privileges of the men of Kent. This was the most warlike of the English counties, (the Kentish men had a claim from time immemorial to the forming the vanguard of the English army,) and the one in which the old Celtic liberties were best preserved. When Lanfranc, the new archbishop of Canterbury, claimed exemption for the men of Kent, in virtue of their privileges, from the tyrannous exactions of William's brother, he was favorably listened to by the king. The conqueror even attempted to learn English,<sup>\*</sup> that he might the better administer justice to his new subjects: for he piqued himself on his judicial impartiality, which he exemplified by deposing his uncle (Malger, archbishop of Rouen) from his see, on account of the immorality of his conduct. Nevertheless, he built numerous forts, and took possession of all the strong places.

Perhaps William would have asked no better than to treat the conquered leniently. It was to his interest. He would only have been the more absolute for it in Normandy. But this was not the mark of the numerous followers to whom he had promised the spoil, and who were expecting it. They had not fought at Hastings to enable William to come to an amicable understanding with the Saxons. He withdrew to Normandy, where he remained several years, no doubt to elude and defer the execution of his promises, until the strangers who had followed his fortunes should become disgusted and retire to their several countries. But an alarming revolt broke out in his absence. The Saxons could not believe that they had been irretrievably conquered in one battle. Thus William stood in need of the services of his men at arms, and this time a division of the spoil was a thing of necessity. England was measured in its length and breadth, and accurately described. William created sixty thousand knights' fees at the cost of the Saxons, and inscribed their specification in the black book of the conquest—*Domesday Book*—the book of the day of judgment. Then began those frightful scenes of spoliation, which have been given to us in so lively and dramatic a history.<sup>†</sup> Yet must we

<sup>\*</sup> *Chronique de Normandie*, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 231.

<sup>†</sup> William, on the contrary, proposed to decide the question by single combat. *Proponelat Willelmus . . . soli rem gladiis ventillarent.* Math. Paris, p. 2, col. 2, ed. 1644.

<sup>‡</sup> *Ord. Vit.* ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 236. *Tres equi sub eo confusus ceciderunt.*—Guill. Pictav. *ibid.* 98. Guill. Malmesb. *ibid.* 184.

<sup>§</sup> Lingard's England, vol. i. p. 452.

<sup>||</sup> Math. Paris, p. 3. *Jacentis femur regis gladio prædidit . . . militis palans.* . . .—Alberic. Tr. Font. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 361.

<sup>\*</sup> *Ord. Vital.* ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 243. *Anglican locutionem plerumque satagit ediscere.* The writer adds—"But his busy life hindered him from acquiring it."—He set out by severely repressing the licentiousness of his mercenaries. Guill. Pictav. *ibid.* 101. "The women were safe from violence, and even the common dissoluteness of the camp was forbidden. He did not allow the soldiery to frequent the cottagers too much . . . he prohibited all jangling, bloody strife, and plunder . . . he ordered the ports and all roads to be opened to merchants, and no injury to be done them." The conscientious Orderic Vital has copied this passage of William's panegyrist. *ibid.* 234.—"The weak and unarmed," says William of Pontiers, "went about singing on his horns wherever he liked, without trembling at the sight of squadrons of horsemen."—"A girl, covered with gold," says Hastingdon, "might have walked over the whole kingdom without injury."—Ser. R. Fr. xi. 211. At a later period the resistance of the Anglo-Saxons irritated William, and pushed him on to those acts of violence which fill all the chronicles.

<sup>†</sup> Thierry's *Conquête de l'Angleterre*.

not believe that all was taken from the conquered. Many of them preserved estates, and this in every county. We find set down to one Saxon alone forty-one manors in the county of York.\*

The judgment formed of the Conqueror by the Saxons themselves will not be read without interest.—

"If any one wish to know what manner of man he was, or what worship he had, or of how many lands he were the lord, we will describe him as we have known him: for we looked on him, and some while lived in his herd. King William was a very wise man, and very rich, more worshipful and strong than any of his fore-gangers. He was mild to good men, who loved God: and stark beyond all bounds to those who withstood his will. On the very stede, where God gave him to win England, he reared a noble monastery, and set monks therein, and endowed it well. He was very worshipful. Thrice he bore his king-helmet every year, when he was in England; at Easter he bore it at Winchester, at Pentecost at Westminster, and in mid-winter at Gloucester. And then were with him all the rich men over all England: archbishops and diocesan bishops, abbots and earls, thanes and knights. Moreover he was a very stark man, and very savage: so that no man durst do any thing against his will. He had earls in his bonds, who had done against his will: bishops he set off their bishoprics, abbots off their abbotries, and thanes in prisons: and at last he did not spare his own brother Odo. Him he set in prison. Yet among other things we must not forget the good frith which he made in this land: so that a man that was good for aught, might travel over the kingdom with his bosom full of gold without molestation, and no man durst slay another man, though he had suffered never so much evil from the other. He ruled over England: and by his cunning he was so thoroughly acquainted with it, that there is not a hide of land of which he did not know both who had it and what was its worth: and that he set down in his writings. Wales was under his weald, and therein he wrought castles, and he wielded the Isle of Man withal: moreover he subdued Scotland by his nuckle strength. Normandy was his by kinn, and over the earldom called Mans he ruled: and if he might have lived yet two years, he would have won Ireland by the fame of his power, and without any armament. Yet truly in his time, men had much suffering and very many hardships. Castles he caused to be wrought and poor men to be oppressed, he was so very stark. He took from his subjects many marks of gold and many hundred pounds of silver: and that he took, some by right, and some by nuckle might, for very little need. He had fallen into avarice, and greediness he loved withal. He let his lands to fine, as dear as he could: then came some other and bade more than the first had

given, and the king let it to him who bade more. Then came a third, and bid yet more, and the king let it into the hands of the men who bade the most. Nor did he reck how sinfully his reeves got money of poor men, or how many unlawful things they did. For the more men talked of right law, the more they did against the law. He also set many deer-friths:† and he made laws therewith, that whosoever should slay hart or hind, him man should blind. As he forbade the slaying of harts, so also did he of boars. So much he loved the high-deer, as if he had been their father. He also decreed about hares, that they should go free. His rich men moaned, and the poor men murmured; but he was so hard, that he recked not the hatred of them all. For it was need they should follow the king's will withal, if they wished to live, or to have lands, or goods, or his favor. Alas! that any man should be so moody, and should so puff up himself, and think himself above all other men!—May Almighty God have mercy on his soul, and grant him forgiveness of his sins."‡

Whatever the evils with which the conquest may have been attended, its result, in my opinion, was of immense service to England and to mankind.§ For the first time, there was a government. The social bond, loose and floating in France and Germany, was tightly strung in England. The barons, few in number, and in the midst of a whole people whom they oppressed, were obliged to serry themselves around the king. William received the oath of the *arrière-vassals* as well as that of the *vassals*.¶ Now the vassals of the king of France did ready homage to him; but had he gone to the duke of Guyenne or the count of Flanders, and demanded that the barons and knights dependent on either should do him, not them, homage, he would have fared very differently. But in this lay the germ of the whole;—a monarchy which depended on the homage of the great vassals alone, was purely nominal. Removed, by its elevation in the political hierarchy, from those lower ranks in which dwelt the true strength of the nation, it remained solitary and weak at the top of the pyramid, while the great vassals, placed between the two extremes, rested firmly upon the powerful base.

The Norman barons of the first century, conscious of the constant jeopardy of their situation, bore with strange stretches of authority on the king's part, intrusting him—as the depository of the common interest of the conquest, and defender of its vast and terrible

\* There to the were forests in which the deer were under the king's protection or frith.

† Chron. Sax. ap. Ser. R. P. vol. 51. The foregoing version is from Langford vol. 1. p. 98. 101.

‡ So think Gifford, and the authors of the *Art de vérifier les Dates*.

§ Chron. Sax. ap. Ser. R. P. vol. 51. *Omnes proinde tenentes quicquid essent sibi melius per terram Anglorum, ejus facti sunt vassalli, ac ei fidelitatem juramentum prebuerunt.*

injustice,—with full means to secure the safety of the kingdom. He was the guardian of all noble minors; and married noble heiresses to whomsoever he chose. These wardships and marriages he turned equally to account, consuming the property of the infants under his wardship, and deriving a revenue from those desirous of rich wives, and from those females who refused to marry as he recommended.\* Feudal rights of the kind existed on the continent, but under a very different form. The king of France could object to a marriage injurious to his interests, but not force a husband on his vassal's daughter; he was the guardian of minors, but only after the law of the feudal hierarchy, the wardship of arrière-vassals being his vassals' right and profit, and not his.

Independently of the *Danegelt*, which was levied on all, under pretext of providing for defence against the Danes, and independently of the tallage exacted of the conquered, and of those who were not noble, the king of England drew a tax from the nobles themselves, under the honorable name of *escuage*; which was a dispensation from military service. Worn out by constant summonses to the field, the barons preferred disbursing their money to following their adventurous sovereign in his numerous enterprises; and he gained in power by the exchange. He purchased, instead of the capricious and uncertain service of the barons, that of mercenary soldiers, Gascons, Brabantons, Gauls, and others; and men of this stamp depending completely on the monarch, constituted his strength against the aristocracy; which thus paid for the bit and bridle that he put into its mouth.

In this manner was the kingly power built up, and by its side the Church; a powerful and politic Church, like that founded by Charlemagne in Saxony, in order to tame down the ancient Saxons. Nowhere did the clergy take so large a share of things temporal; and even now, the revenue of the Anglican Church exceeds the collective revenues of all other churches in the world.† The centre of this Church was the archbishop of Canterbury, who was a sort of patriarch or pope, who did not always regard the orders of him of Rome, and who, on the other hand, often interposed between the king and people, and not unfrequently to the advantage of the conquered—of the Saxons.‡ “Archbishop Lanfranc, William's counsellor and confessor, encouraged and armed

by the favor of the pope and that of the king, attacked and broke down the power of the prelates and nobles, who were rebellious to the royal authority.”§ It was he who governed England when William went over to the continent.

So strongly organized a monarchy and a church as the Anglo-Norman, held out an impressive example to the world; whose kings envied the omnipotence of the English sovereigns, whilst their people desired the regular, though tyrannical, government, which prevailed in Great Britain.

It is true, the conquered paid dearly for this order and organization; but, at last, the desertion of the country peopled the towns,† and their strong and compact population prepared a new destiny for England. In order to confine the feudal jurisdictions,‡ William had kept up the Saxon tribunals of the county and *hundred*; and they were likewise narrowed and overruled by the supreme authority of the king's court. Thus England, enclosed in an iron frame, began to know public order; an order which gave development to prodigious social strength. In the two centuries succeeding the conquest, notwithstanding numerous calamities, there were reared those marvellous monuments, which the combined power of the present time could hardly equal. The low and sombre Saxon churches rose in bold spires and majestic towers; and if literature were prevented from taking an upward flight by difference of races and tongues, art, at least, began. It is by these monuments, and the social strength which they reveal, that we must form our judgment of the conquest, and not by the temporary distresses brought in its train. The Conquest was the complement of England, and the point from which she started; and it is this which constitutes its perfect justification.

Although the Normans were far from yielding all the church of Rome had promised herself, in the event of their success, she, nevertheless, was a large gainer. The Normans of Naples, from the beginning, and those of England in Henry the Second's time, and that of John, acknowledged themselves feudatories of the holy see. The Italian Normans often kept in check the emperors, both of the east and west, as regarded her; whilst the English Normans, formidable vassals to the king of France, long constrained him to submit unreservedly to the popes. At this very period, too, the Capetians of Burgundy were aiding the victories of the Cid, gaining by marriage the kingdom of Castile, and founding that of Portugal, (A. D. 1094 or 1095.) The Church was triumphant in every part of Europe, through

\* The bishop of Winchester paid a tun of good wine, for not renouncing the king John to give a girdle to the countess of Alençon; and Robert de Vaux five best peltries that the same king might hold his peace about Henry Pinel's wife. Another paid four marks, for leave to eat, *pro inventis comestibus*. Hallam, Europe in the Middle Ages, vol. ii. p. 436.

† According to an English journal quoted by the *Temps* of Nov. 8, 1831, the revenues of the Church of England amount to 236,499,125 francs; that of the Christian clergy throughout the rest of the world is 224,975,000 francs.

‡ See further on, Lanfranc, St. Anselm, Thomas a Becket, Stephen Langton, &c.

§ Matth. Paris, *Libro de Abbat. S. Albani*, p. 29, et ap. Ser. R. Fr. xiii. 52.

† In the early times of the conquest, the population of the towns fell off rapidly. Hallam, Europe in the Middle Ages, vol. ii. p. 437.

‡ *Id. ibid.* p. 434. The references to Hallam are uniformly to the edition in three volumes.

the sword of Frenchmen; who in Sicily and in Spain, in England and in the Greek empire, had begun or ended the crusade against the enemies of the pope and of the faith.

Nevertheless, these several enterprises had been undertaken too independently of each other, and on too selfish and interested grounds, to accomplish the grand aim of Gregory VII. and his successors—the unity of Europe under the pope, and the abasement of the two empires. It was essential to the realization of this grand aim of unity that the church should work visibly to effect it, and should summon Christianity to her aid. Amidst the differences which prevailed in it, the world of the eleventh century had yet one common principle of life—religion; and one common form of life, the feudal and warlike. Its unity could be effected by a religious war alone; it could only forget the differences of race and of political interests by which it was distracted, by being brought in presence of a general and a greater difference, so great, that every other should disappear in the comparison. Europe could only believe herself one, and become so, by seeing herself face to face with Asia. To this end the popes had directed their labors from the year 1000. A French pope, Gerbert—Sylvester II.—had addressed all Christian princes in the name of Jerusalem. Gregory VII. had eagerly desired to put himself at the head of fifty thousand knights in order to deliver the holy sepulchre. This glory was reserved for Urban II., a Frenchman as well as Gerbert. Germany had her crusade in Italy, and Spain her own, at home. The holy war of Jerusalem, decided upon in France, at the council of Clermont, and preached by the Frenchman Peter the Hermit, was carried into effect chiefly by Frenchmen. The crusades are idealized in two Frenchmen—in Godfrey of Bouillon, by whom they were begun, and in St. Louis, with whom they ended. It was for France to contribute more than all the other countries to that great event which rendered Europe one nation.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE CRUSADE—A. D. 1095—1099.

LONG had those two sisters, those two halves of humanity, Europe and Asia, the Christian religion and the Mussulman, brought of each other, when they were brought face to face by the crusades, and their opposing gaze met. That first glance was one of horror. Some time had to elapse before they could recognize one another, and mankind knew their common identity. Let us essay to appropriate what each then was, and to fix the age at which either had arrived in its religious life.

Islamism was the younger of the two, and yet the elder and more decayed. Her career was short. Born six hundred years later than Christianity, her term came with the crusades. All we have since seen of her has been a shadow, an empty form from which life has fled, and which is preserved by the barbarian heirs of the Arabs in silence and unquestioned.

Islamism, the most recent of the Asiatic religions, is also the last and the powerless effort of the East to escape the materialism which weighs heavy on it; an effort beyond Persia's strength, despite its heroic opposition of the kingdom of light to that of darkness, of Iran to Turan. Judea, too, locked up as she was in the unity of her abstract God, and concentrated to hardness within herself, was insufficient for the task. Neither could work the redemption of Asia. What can Mahomet, who only adopts the God of the Jews, and takes him from the chosen people to force him upon all? Shall Ismael know more than his brother Israel? Shall the desert of Arabia be more fecund than Persia and Judea?

God is God—this is Islamism: it is the religion of unity. Man is to disappear; the flesh to hide itself. There are to be neither images nor art. This terrible God will be jealous of his own symbols. He chooses to be alone, with man alone; whom he must fill and suffice. The patriarchy is almost destroyed; so, too, is the bond of consanguinity; so, too, the community of the tribe—all the old links of Asia. Woman is buried in the harem, the wives may be four, but the concubines innumerable. Brothers and kinsmen are knit together by but slight ties—the terms are lost in the one word—Mussulman. Families have no common name, no distinguishing signs,\* and do not appear to descend, but to be renewed each generation. Each builds himself a house, and the house perishes with the builder. Man holds neither to his fellow-man, nor to the soil. Isolated, and leaving no trace, they pass as the dust of the desert, and equal one to the other, just as grain resembles grain of sand, under the eye of a levelling God who wills there to be no hierarchy.

No Christ, no Mediator, no God-man—that ladder which Christianity had thrown us from on high, and which aspired to God through the Saints, the Virgin, the Angels, and Jesus, but which Mahomet rejects. He struck at the root of all hierarchy, both divine and human. God reaches in the heavens to an immense distance, or else weighs upon the earth, broods upon it, and crushes it. We become able atoms, equals in nothingness, on the level plane. This religion is overthrown. Arabia, sky and earth, with nothing between. No miracle raises us to it, to the heavens; no gentle vapour descends to us as to the fountains, but pitilessly stretched

\* The tribes have persons, but not fixed territorial bearings. Descriptions des Mores, M. de Marmont, Cabinet de M. de Boissac, t. i. p. 72, and p. 119.



out like a helmet of burning steel, hangs a dome of sullen blue.

Islamism, born for extension, will not remain in this state of sublime and sterile desolation. She must traverse the world, even at the risk of change. That God, the idea of whom Mahomet has borrowed from Moses, might remain abstract, pure, and terrible on the Jewish mountain or in the Arabian desert: but the horsemen of the prophet parade him victoriously from Bagdad to Cordova, from Damascus to Surat. The instant the whirl of the sabre and wind of the cimier cease to kindle his wild ardor, he will own the touch of humanity. I doubt his austerity when encircled by the paradises of the harem and its solitary roses, and by the sparkling fountains of the Alhambra. The flesh, denounced by this haughty religion, stubbornly rebels.\* Banished matter reappears under another form, and avenges itself with all the violence of an exile returning in triumph. They have shut up woman in the seraglio, but she shuts them up there with her. They would not have the Virgin: and they have been these thousand years fighting for Fatima.† They have rejected the God-man, and spurned the incarnation through hatred of Christ, while they proclaim that of Ali.‡ They have condemned magism, the reign of light; yet teach that Mahomet is the increate light§—though, according to others, it is Ali, and the imauns, Ali's descendants and successors, are incarnate rays. Ismail, the last of these imauns, has disappeared from the earth; but his race yet exists in secret, and it is a duty to seek it out. The visible representatives of Ali and of Fatima, were the Fatimite caliphs of Egypt; but these doctrines had prevailed before their time in the eastern mountains of the ancient Persian empire, where Islamism had been unable to extir-

pate magism.\* They burst out in the eighth and ninth centuries, when the fanatic followers of Karmath, who styled themselves ISMAELITES, set forth, sword in hand, in quest of their invisible imaun, throughout Asia, to be exterminated by hundreds of thousands by the Abbassides. But one of them, taking refuge in Egypt, founded the Fatimite dynasty, to the ruin of the Abbassides and the Koran.

Under their sway, mysterious Egypt revived her ancient mysteries. The Fatimites founded at Cairo the lodge, or *House of Wisdom*; a vast and darksome arsenal of fanaticism and science, of religion and atheism.† The only fixed doctrine of these Proteuses of Islamism was implicit obedience. You had only to resign yourself into their hands, to be led by nine stages from religion to mysticism,‡ from mys-

\* Hammer, *History of the Assassins*, p. 38, sqq. of the French translation.

† Ibid. p. 4.—The *House of Wisdom* is, perhaps, no other than that palace of Cairo, of which William of Tyre has left us so glowing a description. The degrees of wealth and of greatness, would seem to correspond with the degrees of initiation. However this be, we give a translation of this precious memorial of the past:—

"Hugh of Cesarea, and Geoffroy, a soldier of the temple, entered the city of Cairo, conducted by the soldan, to discharge their mission. They ascended to the palace, called *Casher* in the language of the country, with a numerous troop of apparitors, who preceded them sword in hand, and with great clamor. They were led through narrow and dark passages, and, at every gate, cohorts of armed Ethiopians did homage to the soldan, by repeated salutes. After clearing the first and second posts, they entered a larger space, open to the sun and the broad light of day, where they find galleries with marble columns, wainscoted with gold, enriched with sculpture in relief, paved with mosaic, and, throughout their whole extent, befitting royal magnificence. The richness of the material and of the workmanship involuntarily fastened the eyes; and the greedy looks, charmed by the novelty of the spectacle, could hardly be satisfied. There were basins, also, filled with limpid water; and the place resounded with the various warbling of birds unknown to our world, of strange form and color, each of which was fed with the different food to which its nature inclined it. As they proceeded, under the conduct of the chief of the eunuchs, they find buildings as superior to the first in elegance, as were those to the meanest house. Here was an astonishing variety of quadrupeds, such as painters imagine in the wantonness of their art, such as poetic lies describe, such as we see in dreams, such, in short, as are found in the lands of the Orient and of the South, while the West has never seen, and has scarcely ever heard of aught of the kind.—After many windings and corridors, which might have fixed the attention of the busiest man, they reached the palace itself, where more numerous bodies of armed men and of satellites proclaimed, by their multitude and by their dress, the incomparable magnificence of their master: the appearance of the places, too, also announced his opulence and prodigious riches. When they had entered the interior of the palace, the soldan, to honor his master according to custom, prostrated himself twice before him, and suppliantly rendered him a worship, which seemed due only to him—a kind of adoration. Suddenly, the curtains, interwoven with pearls and gold, which hung in the midst of the hall, before the throne, were drawn aside with marvellous rapidity, and displayed the caliph, who appeared on a golden throne, arrayed more magnificently than kings, and surrounded by a few of his domestics and favorite eunuchs." Wilhelm, *Tyrens*, l. xix. c. 17.

‡ This mystic spirit of the Alides has often led them to apply to devotion the language of love, just as it has given them a tendency to rise from the love of the real to that of the ideal.

A Persian poet says, addressing God—

"It is your beauty, O Lord! which, hidden though it be behind a veil, has made an infinite number of lovers and of mistresses."

"'Tis by the attraction of your perfumes that Laila ravished the heart of Medjouna; 'tis through the desire of pos-

\* With Mussulmans, the words "woman," and "an object forbidden by religion," are synonymous. *Bibl. des Croisades*, t. iv. p. 169.

† Fatima will enter Paradise next to Mahomet: the Mussulmans call her the Lady of Paradise.—Some Shiites (the followers of Ali) maintain that Fatima was not the less a virgin for becoming a mother, and that God was incarnate in her children.—Description des Monumens Musulmans du Cabinet de M. de Blacas, par M. Reinaud, ii. 130, 302.

‡ Whole provinces, in Persia and in Syria, still entertain the same belief. "Those Shiites who have not dared to say that *He was God*, have believed that he was almost so; and the Persians often say, 'I do not believe Ali to be God, but he is not far from it.'—The Shiites say that so resplendent was Ali's person, that none could support his look: and that the instant he went forth the people exclaimed, 'Thou art God,' on which Ali would strike them dead, but then call them to life again, when they would begin to exclaim louder than before, 'Thou art God, thou art God.'—Hence they have styled him the Dispenser of Light, and when they paint him, they cover his face." Reinoud, ii. 163.

§ According to some doctors, at the very moment of creation, God had before him the idea of Mahomet, and this idea, at once a spiritual and a luminous substance, threw out three rays, of the first, God created the heavens; of the second, the earth; and of the third, Adam and all his race. "Thus the notion of a Trinity enters into Islamism, as well as that of the incarnation.—The Westerns thought they detected in it the Christian hierarchy.—"These nations," says Guibert de Nogent, "have their pope the same as we have ours." L. V. ap. Bongars, pp. 312, 313.

philosophy, thence to doubt and abso-  
lence.\* Their missionaries pene-  
every quarter of Asia, and even into  
e of Bagdad, inundating the caliphate  
bassides with their destroying dissol-  
ersia had long been prepared to receive  
before Karmath and Mahomet, under  
r Sassanides, sectaries had preached a  
ty of goods and of women, and of the  
ey of the just and unjust. It was not  
ored to the mountains of ancient Per-  
rda Cashm, and to the very spot which  
h to the early liberators of the coun-  
blacksmith Kaf, with his famous  
pron, and the hero, Feridoon, with his  
eaded mace,† that the doctrine bore its  
This Mahometan Protestantism, in-  
to the intrepid population of this re-  
n assimilated with their spirit of na-  
stance, and taught them the execra-  
on of assassination. It began here  
Hassan-ben-Sabah-Homairi, who, be-  
ted by the Abbassides and the Fat-  
ide himself master, in 1090, of the for-  
Alamut, (the *Culture's Nest*;) which  
ring he named the *Abode of Fortune*.‡  
founded an association, of which Fa-  
as the ostensible, but the destruction  
hion the real object. Like the lodge  
this corporation had its professors and  
ries. Alamut was stored with books  
ematical instruments,§ the arts were  
d there; and these sectaries penetrated

in every direction as physicians, astrologers,  
goldsmiths, and a thousand other disguises.  
But the art to which they most devoted them-  
selves was assassination. These fearful men  
came forward one by one to poniard or sultan,  
or caliph, and followed each other neither  
daunted nor discouraged, as one after another  
they were hacked in pieces.\* It is asserted,  
that in order to inspire them with this desper-  
ate courage, their chief overcame them by in-  
toxicating beverages, bore them as they slept  
into bowers devoted to voluptuousness, and then  
persuaded them that they had had a foretaste  
of the Paradise promised to the faithful.† No  
doubt the old heroism of the mountaineer, which  
rendered this country the cradle of the libera-  
tors of Persia, as well as that of the modern  
Wahabites, came in aid of these persuasives.  
Like the Spartan matron, mothers here boast-  
ed of their dead sons, and only mourned the liv-  
ing. The chief of the Assassins styled himself  
*Sheik of the mountain*; which was also the  
title of the native chiefs who had their forts on  
the other slope of the same chain.‡

This Hassan, who for five and thirty years  
did not once leave Alamut, nor twice quit his  
room, did not the less extend his dominion over  
most of the castles and strongholds of the moun-  
tains between the Caspian and the Mediterra-  
nean. His assassins inspired unspeakable ter-  
ror. Princes, summoned to deliver up their  
fortresses, durst neither yield them nor keep  
them; they demolished them. There was no  
more any safety for kings. Each might any  
moment see a murderer spring forth from the  
midst of his most faithful servants. A sultan  
who persecuted the Assassins saw one morn-  
ing when he awoke a dagger stuck in the  
ground, two fingers' breadth from his head. he  
at once paid tribute to them, exempting them  
from every tax and toll.§

Such was the situation of Islamism—the ca-  
liphate of Bagdad, enslaved under a Turkish  
guard, that of Cairo, dying of corruption; and  
that of Cordova, dismembered and fallen to  
pieces. One thing alone was strong and living  
in the Mahometan world—this horrible heroism  
of the Assassins, a hideous power, firmly plant-  
ed on the old Persian mountain in face of the  
caliphate, like the poniard close to the sultan's  
head.

How much more full of life and youth was  
Christianity at the time of the crusades! The  
spectral, the slave of the temporal power in  
Asia, balanced and overbore it in Europe, res-  
cued and tempted as it just had been by mu-

a, that Vamek breathed so many sighs for her  
deceit." *Rasselas*, c. 32.  
refrain from quoting the following ode:—  
lip has become a wine-cup, from which we have  
ment, native-born knowledge, and the rose a  
reah complexion, who constitutes the delight of  
the nightingale, making the garden re-echo with  
accents, as like a mountain striking up the dance  
into the garden, for without thy care or mine, all  
pleasure  
he rose has removed the veil from before her  
I have opened, the narcissus has become an eye  
on her  
e has succeeded to the thorns, spring to the  
but O thou whom I adore, the thorn which thou  
ped into my heart, causes strange convulsions  
hy eyes to consider the narcissus, thou wouldst  
be the centre of the Paradise around the sun, to  
flow, with white petals  
thou wouldst say, that it is a golden cup in the  
quaint of every complexion, the cup surrounded  
fingers  
odet has been killed, and is surrounded by blood  
purple mantle, that is very hot, one who has  
edure has turned beneath her feet a carpet of  
sage  
slapping, and to make it, to break the heart  
red with grief and complaints  
I am deceived, I am in that the king of the  
has been killed under the crescent, and a heart des-  
cendant

with the power of heart, it is given as a tribute  
of the king, the crown, the robe, the sceptre, the  
into the hands of the queen, the crown of the king  
crown, the robe  
the king, the crown, the robe, the sceptre, the  
into the hands of the queen, the crown of the king  
crown, the robe  
the king, the crown, the robe, the sceptre, the  
into the hands of the queen, the crown of the king  
crown, the robe

\* *Ibid.* p. 97.  
† *Ibid.* p. 97.

\* *Ibid.* p. 104, 105, 111 &c. A hundred and twenty-  
four have been known to attempt the life of one sultan, one  
after the other.

† Heron, count of Champagne, visiting the grand price of  
the Assassins, the latter led him up a lofty tower, at each  
battlement of which stood two *gendres*, or devils. On a  
sign from him, two of these sentinels flung themselves from  
the top of the tower. "If you wish it," he said to the  
count, "all these men shall do the same." *Maria Stuart*  
c. 11.

‡ *Hammer*, p. 223.

§ *Ibid.* p. 111, 112.

nastic chastity and the celibacy of the priests. The caliphate declined, and the papacy was on the rise. Mahometanism was dividing, Christianity was uniting. The first could only expect invasion and ruin; and, in fact, its sole power of resistance sprang from its receiving within its bosom the Mongols and the Turks, that is to say, from its becoming barbarian.

The pilgrimage of the crusade is neither a new nor a strange fact. Man is by nature a pilgrim: long is it since he set forth on his journey, and I know not when he will arrive at its end. Little is needed to put him in motion. First, Nature leads him about like a child by showing him a basking place in the sun, or offering him fruit—the vine of Italy to the Gauls, to the Normans the orange of Sicily;\* or else she tempts and attracts him under woman's form. Rape is the first conquest. 'Tis the beautiful Helen who inspires him; then, as moral feelings arise, the chaste Penelope, the heroic Brynhild or the Sabines. When the emperor Alexis invited our Frenchmen to the holy war, he did not forget to extol the beauty of the Greek women to them. It is said that the lovely dames of Milan had something to do with the persevering efforts of Francis I. to conquer Italy.

Our country is another mistress, who also lures us on. Ulysses felt not fatigue in his desire to see the smoke rise from his Ithacan home. Under the Empire, the men of the north vainly sought their Asgard, the city of the Asi, of their gods and heroes. They found a better thing. In their blind haste they hurried against Christianity. Our crusaders, who marched filled with such ardent love to Jerusalem, perceived that the land of God was not by the brook of Cedron, or in the arid valley of Jehoshaphat. Then they turned their gaze upwards, and awaited in melancholy hope another Jerusalem. The Arabs were amazed when they saw Godfrey of Bouillon seated on the ground. The conqueror said sorrowfully to them—"Is not the ground good enough for a seat, when we shall return to its bosom for so long a sleep!"† They withdrew, filled with admiration. The West and the East had understood each other.

It behooved, however, that the crusade should go on to its end. It behooved that this vast and manifold world of the middle age, which contained within itself all the elements of the preceding worlds, Greek, Roman, and Barbarian, should reproduce all previous contests of the human race. It behooved that this world should represent under the Christian form, and in colossal proportions, the inva-

sion of Asia by the Greeks, and the conquest of Greece by the Romans, while the Greek column and the Roman arch should be bound together, and reared toward the sky in the gigantic pillars and aerial ceilings of our cathedrals.

Long had the concussion begun. From the year 1000, in particular; ever since mankind thought they had a chance of life, and entertained a gleam of hope, a crowd of pilgrims took up the staff and wended their way, some to the shrine of St. James, others to Monte-Cassino, to the holy apostles of Rome, and thence to Jerusalem. Their feet bore them thither of themselves; yet was the voyage dangerous and painful. Happy he who returned! Happier still he who died near the tomb of Christ, and who could exclaim in the presumptuous language of a writer of the time, "Lord, you died for me, I die for you."<sup>‡</sup>

The early pilgrims met with a friendly reception from the Arabs, who were a commercial people. The Fatimites of Egypt, secretly hostile to the Koran, also treated them well. But the scene was changed when the caliph Hakem, the son of a Christian woman,† gave himself out for an incarnation of the Divinity. He hated alike the Christians for their belief that the Messiah had come, and the Jews for their obstinate conviction that he was yet to come, and persecuted both accordingly. From his time the holy sepulchre was only to be approached on condition of defiling it, as in later times the Dutch could gain admission into Japan only by trampling upon the cross. The story of the count of Anjou, Fulk-Nerra, who had so many sins to expiate, and went so often to Jerusalem, is well known. Constrained by the infidels to pollute the sacred tomb, he managed to pour costly wine instead of urine upon it.‡ Returning on foot from Jerusalem, he died of fatigue at Metz.

But neither fatigues nor insults checked the pilgrims. These haughty men, who for a word would have shed torrents of blood in their own country, piously submitted to all the humiliations which it pleased the Saracens to exact. In the eleventh century, the duke of Normandy, and the counts of Barcelona, of Flanders, and of Verdun, accomplished this trying pil-

\* To this day, the Icelandic expresses an ardent longing by the phrase *at langing for eye*.

† We read in Tyr. l. ix. c. 21. Respondit: "Quod homini mortis sufferre merito terra pro sede temporalis poterat, cui post mortem perpetuum dominium est prastitura." . . . The writer adds: "They departed, saying, 'Of a verity, this man will subdue all countries, and for his deserts will rule over the people and the nations.'"

‡ Pierre d'Anvergne, ap. Raynouard, *Choix de Poésies des Troubadours*, iv. 113.—Rad. Glaber, l. iv. c. 6, ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 50. "About the same time no countless a multitude began to flock from every quarter of the globe, to the sepulchre of our Saviour at Jerusalem, such as no man could before hope for—the common people . . . middling classes . . . kings and counts . . . bishops . . . many noble, together with poorer women . . . It was the heart felt wish of many to die before they returned home."

§ Hammer, *History of the Assassins*.

† Gesta Consulum Anlogav. ap. Ser. R. Fr. x. 256. They told him, in order to divert him from his desire, that he would by no means be permitted to see the holy sepulchre, unless he would incurr upon it . . . The wary man, albeit unwilling, consented; and procuring the bladder of a ram, well purified and cleaned, and filling it with the best white wine, he fitted it between his thighs, and taking off his shoes . . . advanced, and poured the wine on the sepulchre."

grimage. Danger but increased the anxiety to perform it: the pilgrims only took the precaution of journeying in larger bodies. In 1054, the bishop of Cambrai attempted it with three thousand Flemings, but failed. Thirteen years afterwards, the bishops of Mentz, Ratisbon, Bamberg, and Utrecht, together with some Norman knights, forming on the whole a small army of seven thousand men,\* managed with great difficulty to reach Jerusalem; but only two thousand, at the most, saw Europe again. Meanwhile the Turks, masters of Bagdad and partisans of its caliph, had got possession of Jerusalem, where they massacred indiscriminately all believers in the incarnation, both Ahdex and Christians. The Greek empire, daily narrowed in its limits, saw their cavalry push on as far as the Bosphorus, in face of Constantinople.† On the other side, the Fatimites trembled behind the ramparts of Damietta and of Cairo. Like the Greeks, they addressed themselves to the princes of the West. Alexis Comnena had already established relations with the count of Flanders, whom he had entertained magnificently on his way to Jerusalem. The Greek ambassadors, with the talkative genius of their race, vaunted the wealth of the East, and the empires and kingdoms which were to be conquered there: the cowards went so far as to boast of the beauty of their daughters and of their wives,‡ and seemed to promise them to the men of the West.

All these motives would not have sufficed to move the people, and communicate to them that mighty impulse which bore them on to the East. They had long heard of holy wars. The life of Spain was but one crusade, and each day news came of some victory of the Cid's, the taking of Toledo or of Valencia: but how poor compared to the prize of Jerusalem! Had not the Genoese and the Pisans, the conquerors of Sardinia and of Corsica, been carrying on a crusade for a century? When Sylvester II. wrote his famous letter in the name of Jerusalem, the Pisans armed a fleet, landed in Africa, and there massacred, it is said, a hundred thousand Moors.§ Yet it was sensibly felt that religion had little to do with all this. Danger to the Spaniards interested the Italians, who, after a momentary interval, the idea of cutting off the route leading to Jerusalem, and of intercepting the treasures to themselves, the wealth which attracted to themselves the East, by lading the crusades with arms from Judaea, bringing with them what was sought at such a distance, and making a holy land in the Campagna of Pisa.

But the religious feeling of the people could not be thus played with, nor they diverted from the holy sepulchre. Amidst the extreme sufferings of the middle age, men yet preserved tears for the woes of Jerusalem. That loud voice which, in the year 1000, had threatened them with the end of the world, again made itself heard, and bade them repair to Palestine in gratitude for the respite which God had granted them. The report ran that the power of the Saracens had reached its term. They had only to go right on by the high road which Charlemagne was said to have formerly opened,\* and to march unweariedly towards the rising sun, to seize the spoil which lay ready to their hands, and gather God's good manna. Wretchedness and slavery were at an end: the hour of deliverance had arrived. The East had wealth enough to make them all rich. Of arms, vessels, and provisions there was no need: to have troubled themselves about them, would have been to tempt the vengeance of God. They declared that their only guides should be the simplest of creatures, a goose and a goat.† Pious and touching confidence of infant humanity!

A Picard, who was vulgarly called *Coucou Pierre*, (Peter Capouch—a *cucullo*, from the monkish *cowl*—or Peter the Hermit,) is said to have powerfully contributed by his eloquence to this great popular movement.‡ On his return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he persuaded the French pope, Urban II., to preach the crusade, first at Placenza, then at Clermont, (A. D. 1095.)§ In Italy the call was un-

\* Per viam quam yndudum Carolus Magnus, mirificus Francorum rex, apertit fecit usque Constantinopolim. Anonymi Gesta Frangi. Hierosolym. ap. Bongars, p. 1. Robert Monch. p. 23.—Prophets announced that Charlemagne himself would appear and put himself at the head of the crusade.

† Albert. Aquis. l. i. c. 31.—They asserted that the goose was filled with the Divine Spirit, and the goat likewise, and chose them for guides—"in like manner the Scholars descended from their mountains, led by a wolf, a woodpecker, and an ox, and Cadmus was guided by a cow into Bœotia, &c.

‡ Gilbert. Nov. l. i. c. 8.—The lower order of people, destitute of resources, but very numerous, attached themselves to one Peter the Hermit, and obeyed him as their master, at least so long as matters passed in our country. I have discovered that this was originally, if I mistake not, from the city of Amiens, had at first led a solitary life under the habit of a monk, in I know not what part of Flanders. He set out thence, by what impression I am ignorant, but we then saw him traversing the streets and squares, and preaching everywhere. The people surrounded him in crowds, wherever he met him with presents, and procured his converts with the greatest ease, that I do not remember. As he never having been rendered to any one. He was very generous in distributing whatever was given him. He thought less to their husbands' wives who had wronged them, not without adding gifts to himself, and restoring some of the goods and restoring to them those who had been plundered with mysterious authority. In what ever he did and there seemed to be something divine in him, so that they would even pluck the hairs out of his head, to keep them as relics, which I relate here not as credible, but for the sake of the very extraordinary things. He wore only a wooden tunic, and above it a cloth of coarse cloth, with which hung to his heels. His arms and feet were naked, he ate bread of no bread, and supported himself on water and salt.

Remember, he said, God's own words, who has said to the Church, I will bring thy seed from the East

\* See the sup. l. i. c. 31. p. 23. Addenda. See the sup. l. i. c. 31. p. 23. Addenda.

† See the sup. l. i. c. 31. p. 23. Addenda.

‡ See the sup. l. i. c. 31. p. 23. Addenda.

§ See the sup. l. i. c. 31. p. 23. Addenda.

¶ See the sup. l. i. c. 31. p. 23. Addenda.

¶ See the sup. l. i. c. 31. p. 23. Addenda.

heeded; in France every one rushed to arms. At the council of Clermont, four hundred bishops or mitred abbots were present: it was the triumph of the Church and the people, and the condemnation of the greatest names on the earth, those of the emperor and of the king of France, no less than of the Turks, and of the dispute, as well, concerning the right of investiture, which had got mixed up with the question of advance on Jerusalem. All mounted the red cross on their shoulders. Red stuffs and vestments of every kind were torn in pieces; yet were insufficient for the purpose.\*

An extraordinary spectacle was then presented: the world seemed turned upside down. Men suddenly conceived a disgust for all they had before prized; and hastened to quit their proud castles, their wives, and children. There was no need of preaching; they preached to each other, says a contemporary, both by word and example. "Thus," he proceeds to say, "was fulfilled the saying of Solomon—'The locusts have no king, yet go they forth all of them by bands.' These locusts had not soared on deeds of goodness so long as they remain stiffened and frozen in their iniquity; but no sooner were they warmed by the rays of the sun of justice, than they rose and took their flight. They had no king. Each believing soul chose God alone for his guide, his chief, his companion in arms. . . . Although the French alone had heard the preaching of the crusade, what Christian people did not supply soldiers as well! . . . You might have seen the Scotch, covered with a shaggy cloak, hasten from the heart of their marshes. . . . I take God to witness, that there landed in our ports barbarians from nations I wist not of: no one understood their tongue, but placing their fingers in the form of a cross, they made a sign that they desired to proceed to the defence of the Christian faith.

"There were some who at first had no desire to set out, and who laughed at those who parted with their property, foretelling them a miserable voyage, and more miserable return. The next day, these very mockers, by some sudden impulse, gave all they had for money, and set out with those whom they had just laughed at. Who can name the children and aged women who prepared for war; who count the virgins, and old men trembling under the weight of years! . . . You would have smiled to see the poor shoeing their oxen like horses, dragging their slender stock of provisions and their little children in carts; and these little ones, at each town or castle they

and gather thee from the West.' God has brought your children from the East, since this country of the East has twice produced the first principles of our Church, and he collects them from the West, to repair the miseries of Jerusalem, by the arms of those who have lost received the teaching of the faith, that is to say, by the Westerns." Id. l. ii. c. 4.

\* "There were those who imprinted the cross upon themselves with a red hot iron." Alberic. Tr. Font. ap. Leibnitzii *Accessiones Historice*, l. 147.

came to, asked in their simplicity—'Is not that the Jerusalem that we are going to!'"

The people set forth without waiting for any thing, leaving the princes to deliberate, to arm, and to reckon; men of little faith! The little troubled themselves with nothing of the kind: they were certain of a miracle. Would God refuse one for the deliverance of the holy sepulchre! Peter the Hermit marched at their head, bare-footed, and girt with a cord. Others followed a brave and poor knight, whom they called *Gautier-Sans-Avoir*, (*Walter the Penniless*.) Among so many thousands of men there were not eight horses. Some Germans followed the example of the French, and set out under the guidance of a countryman of their own, named *Gotteschalk*. The whole descended the valley of the Danube—the route followed by Attila, the highway of mankind.†

On their road they took, plundered, and indemnified themselves beforehand for their holy war. Every Jew they could lay hands upon they put to death with tortures; believing that they were bound to punish the murderers of Christ before delivering his tomb. In this guise, fierce, and dripping with blood, they reached Hungary and the Greek empire; where they inspired such horror, that the inhabitants set upon their traces, and hunted them down like wild beasts. The emperor furnished vessels to the survivors, and transported them into Asia, trusting to the arrows of the Turks to do the rest; and the excellent *Anna Comnena* is happy in the belief, that they left in the plain of Nicea mountains of bones, which served for the building of the walls of a town.‡

Meanwhile, the unwieldy armies of princes, barons, and knights, put themselves slowly into motion. No king took part in the crusade, but many lords more powerful than kings. Hugh of Vermandois, brother of the king of France, and son-in-law of the king of England, the wealthy Stephen of Blois, Robert Curt-Hose. William the Conqueror's son, and the count of Flanders, set out at the same time—all equal, none chief. They did but little honor to the crusade. The fat Robert,§ the man of all others who lost a kingdom with the best grace, only went to Jerusalem through idleness: Hugh and Stephen returned without reaching it.

Raymond de Saint-Gille, count of Toulouse, was, beyond comparison, the wealthiest of all who took the cross. The countships of Rou-

\* Gilbert. Nov. l. ii. c. 6.

† The countries bordering on the Rhine took but little share in the crusade. "The expedition little interested the eastern Franks, Saxons, Thuringians, Bavarians, and Alluvians, on account of the schism which then divided the empire and the sacerdotal power." Alberic. ap. Leibnitz. Access. p. 119.—See Gilbert. l. ii. c. 1.

‡ Anna Comnena. l. x. § 27. "Ἦντος αὐτὸς εἰς ῥήματα ἱερῶν περιελαμπὴν οὖρον καὶ λίθους καὶ δακρυὰς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἁγίας."

§ Order. Vitil. l. iv. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 506. *Factis obsequiis, corpore pingui, brevique saturo.* L. v. p. 603. L. vii. p. 604. Turpiter et ignavie subiectus.—See, also, Gilbert de Nogent. l. ii. c. 16. Raoul de Caen, c. 15. (ap. Muratori, v. 391.)

William of Malmesbury, l. i. (ap. Ser. R. Fr. xiii. 5, 6.) and William of Newbridge, (ibid. 96.) &c.



of Antwerp, duke of Bouillon and of Lothier, and king of Jerusalem. Godfrey's family, sprung, it is said, from Charlemagne, was already illustrated by great adventures and by signal misfortunes. His father, Eustache de Boulogne, was brother-in-law to Edward the Confessor, and had missed succeeding him in England, whither he had been summoned by the Saxons to oppose William the Conqueror.\* His maternal grandfather, Godfrey with the Beard, or Godfrey the Bold, duke of Lothier and of Brabant, who in like manner had failed to become master of Lorraine, maintained a thirty years' war with the emperors at the head of all Belgium, and burned the palace of the Carolingians in Aix-la-Chapelle. He was often defeated, banished, and a prisoner; and his wife, Beatrice d'Este, mother of the famous countess Matilda, was unworthily detained in captivity by Henry III., who at last deprived her of her patrimony, and gave Lorraine to the house of Alsace. When, however, Henry IV. was persecuted by the popes, and deserted by numbers of his former friends, the grandson of this banished man, the Godfrey of the crusade, did not fail in his duty to his suzerain. The emperor confided the imperial standard† to him, that standard which Godfrey's ancestors had often made waver, and against which Matilda had supported the banner of the Church; but in Godfrey's hands it was secure: he slew the rival Cæsar, Rodolph, the king raised up by the priestly party, with the spear of the standard,‡ (A. D. 1080,) and then planted it victoriously on the walls of Rome, which he was the first to scale.§ Yet, the having violated the city of St. Peter, and expelled the pope, sat heavily on his tender conscience. While yet a child, he had often said that he would go with an army to Jerusalem:¶ and, as soon as the crusade was proclaimed, he sold his lands to the bishop

of Liège, and set out for the Holy Land, at the head of an army of ten thousand horsemen and seventy thousand foot, French, Lorrains, and Germans.

Godfrey belonged to both nations, and spoke both tongues.\* He was not tall; his brother, Baldwin, was taller by the head; but his strength was prodigious.† It is said, that with one blow of his sword he "unseamed" a horseman from head to saddle; and with one back stroke would cut off an ox's or a camel's head.‡ When in Asia, having one day lost his way, he found one of his companions in a cavern, engaged with a bear. He drew the bear's rage upon himself, and slew it; but the serious bites he received kept him long to his bed. This heroic man was of singular purity of mind: he never married, and died, without having known woman, at the age of thirty-eight.§

The council of Clermont was held in November, 1095. On the 15th of August, 1096, Godfrey departed with the Lorrains and Belgians, and took the route through Germany and Hungary. In September, William the Conqueror's son, his son-in-law, the count of Blois, brother to the king of France, and the count of Flanders, set forth, taking the route through Italy as far as Apulia, where they separated, one party crossing to Durazzo, another turning Greece. In October, our Southerners, under Raymond de St. Gille, marched by way of Lombardy, Friuli, and Dalmatia. Bohemond, with his Normans and Italians, forced his way through the deserts of Bulgaria, which was the shortest and least dangerous passage, it being preferable to avoid the towns, and to encounter the Greeks in the open country only. The wild appearance of the first crusaders, led by Peter the Hermit, had alarmed the Byzantines, who bitterly repented their invitation to the Franks, but too late. They poured in, in countless numbers, through every valley and avenue of the Empire—Constantinople being the place of rendezvous. Vain were the emperor's cunning plans to cut them off by the way; the massy strength of the barbarians broke through every snare: Hugh of Vermandois was the only one who suffered himself to be entrapped: Alexis saw the army which he had made sure of destroying, arrive, division

\* See Thierry, *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre*, t. i.

† Wilhelm. Tyr. l. ix. c. 8. "The chiefs being summoned, the emperor asks to whom he can safely intrust the imperial standard, and commit the leadership of such large armies? And he was answered with one voice, that Godfrey, the lord duke of Lothier, was beyond all fit and sufficient for that burden. And to him . . . much gainsaying and very unwilling, he delivered the eagle." See, also, Alber. Tr. Pont. ap. Leibnitz. *Accession. Histor.* l. 192.

‡ Wilhelm. Tyr. *ibid.* "Rodolph's army being broken and routed, in the sight of the emperor and of some of the chiefs, he plunged the spear of the standard which he bore right through the king's heart, and thus transfixed, bore him lifeless to the ground, then raised again the imperial banner, though all bloody." Alberic. *loc. citato.*

§ Etienne bringing on a violent fever, he vowed to take the cross, and was cured. Alberic. p. 180. Gislefridus . . . in oppugnando Romanorum portum munit, quæ sibi obiter, penitus impet: postea, præ nullo labore, in nuda sui nominis vocum leuonem, telum quatuordecim nactus est. Auditis, inquit, cum vos Hierosolimam, illuc se statim vos, si Deum et nobis sanctam. Quo voto missis, vires et postea in Bala runt.

¶ Gilbert Nov. l. c. 12. Dicitur se desiderare proficisci Hierosolimam, et hoc non simpliciter, ut aliis, sed cum uxore et filiis, et aliis supplicibus magnis. His mother, St. Ily, dreamed one day that the sun descended into her bosom, which signified, says the contemporary biographer, that kings would proceed from her. Acta 88. April 13, p. 141.

\* Alberic. ap. Leibnitz. *Access.* l. 180. "Brought up as if on the border of each nation, and familiar with both tongues, he stood between the Franks, the Germans, and the Teutons, who are frequently wont to wrangle with certain bitter and invidious jests, and reformed their acerb course in many respects."

† Wilhelm. Tyr. l. ix. c. 5. Robustus sine exemplo, c. 22. Alberic. p. 184. R. d. Cadom. c. 53.

‡ Robert. Monach. l. iv. ix. ap. Bongars. p. 50, 55. "Another time, he cut a Turk clean through the middle of the body. . . . The Turk was made two Turks; the one that was lower rode on to the city, the other swam, holding his bow, down the stream." R. d. Cadom. c. 35, p. 504. Gilbert. Nov. l. vii. c. 11, 12.

§ R. d. Cadom. c. 14, p. 291. "Distinguished by his humanity, clemency, sobriety, justice, and chastity, he chose rather the light of monks than the leader of soldiers."—He took with him a colony of monks, whom he settled at Jerusalem.





church at the place where three roads meet, and where, whoever desires an adventure, comes to pay his orisons to God, and wait for his adversary. But vainly have I waited at this cross-road: no one durst come.' 'Well,' said the emperor, 'if you have found no opponent as yet, the time is come when you will not fail to meet one.'"<sup>\*</sup>

Behold them in Asia, the Turkish cavalry before them. The heavy mass advances, harassed upon the flanks. The crusaders first sit down before Nicea, for the Greeks, wishing to recover that city, led them there. Unskilled in the art of besieging fortified places, they might, with all their valor, have lingered there forever; but at any rate, they served to alarm the besieged, who entered into negotiations with Alexis, so that one morning the Franks saw the emperor's banner floating over the walls, and they were bade from the ramparts to respect an imperial city.<sup>†</sup>

They pursued, then, their route to the South, punctually escorted by the Turks, who cut off all loiterers; but they suffered still more from their numbers. Notwithstanding the succors of the Greeks, sufficient provisions could not be got together for them, and water was every moment failing them on the arid hills they had to traverse. During one halt, five hundred persons died of thirst. "The dogs of chase belonging to the great lords, which were led in leash, died," says the chronicler, "by the way, and the falcons died on the wrists of those who bore them. The women's sufferings brought on untimely labor; and they remained all naked on the plain, without bestowing a thought on their new-born children."<sup>‡</sup>

Light cavalry to oppose that of the Turks would have been of great advantage to them: what could their heavily-armed lances do against these clouds of vultures! The crusading army marched, imprisoned, so to speak, in a circle of turbans and of cineters. Once only did the Turks endeavor to stop them, and offer them battle. It did not turn to their account. They felt what the weight of their arms could do, to whom they were so superior in desultory warfare and with missile weapons. Nevertheless, the loss of the crusaders was immense.

Thus harassed, they forced their way through Cilicia, and as far as Antioch. The army desired to press onward to Jerusalem; but their

leaders insisted on stopping, for they were impatient to realize their ambitious dreams. Already they had disputed, sword in hand, whose Tarsus was to be, both Baldwin and Tancred claiming to have been the first to enter it; but the army, caring little for the private interests of the chiefs, and not wishing to be delayed, demolished another city, about which a similar dispute was on the point of breaking out.<sup>\*</sup>

The great city of Antioch contained three hundred and sixty churches, and four hundred and fifty towers; and had been the metropolis of a hundred and fifty-three bishoprics<sup>†</sup>—a fine prize for the count of St. Gille and Bohemond, and its possession alone could console them for having missed Constantinople. Bohemond was the more able of the two, and opened a correspondence with the citizens. The crusaders, deceived here as they had been at Nicea, saw the red banner of the Normans streaming from the walls;<sup>‡</sup> but this did not hinder them from entering the city, or count Raymond from throwing his followers into some of the towers, and fortifying himself there. The abundance of this great city proved fatal to them after such long deprivations, and an epidemic carried off the crusaders in crowds. Their waste soon exhausted the plenty before them, and they were again reduced to famine, when a vast army of Turks arrived to beleaguer them in their new conquest. Hugh of France, Stephen of Blois, and numbers besides, conceived the destruction of the army at hand, and, escaping, spread the news of the disastrous failure of the crusade.

And, indeed, to such excess of prostration were those who remained reduced, that Bohemond was obliged to have the houses fired,<sup>§</sup> to force them to leave the shelter where they lay cowering. Religion supplied a still more efficacious means. One of the common men, warned in a dream, announced to the chiefs that by digging in a certain spot, they would find the holy lance which had pierced the side of our Lord.<sup>||</sup> He deposed to the truth of his revelation by submitting to the ordeal of fire, and was burned; but, nevertheless, they about-

<sup>\*</sup> Ann. Comnen. Alexias, ed. Paris, p. 301. "Ο δὲ Φραγκοὺς μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν, ἔφη, τὸν εὐχόμενον, δὲ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντίοχον. . . . Ταῦτα δὲ διακρίνοντες ἀπεκρίθη, ἔφη. Εἰ πόλιν τὴν ἐκείνην οὐκ ἔστιν, πάρεστι σοι αἰσῆς ὁ πολλὸς οὐ πολὺ μὲν ἔστιν ὁ δὲ.".

<sup>†</sup> At the same time he sent large presents to the chiefs, and solicited their friendship both by letters, and through his deputies. He returned them a thousand thanks for this loyal service, and for the addition they had thus made to the Empire." Villelm. Tyr. l. iii. c. 12.—"He sent," says Guibert, l. iii. c. 9, "numerous gifts to the princes, and large alms to the poor, thus sowing the seeds of hate among those of the maddening condition, from whom his munificence seemed to be turned away." See, also, Raymond d'Agiles, p. 142.

<sup>‡</sup> Albertus Aqueus. l. iii. c. 2.

<sup>\*</sup> Raym. de Agil. p. 161. "Rising weak and infirm from their beds, they came to the walls leaning on sticks; and stones, such as three or four pair of oxen could hardly draw, a furnished man would easily heave from the walls, where they would roll to a distance."

<sup>†</sup> Guibert. Novig. l. vi. c. 16. . . . Trecentas et sexaginta ecclesias suis cinquens milibus . . . circumpositis eidem quadringentis quinquaginta turribus.—Centum quinquaginta trium episcoporum. . . .—Albertus makes the number of the churches only three hundred and forty, p. 120.

<sup>‡</sup> Gesta Francorum. c. 20. Summo diluculo audientes illi, qui foris erant in tentoriis, vehementissimum rancorem strepere per civitatem, exierunt festinantibus, et viduerunt vexillum Bohemundi. Fulcher. Carnot. p. 392. . . . Vexillum Bohemundi rubicundum.

<sup>§</sup> Guibert, l. v. c. 21. Cum . . . vix aliquem sanare valerent . . . gravi animadversione citatus, jubet ignem supponi.

<sup>||</sup> Raymond. de Agil. p. 155. "I have seen these things which I speak of, and there (in battle) I bore the lance of the Lord."—Foucher de Chartres exclaims, "Hearken to a fraud, and not a fraud!" and afterwards, "He found a lance, perhaps deceitfully hidden" c. 10.

a miracle.\* Giving the horses all the forage that remained, and choosing the moment when the Turks were disporting and drinking, making themselves secure of their famished army, they sallied forth at every gate, and with their holy lance at their head. Their numbers multiplied to them to be doubled by squadrons of angels; they broke through and scattered the invincible army of the Turks,† and became masters of the country round Antioch, and of the road to Jerusalem.

Antioch became Bohemond's, despite Raymond's efforts to keep possession of its towers. The Norman thus reaped the profit of the crusade; yet he could not escape accompanying the army and assisting at the siege of Jerusalem. That vast army had by this time been reduced down to five and twenty thousand men; these were all knights and their immediate attendants. The common herd had found a habitation in Asia Minor and in Antioch.

The Fatimites of Egypt, who, like the Turks, had summoned the Franks against the Egyptians, in like manner repented. Having entered Jerusalem from the Turks, they essayed to keep it in their own hands, and are said to have assembled forty thousand men for its defence. The crusaders, who, in the first transports of enthusiasm into which they had been thrown at the sight of the holy city, had felt ashamed of carrying it by assault, were repulsed when they besieged it. They found themselves compelled to resort to the slow process of a siege, and to sit down before the city in this desolate land, alike destitute of trees and of water. It seemed as if the demon had blasted every thing in his breath, at the approach of the army of the East. Sorceresses appeared on the walls, and

Raymond de Ag. p. 100. He was burnt because he wanted for a moment, he said to the people as depicted out of the flames, and the people glorified God." "Outing to student de Nozant, he left the burning place unharmed, but the crowd there the next day upon him, and off he drove to seek persons of all nations, and the poor handed to him and he, died of fatigue and exhaustion. p. 22

Roots of the Agave plant. Multiplexed images show  
 a cross-section of the root, with a central pith and  
 surrounding cortex. The image is a composite of  
 multiple scans, showing the internal structure of the  
 root in detail.

"I am not," says his hostess, Rosal de Olm, "was it very easy to get upon the Provencal, but he remains at that. It is his habit," sheh Christian told and he entered having recourse to the magnificent garment he wore. He took a long nap, and at the night when he returned to the house, he found the young man and his friends, and he was very much surprised to find them.

There is a significant difference in the mean age of the subjects in the two groups, with the control group being older than the experimental group. The mean age of the control group was 30.4 years, while the mean age of the experimental group was 27.1 years. This difference in age may be due to the fact that the control group was recruited from a larger pool of subjects, while the experimental group was recruited from a smaller pool of subjects. The difference in age may also be due to the fact that the control group was recruited from a larger pool of subjects, while the experimental group was recruited from a smaller pool of subjects.

W. J. P. van der Poel: I have the honor to inform you, please, that the first manuscript has not been accepted for publication. The reason is that the manuscript is not complete. It is necessary to complete the manuscript before it can be accepted for publication. I am sorry to hear that you are not satisfied with the manuscript. I will try to help you in any way I can. I will try to find out what the problem is and try to solve it. I will try to find out what the problem is and try to solve it. I will try to find out what the problem is and try to solve it.

who hurled fatal words at the besiegers, but it was not by words that they were answered; and one of them, in the midst of her conjurations, was struck by a stone launched from the machines of the Christians,\* which had been made under the direction of the viscount of Bearn, from the trees of the only wood which the neighborhood furnished, and which by his orders had been cut down by the Genoese and Gascons. Two moveable towers were built, one for the count of St. Gilles, and the other for the duke of Lorraine. Daily, for eight days, and barefooted, the crusaders had walked in procession round Jerusalem;† which done, a general assault was made by the whole army. Godfrey's tower rolled to the walls, and on Friday, the 15th of July, 1099, at three o'clock, on the very day, and at the very hour of the Passion, Godfrey of Bouillon descended from his tower on the walls of Jerusalem. The city was taken, and a fearful massacre followed;‡ for the crusaders, in their blind fury, not taking into account the distance of time, believed that in each infidel they slew in Jerusalem, they put to death one of the executioners of Jesus Christ.

When it appeared to them that they had sufficiently avenged our Saviour, that is, when hardly an inhabitant was left alive in the city, they repaired with tears and groans, and beatings of the breast, to worship the holy tomb.

- With 'm. Tst 1' you get 13

\* Gustaf I An. 16. They did this in hopes that the miracle of Jericho might be repeated. *Nemores Jherosolym quondam exas . . . cum multa spirituum et corporum contributione personarum agnoscit, sanctorum nomina foliis insculpendo, nudipalata extendendo, Jherusalem circumiens. Alzieg in Leibnizii Arceum Hist. 1. 173.*

During the siege, the native Christians had been most cruelly used by the infidels. See William of Tyre i. viii. c. 11.

§ The Mussulman poet, Aluvardi, composed a poem on the taking of Jerusalem of which the following is the sense:

We have mingled blood with the abundance of our tears. There is no shelter left for us against the misfortunes that threaten us. Had we left a man to shed tears, when war was all around with sparkling swords, O children of Babylon, many bottles remain for you to maintain in which your heads will roll at your feet. How we grieve and we are in yields when a prey to conquest one which would smother the fire under which you and your brethren in Syria have only the heat of the furnace to roast upon and the entrails of violence. The Romans are not in the disguise of angels, we suffer your garments effluently to sweep the ground as we one who has nothing to fear. How much blood has been shed! How many women who have lately had their hands cut off should their chastity! The shock of the sword between the strokes of the sword and the sword that the fear of the same would turn children's heads gray. Such is the war that these very ones who have the rage of the people of Syria, soon gnash their teeth with regret. I have seen him who sleeps at Medina, Mahmoud you and your wife who has strength that found him here. What a picture I have found the empires on my hand when the very cities of the region are crumbling beneath the feet of the conqueror, the people are like the trees of death and the soldiers that they are the soldiers of death. What that the soldiers of the Arabs against them, we have seen and the warriors of Persia against such degradation. We had indeed some that long night the long rest for we know that the world offers resistance in order to have the right to live. If the Persians are really powerful when danger is there we know that they are not attracted by the hope of death. But the people of the crusades, Extrair des Anciens Arabes, par M. Kreimoud.

The next question was, who was to be king of the conquest, who was to have the melancholy honor of defending Jerusalem. A court of inquiry was held on each of the princes, in order to choose the worthiest; and to come at their secret vices, their servants were questioned. The choice would probably have fallen on the count of St. Gille, the richest of the crusaders, had not his servants, in their fear of being kept by him at Jerusalem, made no scruple of blackening their master's character, and so sparing him the pains of sovereignty. When the duke of Lorraine's servants were examined in their turn, they could find nothing to say against him, except that he remained too long in the churches, even beyond the hours of service, and stayed inquiring of the priests the stories represented in the sacred images and paintings, to the great discontent of his friends, who were thus kept waiting for their dinner.\* Godfrey resigned himself to the burden; but would not assume the kingly crown in a spot in which the Saviour had worn one of thorns.† The only title he would accept was, that of defender and baron of the holy sepulchre. To the patriarch's claim to Jerusalem and the whole kingdom, he made no objection, but freely surrendered all in presence of the people, and only reserved for himself the possession, that is to say, the defence of the city.‡ In the very first year of his reign, he had to fight an innumerable army of Egyptians, who had attacked the crusaders at Ascalon. He had, in short, a never-ending war on his hands, and found his conquest to be nothing but irremediable misery—one long martyrdom. The Arabs infested his kingdom from the beginning, penetrating to the very gates of the capital, so that it was hardly possible to till the land. Tancred was the only chief that remained with Godfrey; who could with difficulty detain three hundred knights to defend the Holy Land.§

Yet was it a great thing for Christendom thus to occupy, in the very midst of the infidels, the cradle of their religion. A petty Asiatic Europe was formed here, in the likeness of the great; and feudality was organized even under a severer form than it had assumed in any western country. The hierarchical order, and all the details of feudal justice were regulated in the famous ASSIZE OF JERUSALEM, by Godfrey and his barons; and there were present a prince of Galilee, a marquis of Jaffa, and a baron of Sidon. The addition of these titles of the mid-

dle age, to the most venerable names of biblical antiquity, sounds like a burlesque; and, assuredly, Daniel had seen in no vision, that a duke of Lorraine would crown the fortress of David with battlements, or that a barbaric giant from the West, a Gaul,—a fair head masked with iron,—would call himself marquis of Tyre.

Judea had become a France. Our language, carried by the Normans into England and Sicily, was introduced into Asia by the crusade. The French tongue succeeded, as the language of policy, to the universal Latin tongue, from Arabia to Ireland. The West-erns went under the common name of Franks.\* And, however weak the French monarchy might still be, the brother of the cipher Philippe the First, that very Hugh of Vermandois who had fled from Antioch, was nevertheless styled by the Greeks the brother of the chief of the Christian princes, and of the king of the kings.†

## CHAPTER IV.

TERMINATION OF THE CRUSADE.—THE COMMONS.—ABELARD.—THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

It is for God to rejoice over his work, and to say—this is good. Not so with man. When he has finished his work, when he has wrought well, when he has run and sweated, when he has gained his end, and at length has hold of the desired object, he ceases to know it, he lets it fall from his hands, and conceives a disgust both at it and himself. Then he no longer wishes to live: all his efforts have but succeeded in depriving him of his God. Thus, Alexander died of sorrow when he had conquered Asia, and Alaric, when he had taken Rome. No sooner could Godfrey of Bouillon call the Holy Land his, than he sat down pros-

\* Willelm. Tyr. l. ix. c. 2. . . . Sed de singulis imaginibus et picturis rationem exigebat a sacerdotibus, et his qui horum videbantur habere peritiam; ita quod sociis suis, affectis aliter, in tedium vertebatur . . . et prandia . . . minus tempestive magisque insipidis sumerentur. Alberic. p. 179.

† Gilbert. l. vii. Alberic. p. 183.

‡ Willelm. Tyr. l. ix. c. 16.

§ Id. ibid. c. 19. He had two thousand infantry, as well. Dux solus, et dominus Tancredus . . . a domino duce erat detentus . . . at vix invenirentur equites trecenti et pedum duo milia.—At Antioch, Tancred had sworn that he would not abandon his post so long as forty knights remained with him. Gilbert, l. v. c. 18.

\* Gilbert, l. ii. c. 1. "Last year I conversed with an archdeacon of Mentz, touching the rebellion of his countrymen, and I heard him calumniate our king and people, solely because the king had received and hospitably entertained our lord pope Pascal, as well as his princes. He derided the French so far, as to call them in scorn *Frascens*. Then I said to him, 'If you hold the French to be so weak and cowardly, as to presume to insult by your witticisms a name, the fame of which has reached as far as the Indian ocean, tell me to whom pope Urban applied for succor against the Turks? Was it not to the French?'—Id. l. iv. c. 3. "Our princes, having held a council, resolved to build a fort on the summit of a mountain, which they called *Malreguard*, for a new point of defence against the Turks." The French tongue was the most used in the army of the crusaders.

† Ο βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλέων, καὶ ἀρχηγὸς τῶν φραγκῶν στρατῶν. Matthew Paris (ad ann. 1254) and Froissart (l. iv. p. 207) give the king of France the title of *Res Regum*, and style him chief of all Christian kings.—The Turks themselves wished to make out a descent from the Franks. Dicunt se esse de Francorum generatione (the reason they gave was, that "No man was naturally a soldier, save he was Frank or Turk") quia nullus homo naturaliter debet esse miles nisi Turci et Franci. Gesta Francorum, ap. Bongars, p. 7.



in full blaze of day through Europe and Asia by the great movement of the crusade, encountered liberty while he sought Jerusalem. The liberating trumpet of the archangel, which the world fancied it had heard in the year 1000, was sounded a century later by the preaching of the crusade. At the foot of the feudal tower, which oppressed it by its darkening shadow, awoke the village; and that ruthless man who had only stooped down from his vulture's nest to despoil his vassals, armed them himself, led them with him, lived with them, suffered with them: community of suffering touched his heart. More than one serf could say to his superior, "My lord, I found a cup of water for you in the desert—I shielded you with my body at the siege of Antioch, or of Jerusalem."

Strange adventures, singular chances, could not fail to attend such an enterprise. To have survived the fearful destruction which swept off so many nobles, in not a few instances conferred a nobility of its own. A man's worth was then known. The serfs had their own page of history, which told of their heroic acts. The relatives of the dead became the kindred of martyrs; and decked out their fathers and brothers in the old legends of the Church. They knew that it was a poor man who had saved Antioch by discovering the holy lance, while the sons and brothers of kings had fled from that city. They knew that the pope had not gone to the crusade, and that the sanctity of monks and priests had been eclipsed by the holiness of a layman—Godfrey of Bouillon.

Then did humanity begin to honor herself in the lowliest condition. The first revolutions of the commons precede, or follow hard upon, the year 1100; when they broached the notion that each ought to be free to dispose of the produce of his own labor, and to marry his children without another's consent, and were emboldened to believe that they had a right to go and come, to sell and buy, and even suspected, in the excess of their presumptuousness, that men might chance to be equal.

Up to this time, this formidable notion of equality had never been clearly enounced. We are, indeed, told that before the year 1000, the peasants of Normandy had broke out in revolt; but it was easily suppressed. A few knights scoured the country, dispersed the *villains*, cut off their feet and hands, and the matter was forgotten.\* Generally speaking, the peasants had too little communication with each other; so that their *jacqueries* all failed in the middle age; and it must, alas! be confessed, they were also

too degraded by slavery, and rendered too brutal and savage by the extremity of their sufferings, to have used victory otherwise than barbarously.

It was in the populous burghs which had risen round the castles, and particularly round the churches, that ideas of liberty most fructified. Population had been encouraged in these burghs, by grants of land from their lay or ecclesiastical lords, who were anxious to increase their strength and the number of their vassals. They were not large, commercial cities, like those in the south of France, and in Italy; but carried on manufactures of the coarser kind, had some smiths, many weavers, butchers, and in the burghs lying on the high roads, hostellers. Sometimes their lords would allure skilful artisans—to embroider the stole or forge the armor; and these men could not but have some liberty allowed them, since they carried their all in their hands and arms, and would otherwise have fled the country.

Liberty, then, was to have its beginning in the towns, in the towns of the centre of France,\* which were to be called privileged towns, or communes, and which would either receive or extort their franchises. The general pretext was the necessity of securing the inhabitants from the oppression and robbery of the feudal lords: the special, the defence of the Isle of France against the pre-eminently feudal country, Normandy. "At this period," says Orderic Vital, "the popular community was established by the bishops, so that the priests accompanied the king to sieges and battles, with the banners of their parishes and their parishioners." According to the same historian, it was a Montfort, (an illustrious family, which, in the following century, destroyed liberty in the south of France and founded that of England,) Amaury de Montfort, who counselled Louis-le-Gros, after his defeat at Brenneville, to oppose the Normans with the men of the communes arrayed under the banners of their respective parishes. (A. D. 1119.)† But when these commons returned to the shelter of their own walls, they rose in their demands. It was death to their humble thoughts of themselves when they saw flying before their parochial banners mighty horses and their noble horsemen, when, with Louis-le-Gros, they had put a stop to the robberies of the Rocheforts, and had forced the den of the Coucys. With the poet of the twelfth century, they could exclaim, "We are men as they are; as great heart have we; as much endure can we."‡ All coveted a

\* "The rustics having held many meetings over all Normandy, unanimously determined to live as they pleased, and, in contempt of all laws, took the short cuts through the woods, or used the rivers and fords at will, quatenus tanta silvarum compendia quam in aquarum commercis, nullo obstantie ante statuti juris obice, legibus intereretur suis.) . . . The writer adds, that after the severe handling they got, as mentioned in the text, truncatis manibus ac pedibus, inutiles suis remissit, they gave up their meetings, and returned to their ploughs." Will. Gemet. l. v. ap. Ser. B. Fr. x. 185.

\* Order. Vit. l. ii. Tunc ergo communitas in Francia popularis statuta est a presulibus, ut presbyteri comitarentur regi ad obsidionem vel pugnam cum vexillis et parochianis omnibus.

† Id. l. xii.

‡ "Id parain e li villain

Cil del boiage o cil del plain,

Ne sai par kel entichement,

Ne hi les meu primerement;

Par vint, par trentaines, par cens

Unt tensus plusieurs parlemens. . . .





saint of the parish, enforced the common peace between the Oise and the Loire; while the king, on horseback, bore in front the banner of the abbey of St. Denys.\* The vassal in his capacity of count of the Vexin, and as abbot of St. Martin of Tours, and canon of St. Quentin, defender of the Church, he warred in holy wise to put down the robberies of the lords of Montmorency and of Puiset, and the detestable cruelties of the Coucys.

He was supported by the rising *bourgeoisie* and by the Church—all the rest, both strength and glory, belonged to feudalism. He was lost, poor little king as he was, among the vast domains of his vassals.† And many of the latter were great men—at least, men powerful by their valor, energy, and wealth. What was a Philippe I., or even the brave Louis VI., the

Spain, Germany, and England, just as in France. And not only were communes universal, but the communes of France are not those which, as communes, under this name and in the middle age have played the greatest part, and enjoy the highest place in history. The Italian communes gave birth to glorious republics; the German communes became free and imperial cities, which have a history of their own, and have had a great influence on the general history of Germany; the communes of England, connecting themselves with a branch of the feudal aristocracy, constitute, in conjunction with it, the influential house of the British Parliament, and early played an important part in the history of their country. The French communes in the middle age, and as they existed while bearing this name, were far from rising to the same height of political importance, or to the same historical dignity. Yet it is in France, that the population of the communes, the *bourgeoisie*, has been most thoroughly and efficiently developed, and has ended by acquiring the most decided preponderance in society. There have been communes in all Europe, but no true *tiers-état* except in France. This *tiers-état*, which, in 1789, brought about the French Revolution, is a destiny, a power, that belongs solely to our history, and will be vainly sought elsewhere." *Leçon I. t. v. p. 124.*

\* This was the famous Oriflamme, which became the standard of the kings of France when Philippe I. had acquired the Vexin—a dependency of the abbey of St. Denys. *Ser. R. Fr. xi. 394; xii. 50.*—See note, p. 191.

† "The sovereignty proper of the king of France extended over the Isle of France, and a part of the Orléanais—answering to the five departments of the Seine, the Seine and Oise, the Seine and Marne, the Oise, and the Loiret. Still, small as this district was—it was but thirty leagues from west to west, and forty from north to south—it was far from being wholly subject to the crown. We find, on the contrary, that it was the great business of Louis le Gros's life, during his whole reign, to reduce to obedience the counts of Chaumont and of Clermont, the lords of Montlhéry, Montfort l'Auxerrois, Courcy, Montmorency, Puiset, and numerous other barons, who, within the precincts of the duchy of France and the royal demesnes, refused all obedience to him.

"To the north of this small district, the countship of Vermandois, in Picardy, which belonged to Philip's brother, only answered to two of our present departments, and the countship of Boulogne to one only. But the countship of Flanders comprised four, equaling Philip's kingdom in extent, and by far surpassing it in population and riches. The house of Champagne, divided between its two branches of Champagne and Blois, covered of itself six of our present departments, and hemmed in the king on the south and the east. The house of Burgundy occupied a territory equal to three departments, the king of England, as duke of Normandy, possessed one equal to five, the duke of Brittany the same, and the count of Anjou's was nearly equivalent to three—so that the king's nearest neighbors of the great lords were his equals in power. As to the countries lying between the Loire and the Pyrenees, and which now comprise thirty-three departments, although they recognised the sovereignty of the French monarch, they were in strictness as alien from him as the three kingdoms of Lorraine, Burgundy, and Provence, which held of the emperor, and which answer to twenty one of our present departments." *Blamond, Histoire des Français, t. v. p. 7.*

fat pale man,\* between the red William of England and of Normandy, the Roberts of Flanders, conquerors and pirates,† the wealthy Ramonds of Toulouse, the Williams of Poitiers, and Fulks of Anjou—troubadours and historians; and, lastly, the Godfreys of Lorraine, intrepid antagonists of the emperors, sanctified in the minds of all Christendom by the life and death of Godfrey of Bouillon.

What had the king to oppose to all this glory and power? Not much, apparently; nothing sensible to sight or touch—right: an old right, revived by Charlemagne, but preached by the priests, and renewed by the poems of the day, and, indeed, the feudal rights seemed a usurpation of this royal right. According to it, the fief of every vassal who died childless, reverted to the sovereign as to its source. This gave him a commanding position, and secured him many friends, for it was to one's interest to be on good terms with him who was the bestower of vacant fiefs; and this claim to universal heirship secured him immense popularity. Meanwhile the Church supported and maintained him. She had too much need of the services of a military chief against the barons, ever to desert the king. This was seen when Philippe I. scandalously married Bertrade de Montfort, whom he had seduced from her husband, Fulks of Anjou. (A. D. 1092.) While the bishop of Chartres, the famous Yves, thundered against him, the pope laid him under interdict, and the council of Lyons condemned him, the whole of the northern Church remained faithful to him, and he had on his side the bishops of Reims, Sens, Paris, Meaux, Soissons, Noyon, Senlis, Arras,‡ &c.

Louis VI., who, in his old age, was styled the Fat, had been at first surnamed the Sprightly, or Awakened, (*l'Eveillé*.) His reign, indeed, is the awakening of the monarchy. Braver than his father, and more obedient to the Church, it was in her cause, in defence of the abbey of St. Denys and the bishoprics of Orléans and of Reims,§ that he fleshed his maiden sword; and when we reflect that the lands of the Church were then the only asylums of order and of peace, we appreciate the charity and humanity of the task undertaken by their defender. 'Tis true that he found his account in it, since the bishops, in their turn, armed their men for him. It was he who protected the pilgrims, and the merchants who flocked to their fairs and their festivals, and who secured the safety of the high road from Tours and Orléans to Paris, and from Paris to Reims. Together with the counts of Blois and of Champagne, he strove to place in some degree of peace and security the country between the Loire, the Seine, and the Marne—a small circle he named

\* He was poisoned when young, and remained pallid ever after. *Order. Vit. I. xi. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 613.*

† See the story of Robert le-Frison, (the Frieslander;

‡ Sismondi, t. iv. p. 522.

§ Sugerus Vita Ludovici Grossi, c. 2-6, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. initio.

in by the large feudal masses of Anjou, Normandy, and Flanders: the latter reached as far as the Somme. The circle comprised between these large fiefs was the first arena of loyalty, the theatre of its heroic history. Here the king maintained immense wars and terrible struggles against those pleasant spots which are now our faubourgs. Our prosaic plains of Brie and of Hurepoux have had their liads. The Montforts and the Garlandes often supported the king, while the Conneys, the barons of Rochefort, and especially the lords of Paisey, were arrayed against him. They troubled the whole neighborhood with their rapine. There was some possibility of going in safety from Paris to St. Denys, but beyond, one could only ride lance in rest: for here was the sombre and unlucky forest of Montmorency, while, on the other side, the tower of Montlhéry exacted its tolls. The king could not travel from his city of Orleans to his city of Paris, without an army at his back.

The crusade made the king's fortune. The terrible lord of Montlhéry took the cross, but did not go farther than Antioch. When the Christians were besieged there, he left his companions in arms, his brother pilgrims, let himself down from the walls by a rope, after the example of some others, and returned from Asia to Hurepoux with the nickname of *Royedracon*. All this humiliated the haughty baron, and he gave his daughter in marriage to one of the king's sons, with his castle as her dowry\*—which was, in fact, to give him a clear road between Paris and Orleans.

Nor was the absence of the great barons less advantageous to the king. Stephen of Blois, who had acted like the lord of Montlhéry, chose to return to Asia. The brilliant count of Ponthieu, the abbot and the troubadour, felt the impossibility of being in a camp shed knight without a journey to the Holy Land; besides, he relied on meeting many romantic adventures, together with material for some good stories. His duchy of Aquitaine did not cost him many eyes, and he offered it to the king of England for a sum of ready money. He set out with a large army, all his men, and all his riches. As to the king of England, the count of Flanders, and the count of Burgundy went on, as they pleased. The count of Flanders was Alphonse of Bourgogne, father of the first emperor of France, who had taken the cross on other conditions. Alphonse took it, and was crowned. The Angevins had no business with the Holy Land, but with the commercial and political relations of England; the case was different. It was an export market to them,

and they drew from it the provisions of the Levant, rivalling the Pisans and Venetians.

Thus, ponderous feudalism had begun to move and to uproot itself from the soil. It went, and came, and lived upon the beaten highway of the crusade, between France and Jerusalem. As for the Normans, they wanted no other crusade than that of England; which gave them full occupation. The king alone remained faithful to the soil of France, and became more powerful daily through the absence of the barons, and their devotion to external objects. He began to become something in Europe. He received—here, the opponent of the petty barons of the banlieue of Paris—a letter from the emperor, Henry IV., who complained to the *King of the Celts* of the violence of the pope.† So deceptive was his title, compared with his means, that the count of Barcelona sent from the Pyrenees to ask his assistance to repel the terrible invasion of the Almoravides, which threatened Spain and Europe. In like manner, when the hero of the crusade, the glorious Bohemond, prince of Antioch, came to rouse the compassion of the people for the Christians of Asia, he thought he did a popular act in marrying the sister of Louis-le-Gros‡. He took care not to solicit the aid of his countrymen, the Normans, and the count of Barcelona mistrusted his neighbors of Toulouse. No one doubted the king of France.

The danger of his position arose from his proximity to the Normans, but this very proximity rendered him dear to the Church, and to the *bourgeois* of central France. The Normans had taken Gisors in despite of treaties, and from it commanded the Vexin almost up to Paris. These conquerors respected nothing. But for the jealousy of Flanders and of Anjou, the poor royalty of France would have been unable to make head against them. The count of Anjou demanded and obtained the title of seneschal of the king of France§, this gave him the privilege of laying the dishes on the royal table, but feudalism held all domestic others noble, and the count of Anjou was too powerful to admit of this voluntary servitude's being ever made a handle against him; it was simply a present to his entering into a strict league against the Normans.

The latter gained no direct advantage. They employed against the French king only the same old pet of the barons. In point of fact, Normandy was an empire in the east of it, but in England. The victory at Brenneville was an intermediate between a day in which the two kings were at hand and a day in which some sovereign was followed by no

\* The king of France, Louis VI., was crowned in 1138. The count of Ponthieu, Stephen, was crowned in 1139. The count of Flanders, Alphonse, was crowned in 1138. The count of Burgundy, Robert, was crowned in 1138. The count of Anjou, Alphonse, was crowned in 1138. The count of Flanders, Alphonse, was crowned in 1138. The count of Burgundy, Robert, was crowned in 1138. The count of Anjou, Alphonse, was crowned in 1138.

† *Contest. Nov. 2. vii. Eadem contrafacta peritum*

‡ *Contest. Nov. 2. vii. Eadem contrafacta peritum*

§ *Contest. Nov. 2. vii. Eadem contrafacta peritum*



result. There were not three men slain, according to Orderic Vital,\* in this celebrated battle of the twelfth century. (A. D. 1119.) Who, after this, will say that the times of chivalry are the heroic times!

Cruel vengeance was taken for this defeat by the militia of the communes, who entered Normandy, and committed fearful ravage there. They were headed by the bishops themselves, who dreaded nothing so much as becoming subject to Norman feudalism. The king hoped to derive a much greater advantage still from the protection of the Church, when Calixtus II. excommunicated the emperor, Henry V., in the council of Reims, where fifteen archbishops and two hundred bishops sat. Louis appeared there, and humbly accused before the pope, Henry Beaulere, the Norman king of England, as the violator of the people's rights, and the ally of the barons who laid waste the country. "The bishops," he said, "detested, and with reason, Thomas de Marne, a seditious brigand, who plundered the whole province, and therefore ordered me to attack this scourge of travellers and of the weak. The loyal barons of France joined me in curbing the breakers of the laws, and they fought for the love of God together with the whole array of the Christian army. The count of Nevers, returning peaceably, with my permission, from this expedition, was taken, and is detained to this day by count Thibaut, although many barons have applied to Thibaut, in my name, to release him, and the bishops have laid all his land under anathema." When the king had ended, the French prelates deposed to the truth of his whole statement; but the pope had enough on his hands with his contest with the emperor, without making another enemy in the person of the English monarch.

However it be, the king of France was so far the man of the Church, that she allowed him the undisputed exercise of that right of investiture, for claiming which the pope excommunicated the emperor.† No inconvenience arose from this right, in the hand of one protected by the bishops. Besides, Louis inspired so much confidence! He was a prince after God's heart, and after the world's.

Henry Beaulere had supplanted his brother Robert. Louis-le-Gros took William Clito, Robert's son, under his protection. He vainly endeavored to settle him in Normandy, but succeeded in making him count of Flanders; for when Charles the Good, the late count, had been massacred by the inhabitants of Bruges, Louis undertook this distant expedition, avenged the count in a signal manner, and persuaded the Flemings to take the Norman, William Clito,

for their count. Men were thus habituated to regard the French king as the minister of Providence.

His expeditions into the South were more distant, and not less brilliant. At the commencement of the crusade, the count of Burgundy had sold his countship to the king,\* and this possession, from which the king was separated by so many broad lands, more or less hostile, acquired importance when in 1115 the lord of the Bourbonnois, which bordered the Berry, summoned the king to his aid against his predecessor's brother, who disputed the lordship with him. Louis-le-Gros marched thither with an army, and protected him most effectually. From this time, he secured footing in the South. Twice afterwards he made a kind of crusade thither in favor of the bishop of Clermont, who had complained of violence from the count of Auvergne. He was willingly followed by the great vassals of the North, by the counts of Flanders, Angoulême, and Brittany, and several Norman barons, to whom it was a high treat to make a campaign in the South. He would not listen to the protests of the count of Poitiers, duke of Aquitaine, and suzerain of the count of Auvergne, and, some years afterwards, the bishop of Puy-en-Velay sought a grant from the king of France, making the absence of his lord, the count of Toulouse, who was then in the Holy Land, (A. D. 1134,) his pretext for so doing.

The power at which the king of France had arrived was evidenced from the year 1121, in which the emperor, Henry V., who had been excommunicated at the council of Reims, and who cherished, therefore, a bitter hatred of the bishops and the king, and had been urged to the undertaking by his son-in-law, Henry Beaulere, prepared to invade France. The report spread that the emperor sought to wreak his vengeance on the city of Reims. Instantly, the whole militia of the kingdom flew to arms.† The great barons sent their retainers; and the duke of Burgundy, the counts of Nevers, Vermandois, and even of Champagne—who was at the time in arms against Louis-le-Gros in favor of the Norman king,—and the counts of Flanders, Brittany, Aquitaine, and of Angoulême, hastened to drive back the Germans, who durst not advance. This unanimity of Northern France under Louis-le-Gros, against Germany, seemed to announce a century before-hand the victory of Bouvines, as his expedition into Auvergne directs one's thoughts to the conquest of the South in the thirteenth century.

ABELARD.—HIS DOCTRINES. (A. D. 1102-1140.)

Such, after the first crusade, was the resur-

\* Orderic Vital, l. vi. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 722. The column made into temples by the conqueror.

† The monks of St. Denis having elected Suger their abbot, without waiting for the royal presentation, Louis expressed great anger at the circumstance, and threw several of the monks into prison. Suger, Vita Ludov. Grossi, p. 18. —Thus, the exception proves the rule.

\* Chronica Reg. Fr. ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 294. The price was 60,000 livres. —Fauques-le-Reclon (the Grim) ceded the Gatinais to him to secure his keeping neutral.

† Suger, Vita Lud. Gr. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 20. Reg. at eum tota Francia sequitur, potentior invitata. Indignata agitur hostium multitudo cum usitata Francorum animas, circumquaque moventes militarem delectum. . . .



tongue: he sang them, too.\* Besides, his erudition was extraordinary for that day. He alone, of his time, knew both Greek and Hebrew. May be, he had studied at the Jewish schools, (there were many in the South,) or under the rabbins of Troyes, Vitry, or of Orléans. There were then in Paris two leading schools: the old Episcopal school of the *parvis* Notre Dame, and that of St. Geneviève, on the hill, where shone William of Champeaux. Abelard joined his pupils, submitted to him his doubts, puzzled him, laughed at him, and closed his mouth. He would have served Anselm of Laon the same, had not the professor, being a bishop, expelled him from his diocese. In this fashion this knight-errant of logic went on, unhorsing the most celebrated champions. He himself declared that he had only renounced tilt and tourney through his passion for intellectual combats.† Henceforward, victorious and without a rival, he taught at Paris and Melun, the residence of Louis-le-Gros, and the lords flocked to hear him; anxious to encourage‡ one of themselves, who had discomfited the priests on their own ground, and had silenced the ablest clerks.

Abelard's wonderful success is easily explained. All the lore and learning which had been smothered under the heavy, dogmatical forms of clerical instruction, and hidden in the rude Latin of the middle age, suddenly appeared arrayed in the simple elegance of antiquity, so that men seemed for the first time to hear and recognise a human voice. The daring youth simplified and explained every thing: presenting philosophy in a familiar form, and bringing it home to men's bosoms. He hardly suffered the obscure or supernatural to rest on the hardest mysteries of faith. It seemed as if till then the Church had lisped and stammered: while Abelard spoke. All was made smooth and easy. He treated religion courteously and handled her gently, but she melted away in his hands. Nothing embarrassed the fluent speaker: he reduced religion to philosophy, and morality to humanity. *Crucis*, he said, *consists not in the act, but in the intention.*§ It followed,

that there was no such thing as sins of habit or of ignorance—*They who crucified Jesus, not knowing him to have been the Saviour, were guilty of no sin.*\* What is original sin?—*Less a sin, than a punishment.*† But then, wherefore the redemption and the passion, if there was no sin?—*It was an act of pure love. God desired to substitute the law of love for that of fear.*‡

What is sin? It is not God's will, but in God's contempt.§ The intent is all: the act, nothing: a slippery doctrine, safe only for sincere and enlightened minds. How it was abused by the Jesuits in the seventeenth century is well known; but how far more dangerous must it not have been in the ignorance and rudeness of the twelfth!

The doctrine spread instantaneously, crossing at once, sea and Alps,|| and penetrating among all classes. The laity began to handle sacred topics; and the most important mysteries were eagerly canvassed—no longer in the schools only—but by all, great and little, men and women, in market-place and in highway.¶ The tabernacle, as it were, was broken into; and the Holy of Holies dragged into the street. The simple were shaken, the saints staggered, the Church was silent.

(apud Bern. Pezli Thesaur. Anecdotorum, pars 2<sup>a</sup>, p. 627.) . . . Operationem peccati nihil addere ad reatum.—Nihil animam, nisi quod ipsius est, coinquinat: hoc est concupiscentiam, quem solummodo peccatum esse diximus. P. 628, 629. —Opera indifferentia sunt in se, scilicet nec bona nec mala, alve remuneratione digna, videntur, nisi secundum radicem intentionis, que est arbor bonum vel malum profertur fructum. Commentar. in Epist. ad Roman. (ap. Abel. et Hel. opera, p. 522.)

\* Ibid. p. 635. Non possumus dicere martyrum vel Christi persecutores (quum placeat Deo crederent, in hoc peccasse. "We must suppose then," he adds, "that God has only punished them temporarily, and by way of example."

† "When we say that original sin is inherent in children, or that we have all sinned in Adam, it is equivalent to saying, that his sin was the origin of our punishment and condemns us to damnation." See, also, Commentar. in Epist. ad Roman. (Abel. et Hel. opera, p. 528.) "But does God punish the innocent? That is unjust and cruel." "Perhaps," is his answer, "it is not so in God." Ibid.

‡ Commentar. in Epist. ad Rom. p. 530, 533. Redemptio itaque nostra est illa summa in nobis per passionem Christi dilectio. . . . ut amore ejus potius quam timore cuncta impleamus.—Then what is it that Jesus Christ has come to redeem? It can only be the elect. And, then, where the good? Ibid.—St. Bernard taunts him in a strain of vehemence with this error. S. Bernardi Opera, ed. Mancel, 1850, t. i. p. 650, 655.

§ Ethics, ap. Bern. Pezli Th. t. iii. p. 627. Peccatum contemptis Creatoris est. See, also, p. 629.—Abelard, in his Ethics, p. 632 &c., employs the word *voluntas* in the sense of *desire*. He distinguishes, it is true, the will *consequens* from desire, but this confusion of terms must have frequently occasioned a dangerous misprision of meaning. In the Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, he uses *voluntas* for the will.

|| Guizot, de S. Theodor. Epist. ad S. Bern. ap. S. Bernardi Opera, t. i. p. 302. "Libri ejus transierunt in Alpes, transierunt Alpes.—St. Bern. and writes to the cardinals at Rome, in 1140. "I pray you to read Peter Abelard's Book of Theology," he calls it. You must have it at hand, since he boasts that it is read by many of the college."

¶ The French bishops wrote to the pope, in 1149. "Unper totum tre Galliam, in civitatibus, vicis et ecclesiis, a scholasticis, monachis, inter scholas, sed etiam in domibus litteratis et proceribus tantum, sed a pueris et senibus, aut certe sanctis, de S. Trinitate, que Deus est disputatur. . . . S. Bernardi Opera, t. 300.—S. Bern. Epist. 22, ad Cardines. Iracundus simplicium fides, ex eo videtur, quod una Dei, quaestiones de altissimis rebus temere ventulantur.

\* Abel. Eth. Colim. p. 12. "Now the alludes to the time of his love, when every song I devised were amatory, not the secrets of philosophy. Many of these songs, as they say, are yet commonly sung in many countries; chiefly by those who find enjoyment in existence."—Hebasse Epist. 1. "Two qualifications, indeed, you particularly enjoyed, a tone of voice and a grace in singing, which engaged every tender heart. These are not common to philosophical men; seldom do they vary their severer studies by the composition and performance of love sonnets. In both these you were so eminent as to charm all of every rank. I was usually the subject of them, my name was thus celebrated and exalted in every city and region."

\* Liber Colim. p. 1. "Et quoniam dilectionum rationum numerum omnibus philosophiae documentis praestitit, his armis alia commutavit et trophaea scholasticorum conflictibus praestitit disputacionum. Proinde a veris disputacionibus perhibens brevitas. . . . The author of his letters was a man that he had at first devoted himself to the study of the law."

† Ibid. p. 5. "Quoniam de potentibus terre nomen illis dedit habebat, tunc etiam Campaniensis amicus, de his curam amicus voluit me compos exili."

§ P. Abelardi Ethics, seu Liber Dictus, Seculo te ipsum,







Before the mystics, and before Fenelon, Abelard had laid down in his writings this high ideal of pure and disinterested love, as the aim and end of the religious soul.\* Woman raised herself to it, for the first time, in the writings of Heloise—still, it is true, devoting it to man, to her husband, to her living god. Heloise was to revive, under a spiritual form, in St. Catherine and St. Theresa,—who fixed their affections on high.

The restoration of woman, which Christianity had begun, was principally effected in the twelfth century. A slave in the East, shut up, too, in the gynæceum of the Greeks, but emancipated by the jurisprudence of the empire, she was recognised, by the new religion, as man's equal. Christianity, however, hardly freed from the sensuality of paganism, still feared woman and mistrusted her. Man knew himself to be weak and tender. He kept her at a distance: the more he felt his heart sympathize with her. Hence, the hard, and even contemptuous expressions, by which he strives to fortify himself against her power. The common term for woman in ecclesiastical writers, and in the capitularies, is the degrading yet profoundly expressive phrase—*Vas infirmius*, (the weaker vessel.) At the period of Gregory the Seventh's efforts to emancipate the clergy from their double bonds—woman and territorial possessions, there was a new outbreak against the dangerous Eve whose seductions lost Adam, and who is ever persecuting him in his sons.

With the twelfth century began a movement, the direct reverse of this. The free spirit of mysticism undertook to raise up what sacerdotal severity had dragged in the mire; and this mission was chiefly discharged by a Breton, Robert d'Arbrissel. He led back woman to the bosom of Christ, founded asylums for her, and built Fontevault; and Fontevaults soon arose throughout all Christendom.† Robert's

venturous charity led him to address himself preferably to great sinners; and he preached in the most abandoned and repulsive quarters God's clemency, and his immeasurable mercy. "One day that he was at Rouen, he entered a notorious house, and seated himself by the hearth to warm his feet. The courtesans surround him, supposing that he had come through wantonness. He begins to preach the words of life, and to promise the intercession of our Saviour. Then, the mistress of the house exclaims, 'Who art thou, who sayest these things?' Truly for twenty years I have lived in this house to commit crime, and during all this time no one ever entered it to speak of God and of his goodness. Yet, were I but sure these things were true! . . . On the instant, he took them out of the city, and joyfully led them to the desert, where he made them do penance, and transferred them from the devil to Christ."

'Twas a fantastic sight to see the blessed Robert d'Arbrissel teaching night and day, in the midst of a crowd of disciples of both sexes who slept around him;† but neither the bursters of his enemies, nor the disorderly access to which these meetings gave rise, could check the charitable and courageous Breton. He covered all with the large mantle of grace.

As grace prevailed over the law, a great religious revolution insensibly took place. God if I may so speak, changed sex. The Virgin became the world's God, and took possession of almost all the temples and altars. Peter was converted into the enthusiasm of chivalrous gallantry. The mother of God was proclaimed to be pure and spotless; and the mys-

conventional walls. He also exhorted to scant speech, the avoidance of meat, and to coarse raiment.

\* *Quidam die, cum venisset Rothomagum, lupanar ingressus, sedensque ad focum, pedes calefacturus, meretricibus circumdatus, timens cum eis fornicandi, eos ingressum. Sed predicante eo verba vite, ne meretricibus Christi eis promittente, una a meretricibus, que eum preerat, dixit ei: Qui es in qui illa loqueris? Sed pro certo quia per viginti quinque annos, quibus hanc domum ad perpetranda scelera sum ingressus, nunquam aliquis adventi qui de Deo loqueretur, vel de ejus misericordia presumere nos fecerit. Tamen si scirem vera esse, etc. Scitans de civitate exiit, et ad eremum cum eis quondam perrexit, ibique per octiduum penitentiis, Christo feliciter transiit. — *Manu scripta in the abbey of Vaulx Cernay, quoted by Bayle, in his article, FONTEVRAULT.**

† Letter of Marbodius, bishop of Reims, to Robert d'Arbrissel:—"You are said to be more given to converse with women, in which kind you have formerly sinned. They say, that you not only place them at one common table in the day, but in one common resting-place at night, your herd of disciples lying round, while you lie between the two, and set the laws of sleeping and waking to both sexes." D. Morice, l. 400.—"You are said to suffer certain women to live too familiarly with you, and to be so frequently to lie with them, and between them of night. If you do, or have done this, you have discovered a new and unheard-of, but heinous kind of martyrdom. . . . You are reported to torment yourself privately with a new kind of martyrdom, by lying with certain women, as we have heard before." Letter of Geoffry, abbot of Vendôme, to Robert d'Arbrissel, given by Father Raymond. (*Opera, Bibliotheca Bretonica*, l. 321.)—"I say nothing of the better: when you have allowed to profess without examination, and without charge of dress, you have shut up in different cells. Their watched it to prove the extravagance of the act, for some, on the eve of parturition, have escaped their prison, while others have been confined there." *Cyprien de Saint-Us Ordinis Fontevrauldensis*, t. i. p. 68.

In tantum fortuna exult! Cur impiis nupti,  
Si miserum fortuna fu! Nuac accipe penas,  
Sed quis sponte laam.

\* Comment. in Epist. ad Romanos, p. 622.

† There were thirty abbies of the order of Fontevault in Brittany. D. du, l. 321.—Only founded about the year 1100, it numbered, according to Suger, (Epist. ad Eugen. II.) nearly five thousand monks as early as 1145. Balaus, ii. 7.—Acts 88, February, l. iii. p. 607. "It had more than two, or close upon three thousand servants and handmaids of God." The women were shut up, sang, and prayed, the men worked.—When he fell ill, Robert calls his monks and says to them, "Consider with yourself, while yet I live, whether ye will abide by your purpose, and, for the health of your souls, be obedient to the handmaids of Christ. For ye know, that all the religious houses which, by God's aid, I have raised, I have placed under their rule. . . . On this, almost all with one voice exclaimed, 'For from us,'" &c. He was anxious to give his followers a leader, as he died. "Ye know, my best beloved, that I have dedicated all the houses I have built to the service of our holy virgin, and have placed all my possessions at their disposal; and, which is more, I have submitted myself and my disciples, for the health of our souls, to their rule. Wherefore, I have determined to name an abbess." Reflecting that virgin, brought up in the cloister, and familiar with pious things and contemplation early, would be incompetent to mind one self, and would be at a loss in the busy maze of life, he nominated a widow, and advised that the abbess should never be chosen from such as might be brought up within

[illegible]



to estimate the true character of the king of France and the king of England, as visible in the collective aspect of the middle age.

The first, the suzerain of the second, preserves, in general, a certain immovable majesty.\* Compared with his rival, he is calm and insignificant. With the exception of the petty wars of Louis-le-Gros, and the unfortunate crusade of Louis VII., which we are about to relate, the king of France seems buried in his ermine. He lords it over the king of England as over his vassal and his son: an unnatural son, who beats his father. The descendant of William the Conqueror,† whoever he may

\* This is very striking on their seals. The king of England is represented, on one side, seated; on the other, on horseback, brandishing his sword. The king of France is always seated. If Louis VII. is sometimes represented on horseback, (A. D. 1137, 1138. Archives du Royaume, K. 40.) it is as duke of Aquitaine. The exception proves the rule.

† The enormous size of William is well known. "When will that fat man be brought to bed?" said the king of France. At his burial, the grave was found to be too narrow, and his body burst. He laid out enormous sums on his table. "He wasted," says William of Malmesbury, "the wealth of churches on his extravagant banquetings." (Guill. Malmesb. l. iii. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 184.) The authors of the *Art de Verifier les Dates*, relate, on the authority of a manuscript chronicle, a singular instance of his violence. When Baldwin of Flanders refused him his daughter Matilda, "he forced his way into the countess's chamber, found the count's daughter, took her by her tresses, dragged her about the room, and trampled her under his feet." l. xiii. c. 15.—His eldest son, Robert, was surnamed Short-Hose. (*Courtois-Henry*.) "He had," says Orderic Vital, (ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 596,) "a bloated countenance, and was fat and short, whence his common epithet of *Gamburon* and *Brevia Cerra*. He wasted his substance on mummings and prostitutes." (Ibid. pp. 602, 603.)—The Conqueror's second son, William Rufus, was "short and corpulent, with flaxen hair, and a ruddy complexion: from which last circumstance he derived the name of Rufus, or the Red." Lingard, vol. ii. p. 147. "His death," says Orderic Vital, "was the ruin of the abandoned and debauched, and of the prostitutes. The bells of many of the churches, which had tolled for the needy or for poor women, did not toll for him." Ser. R. Fr. xii. 679.—Ibid. "He never had a lawful wife, but was a foul and insatiable fornicator and adulterer," p. 633. "Self-willed and lascivious," p. 624. "He was but little Godward, and a scant attendant at public worship."—Sugar, *ibid.* p. 12. "Addicted to lasciviousness and desire . . . a cruel spoiler of churches," &c.—Huntingd. p. 216. "His debaucheries were such as cannot be spoken of, yet he did not attempt to conceal them, but indulged in them openly," &c.—"Henry Beaufort, his younger brother, is known to have been attached to several mistresses, and of his illegitimate children no fewer than seven sons and eight daughters lived to the age of puberty. Many writers affirm, that his death was occasioned by the excess with which he ate a dish of lampreys." Lingard, vol. ii. p. 212. William and Richard, his sons, were surnamed by the most infamous verses. Huntingd. p. 218. *Sodomitica labe diebantur et erant ureti.* Gervas. p. 132. *Luxuria et libidinis omni tunc maculati.* Lingard remarks in a note—vol. ii. p. 137, that from Anselm's expression, "*nefastissimum Sodomæ scelus nociter in hac terra divulgatum*," he should infer that this sin of sins was introduced by the Normans.—*Translatio*,—Glaber (ap. Ser. R. Fr. v. 51), observes, that from the period of their arrival in Gaul, the Normans had almost always bastards for their princes.—The Plantagenets seem to have continued this sullied race. Henry II. was red-faced, and disfigured by the enormous size of his belly, but always on horseback and hunting. Petr. Bles. p. 99. "He was," says his secretary, "more raging than a lion." *Le roi estoit trucidant, d'un vehement se extendoit.* Ibid. p. 75. In his fits of passion, his blue eyes became blood-red, his countenance flared, and his voice trembled with rage. Girald. Cambren. ap. Camden, p. 783. In one of these fits he bit a page's shoulder; and his favorite, Hamet, having one day contradicted him, he ran after him as far as the stables, and not being able to catch him, he gnawed in his rage the straw with which the floor was strewn. "Never," said a carliard, after a long conversation with Henry, "did I witness this man's

be, is of sanguine complexion, white, and smooth-haired, with large belly, brave and greedy, sensual and ferocious, gluttonous and scornful, surrounded by evil men, a robber and a violator, and on bad terms with the Church. It must be owned that he has not so easy a time as the king of France. He has more business on hand, having to govern with blows of his lance three or four nations whose language he is ignorant of. He has to coerce the Saxons by means of the Normans, the Normans by means of the Saxons, and to keep in check the Welsh and Scotch mountaineers as well. During this time, the king of France, seated in his arm-chair, can play him more than one trick. In the first place, he is his suzerain; then, he is the eldest son of the Church, the lawful son: the other is the bastard son, the offspring of violence. They are Ishmael and Isaac. The king of France has the law on his side; "the rusty curb of old fatherastic, the law."\* The other laughs at it and him: he is strong, and inasmuch as he is a Norman, a master of chicane. In this great mystery of the twelfth century, the king of France may be said to represent God, the other the devil. On one side, the legendary genealogy of the English monarch traces him up to Robert the Devil; on the other, to the fairy Melusina. "It is the use and wont of our family," said Richard (Cœur-de-Lion), "for the sons to hate the father; from the devil we came, and to him shall return."† Patience; the holier king will have his day. He will suffer much, undoubtedly, and is born to suffer. The king of England may take his wife and provinces from him; but he will recover all some morning. His claws are beginning to show from under his ermine. The *saintly man of a king* (le saint homme de roi) will presently be Philippe-Auguste, or Philippe-le-Bel.

An immense power, which but waits the moment of development, dwells within that pale and unimportant figure. He is the king of the Church and of the *bourgeoisie*, the king of the people and of the law. In this sense, divine right is his. His strength does not burst forth in heroic guise, but waxes great with a vigorous growth, and with a constant progression, as slow and as fated as nature. The general expression of an immense diversity, the symbol of a whole nation, the more fully he represents it, the more insignificant he himself seems. Personality is weak in him; he is less a man than an idea. An impersonal being, he lives in universality, in his people, in the Church, the daughter of the people. He is a profoundly

equal in lying." Edm. S. Thom. p. 366. His successors, Richard and John, will be noticed hereafter.—The ideal of these monarchs is Richard III., the Richard the Third of Shakspeare, as well as the Richard of history.

\* Shakspeare, First Part of King Henry IV. sc. 2.

† De Diabolo venientes, et ad Diabolum transientes. J. Brompton, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 213.

‡ He bore off from Louis VII. his wife Eleanor, Palen, Guyenne, &c.



the apparent obligation, as his successor, of fulfilling his vow. (A. D. 1147.)

The difference between this crusade and the first is palpable, although the contemporary writers seem emulously to have striven to shut their eyes to the fact. The idea of religion, of everlasting salvation, was no longer attached to one city, to one spot. Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre had been seen, and closely; and men had begun to doubt, whether religion and sanctity were confined to that little corner of the earth which lies between Libanus, the Desert, and the Red Sea. The materialist point of view which localized religion, had lost its empire. Vainly did Suger try to divert the king from embarking in the crusade.\* St. Bernard himself, who preached it at Vézelay and in Germany, was not convinced of its being necessary to salvation, and refused to go to the Holy Land and guide the army, as he was prayed to do.† The wondrous enthusiasm of

\* "At a later period he wished to put himself at its head. Convinced that it was of the first necessity to spare the king of the French, and the army which had just returned from the Holy Land, from new dangers, and that they both had scarcely had time to recover from their fatigues, he persuaded the bishops of the kingdom to meet to deliberate on the subject, exhorting and inspiring them to aspire themselves to the glory of a triumph, denied to the most powerful monarchs. Having thrice failed to rouse the bishops, and conscious of their deplorable weakness and cowardice, he thought it became him, in default of all the rest, to take upon himself alone the accomplishment of his noble desire. He would, indisputably, have preferred to keep secret, for a time at least, the magnificent extent of his pious devotion, on account of the uncertainty of all things, and the fear of his being accused of vain-glory; but his immense preparations betrayed his munificence. He then ardently busied himself in sending to Jerusalem, by the hands of the knights of the holy temple, all the money necessary to the success of so great a project, and in raising it upon the increase of the revenues produced to his monastery by his services and skill: and, certainly, no one can justly complain of this, seeing how the care of Suger raised the returns of all the possessions of his church, and how many new domains and churches his monastery acquired under his administration. Apparently, he seemed intent, by all these dispositions, on sending his retainers in his stead; but the truth is, that if his life had been spared, he would himself have gone to the East." Vita Sugerii, ap. Mer. R. Fr. xii. 101.

† He dissuaded an abbot from going on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in 1128. *Operum*, t. i. p. 25, 323.—In 1129, he writes to the bishop of Lincoln, on the subject of an Englishman, of the name of Philip, who had stopped at Clairvaux on his way to the Holy Land, and taken the cow there—"Your Philip, in his desire to reach Jerusalem, has found a short road, and has quickly reached his journey's end . . . for his feet now stand in the halls of Jerusalem; and him whom he had heard of by the Euphrates, discovered in the glades of the wood, he cheerfully worships in the place where his feet have stopped, (et quem audierat in Euphrate, inventum in campis silvæ libenter adorat in loco ubi steterunt pedes ejus).—The allusion appears to be to Philip and the Ethiopian, Acts viii. 26-39.) . . . He became, then, not only a curious spectator, but a devout inhabitant, and conscript citizen of Jerusalem, though not of that earthly Jerusalem, with which Sinai of Arabia is joined, serving it with her sons, but of that freed Jerusalem, which is our mother above. And if you seek to know, this is Clairvaux. (Factus est ergo non curiosus tantum spectator, sed et devotus habitator, et civis conscriptus Jerusalem, non autem terrene hujus, cui Arabia mons Sinai conjunctus est, quæ servit cum filius suis, sed libera illius, quæ est sursum mater nostra. Et si vultis scire, Clara Vallis est.)" P. 64.—The following is a passage from an Arab writer, which presents a remarkable coincidence with the idea just expressed by St. Bernard—"They who fly to seek the Cross, when they have attained the object for which they have undertaken so much fatigue, see a lofty and sacred house—<sup>2</sup> mine, in the midst of a desert valley. They enter, that

the first crusade was wanting. St. Bernard clearly exaggerates when he tells us that there remained but one man to every seven women.\* The army which descended the Danube in two divisions under the leading of the emperor Conrad and king Louis VII.,† may be estimated at two hundred thousand men; and the Germans, especially, mustered at this time in large numbers. However, numerous princes, who held of the empire, the bishops of Toul and Metz, the counts of Savoy and Montserrat, and all the barons of the kingdom of Arles, joined, by preference, the French army; in which there marched, under the king's command, the counts of Toulouse, Flanders, Blois, Nevers, Dreux, the lords of Bourbon, Comy, Lusignan, Courtenay, and a host of others. With them, too, was queen Eleanor, whose presence was, perhaps, necessary to secure the obedience of her Poitevins and her Gascons. This is the first time that a woman is of this importance in history.

It would have been wiser to have taken the sea passage, as counselled by the king of Sicily; but that by land, besides being consecrated by the remembrance of the first crusade, and the traces of so many martyrs, was the only one which could be taken by the crowds of poor, who sought to visit the holy places under the protection of the army. The French king preferred this route; and had made certain of the good will of the king of Sicily, of Conrad, the emperor of Germany, of the king of Hungary, and of Manuel Comnenus, the emperor of Constantinople, while the relationship of the two emperors, Manuel and Conrad, seemed to augur some success for the crusade. Thus the expedition was not blindly undertaken; and Louis strove to preserve some discipline in the French army.‡ The Germans had already set out with the emperor Conrad and his nephew at their head; and their impatience and brutal impetuosity were without example. The emperor Manuel Comnenus, whose victories had restored the Greek empire, met their wishes. He transported these barbarians with the utmost haste across the Bosphorus, and launched them on Asia by the shortest but most mountainous road, that by way of Phrygia and Iconium. Here, they found ample opportunity for their heady ardor. With their heavy arms,

they may see God: they seek him long, and see him not. When they have sorrowfully sought through the house, they hear a voice above their heads. 'O worshippers of a house! why adore stone and mud? Adore the other house—that sought by the elect.'" (This beautiful fragment, by which we are indebted to a young oriental scholar, M. Ernest Fournet, was inserted by M. Victor Hugo, in the notes to his *Orientales*, p. 416, ed. pr.)

\* St. Bernard, Ep. 246, ap. Baron, xii. 321.

† Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, t. v. p. 330. William of Tyre, (l. viii.) on the authority of many of the crusaders, states that there might have been in each of the two armies about seventy thousand men, armed with cuirasses, without counting the footmen and light cavalry.—(Mon de Deuil goes much further—"The Greeks have assured me that the crusaders crossed the sea, to the number of nine hundred thousand five hundred and sixty-six.")

‡ Sismondi, l. v. p. 331.

they were soon exhausted in mountain warfare against the Turkish cavalry, which flew from point to point, now on their flanks, now in their van. They perished, scoffed at by the Greeks, and by the French themselves, who would cry, *Push on, push on, German!* 'Tis a Greek historian who has preserved us these two words without translating them.\*

The French were not more fortunate. They at first took the long and easy route by the shores of Asia Minor. But losing patience at its windings, they, too, plunged into the interior of the country, and experienced the same disasters. The vanguard, first, having pushed too quickly on, was likely to have been cut off. Each morning, the king, after strict confession and absolution, cut his way through the Turkish horsemen † but to no purpose. The army would have been destroyed in these mountains but for a knight, named Gilbert, to whom the command was intrusted as to the most worthy, and of whom, unfortunately, no information has come down to us. ‡ The crusaders accused the perfidious Greeks, who gave them worthless guides, and sold at their weight in gold the provisions which Manuel had engaged to supply, as the authors of their misfortunes; and the historian Nicetas himself confesses that the emperor betrayed them §. The fact was evident when they reached lesser Antioch, where they found that its Greek inhabitants had given shelter to the Turkish fugitives. ¶ Yet the conduct of Louis towards Manuel had been unimpeachable, and, as Godfrey of Bouillon had done, he had turned a deaf ear to those counsellors who exhorted him by the way to seize Constantinople ¶.

At length they arrived at Satalia, in the Gulf of Cyprus. They had still forty days' march to reach Antioch by land in following the current of the gulf, but the patience and the zeal of the barons were worn out, and the king found it impossible to detain them. They would go by sea to Antioch, and the Greeks furnished all who could pay with vessels. The rest were left under the escort of the count of Flanders, of the Sire de Bourbon, and of a body of Greek cavalry which the king hired to protect them, \*\* then, giving all that was left him to these poor people, he embarked with Eleanor. But the Greeks who were to defend them, were the first to give them up, or they else made them their own slaves. † Those who escaped owed it to the proselyting spirit of the Turks, who made them embrace their religion. ‡

Such was the shameful termination of this expedition; yet those who had embarked constituted the real strength of the army, and might have been of great service to the Christians of Antioch or of the Holy Land. But shame, and the recollection of the hapless beings whom they had deserted in Cilicia, weighed heavily on them. Louis VII. would do nothing on behalf of the Prince of Antioch, Raymond of Poitiers, the uncle of his wife Eleanor. This Raymond was the handsomest man of his time, and his niece seemed to be on too good terms with him. Louis, fearing his wishing to detain her, suddenly left Antioch and repaired to the Holy Land. He did nothing worthy of note here. Conrad joined him; and their rivalry caused the failure of the siege of Damascus, which they had undertaken. They returned with disgrace to Europe, and the rumor ran that Louis, taken prisoner for a moment by Greek vessels, owed his deliverance to a casual meeting with a fleet of Sicilian Normans.\*

A return of this kind was melancholy, and was the theme of universal denision. What had become of the thousands of deserted Christians, abandoned to the fury of the infidels? Could such levity and hard inhumanity meet in the same persons? All the barons were guilty; but the disgrace was the king's. The sin rested on him alone. During the crusade, the haughty and violent Eleanor had shown the store she set by such a husband. From the time of their arrival at Antioch she had declared that she could not continue the wife of one whose relative she was, † and that, besides, she would not have a monk for her husband. ‡ Some say that she was smitten with Raymond of Antioch, others, with a handsome Saracen slave; and it was, moreover, rumored that she had received presents from the Sultan. § On her return she sought a divorce from the council of Beaugency, to whose decision Louis deferred, and lost at one swoop the extensive provinces which Eleanor had brought him. The South of France was once more isolated from the North, and a female is about to carry to the object of her choice the whole weight of the West.

The lady seems to have secured another husband beforehand. The divorce was pronounced on the 18th of March, and by Pontecost, Henry Plantagenet, Duke of Angou, grandson of William the Conqueror, Duke of Normandy, and soon to be king of England, had married Eleanor, and with her Western France from Nantes to the Pyrenees. Even before his becoming king of England, his states were more than twice as extensive as those of the king of France. He was not long in England to be triumped over Stephen of Blois, whose son had married a sis-

\* Henry's *History*, *John Gessner*, p. 17.  
† *Ibid.* p. 18. And on his return he always asked his people to remember that he had the physical strength of a lion.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 18, 19.  
§ The emperor, he says, sent pressing letters to the Sultan of the Turks, praying him to march against the Germans. See *the History of the Crusades*, p. 109. The crusade, however, did not take place.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 19.  
\*\* *Ibid.* p. 21.

† *Ibid.* p. 21.  
‡ *Ibid.* p. 21, 22.

\* *John Gessner*, p. 17. See also p. 17.  
† *John Gessner*, p. 17.  
‡ *John Gessner*, p. 17.  
§ *John Gessner*, p. 17.

ter of Louis the Seventh;\* and thus all turned out against the latter and in favor of his rival.

Let us inquire what this royalty of England might be, whose rivalry with France is about to claim our attention.

The hideous basis of the Anglo-Norman power was the spoliation of a whole people. That life of robbery and violence which each baron exercised on a petty scale round his manor, was carried out on the largest on the other side of the channel. There a whole people was the serf; and the horrors of this slavery approximated to those of the ancients, or of our own colonies. There was no tie to unite the conquered and the conquerors; they spoke a different language, and were of different races. The consciousness of unlimited power gave rise to an execrable ferocity; and the conquerors were equally irrespective of human considerations and uncurbed by legal restraints, for, as sharers in his conquest, the barons were almost equals of the king—Robert earl of Moreton alone had above six hundred fiefs.† These barons were ready to be called the king's *men*; but, in reality, he was only the first of themselves, and, on great occasions, they would sit in judgment on him. Yet the risk was too serious for them to arrogate perfect independence. Few in number, and in the midst of a large population whom they brutally trampled under foot, they needed a central point, a chief who could rally them in case of revolt, and represent the Norman party in the heart of the conquered. Hence the strength of feudal order in the very country, in which the more powerful vassals must have had the greatest temptations to despise it.

The situation of this king of the Conquest was extremely critical, and exposed to sudden violence. The new order of things, built up of murder and of rapine, was maintained by him. He was its bond of union. Against him were directed the "curses, not loud but deep," of an outraged people. For him the Saxon outlaw of the *New Forest*, pursued by the sheriff, kept his last arrow: forests were unlucky to the Norman kings. As a protection against him, quite as much as against the Saxons, the barons built those gigantic castles, whose haughty beauty still attests how little was thought of the sweat of men's brow in their erection. A king so detested, could not fail to be a tyrant. Terrible, measureless, and pitiless, were the laws which he promulgated against the Saxons;‡ but more care was required in dealing with the Normans, to secure himself against whom he was ever engaging mercena-

ries from the continent, Flemings and Bretons, who were wholly at his disposal, and who were the more formidable to the Norman aristocracy, inasmuch as the Flemings spoke a kindred dialect to that of the Saxons, and the Bretons to that of the Welsh. On several occasions he did not hesitate to employ the Saxons themselves;\* but this he was soon compelled to discontinue. He could only have become dear to the Saxons by overthrowing the whole work of the conquest.

Such is the situation in which the Conqueror's son, William Rufus, found himself. Burning with all the impatience of a tyrannical disposition which found itself checked on every side; terrible both to Saxons and to barons, crossing and recrossing the sea; hurrying with the rapidity of a wild-boar from one end to the other of his dominions; grasping to excess, and, as the chronicle has it, a *marvellous dealer in soldiers*;† a speedy waster of wealth, the outrager of humanity, of law, and of nature: beastly in his pleasures, a murderer, and blasphemous scoundrel—when his red and bloated face flushed with rage, and his speech became precipitate and unintelligible, wo to those who chanced to be present; his words were decrees of death.‡

Tons of gold passed through his hands, as so many shillings. He was the prey of an incurable poverty: with all his violence and his passion he was poor. He had to pay for pleasure, and to pay for murder. The ingenious and inventive friend, who ever knew how to find gold for such occasions, was a certain priest, who had at first thrust himself into notice as an informer. He became William's right hand; his purveyor. But to undertake to fill this bottomless gulf was a hard task. He set himself about effecting it in two ways. He recast, revised, and corrected the book of the Conquest, *Domesday Book*, so as to be sure that nothing had escaped;§ and then went carefully over the work of spoliation, set himself about gnawing the already well-gnawed bones, and managed to get something off them. He left nothing, though, for those who came

\* For instance, William Rufus, and his successor Henry Beaufort, both summoned the English to oppose the invaders of their elder brother, Robert Short Horse. Gu. I. Malmesb. p. 130, 156. Hoved. 461. Chronic. R. 11. 193. Matt. Paris, 42.

† *Mirabilis militum mercator et soldator.* Roger, V. 11. Lud. Gross. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 12.

‡ Lingard, vol. ii. p. 147. (The entire passage is as follows:—"In person he was short and corpulent, with flaxen hair, and a ruddy complexion: from which last circumstance he derived the name of Rufus, or the Red. In and every conversation his utterance was slow and cumbersome: in the hurry of passion, precipitate and unintelligible. He assumed in public a haughty posture, rolling his eyes with fierceness on the spectators, and endeavoring by the tone of his voice and the tenor of his answers to intimidate those who addressed him. But in private he descended to an equality with his companions, amusing them with his wit, which was chiefly pointed against himself, and seeking to lessen the odium of his excesses, by making them the subjects of laughter."

—TRANSLATOR.

§ Order, V. 11. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 633. *Regem barones ut totius Anglie revivere descriptionem, Angliamque subactis compulsum iteraret partitionem.*

\* Chronic. Tiron. ap. Ser. R. Fr. vi. 464.

† Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. ii. p. 433. These possessions, at the time, were scattered: 214 manors in Cornwall, 54 in Sussex, 196 in Yorkshire, 99 in Northamptonshire, &c. (Hallam observes, that "this was more like a great French fief than an English earldom.")

‡ To form this royal class, thirty-six parishes were leased of their inhabitants, and affracted.

§ Thierry, Conq. de l'Angleterre, t. iii. p. 300, 337, sqq.

after him; and so was well surnamed the *Flambard*,\* (devouring torch.) From the conquered he transferred his labors to the conquerors, and, first, to the priests; and he so laid hands on the goods of the Church, that the archbishop of Canterbury would have died of hunger but for the charity of the abbot of St. Albans.† No scruples checked Flambard. Grand justiciary, grand treasurer, and the king's chaplain as well, (just the chaplain William wanted,) he sucked England with three mouths; and he went on in this wise, until William had met his end in that beautiful forest, which the Conqueror seemed to have planted for the ruin of his descendants. "Shoot, in the devil's name," said Rufus to his good friend, who was hunting with him. "The devil took him at his word, and bore off the soul to which he had so just a claim.‡

Robert, the elder brother, did not succeed. The stolen kingdom of the bastard William was to descend to the ablest and boldest—to whoever could steal it in his turn. When the dying Conqueror gave Normandy to Robert, and England to William, "And I," exclaimed Henry, the youngest, "am I to have nothing?" "Be patient, my son," said the dying king, "and thou wilt inherit the fortunes of both thy brothers."§ The youngest was likewise the wisest. He was called *Beaulere*; equivalent to the able, the competent, the scribe, the true Norman. He began by unbounded promises to the Saxons and the priests, and lavished charters, franchises, whatever was asked of him.¶ Having defeated Robert with the aid of mercenary soldiers, and taken him prisoner, he kept him well lodged and well fed in a strong castle, (Cardiff,) where he lived to the age of eighty-four, and Robert, who was given up to the joys of the table, would have consoled himself, had not his brother had his eyes put out.⊗ But fratricide and parricide were hereditary in the family. Already had the Conqueror's sons warred with and wounded their father,\*\* and, under

pretence of executing feudal justice, Beaulere, who piqued himself on his stern and impartial administration of the laws, delivered up his own grand-daughters, two children, to one of his barons, who tore out their eyes, and cut off their noses. Their mother, Beaulere's daughter, endeavored to avenge them, by directing an arrow with her own hand at her father's breast.⊙ The Plantagenets, who descended from this diabolical race by the mother's side only, did not degenerate from it.

After Beaulere, (A. D. 1135,) the struggle lay between his nephew, Stephen of Blois, and his daughter Matilda, the widow of the emperor Henry V., and wife of the count of Anjou. Stephen belonged to that excellent family of the counts of Blois and of Champagne, who at this very period encouraged the commercial communes, led off at Troyes the Seine into canals, and protected at one and the same time St. Bernard and Abelard. Freethinkers and poets, from them will descend the famous Thibaut the troubadour—he who had his poems to queen Blanche painted in his palace of Provence, amongst roses transplanted from Jericho. Stephen was able to keep his ground in England by the aid of foreigners only, Flemings and Brabanters, and he even sought assistance among the Welsh. The clergy and London alone were on his side, (the other communes of England had yet to be created,) though, indeed, he did not long remain on good terms with the clergy, having forbade the teaching of the canon law,‡ and dared to imprison bishops. Then Matilda appeared on the scene. She landed almost alone. True offspring of the conqueror, insolent and intrepid, she affronted every one and braved every one. Three she had to fly in the night, on foot, with the snow on the ground, and destitute of all resources. Stephen, once that he held her besieged, thought himself bound as a knight to leave the road open to her to join her friends,§ though she did not trust him the better for it when she took him in her turn, on his being deserted by his barons, (A. D. 1153,) but compelled him to recognise as his successor, her son by the count of Anjou, that fortunate Henry Plantagenet, on whom, as we have just seen, Eleanor of Guyenne bestowed her hand and vast domains.

Such was the growing greatness of the young Henry when the king of France, hunched by the result of his crusade, lost Libanora and so many provinces. This spoilt child of fortune was in a few years overwhelmed with her gifts. King of England, and master of the whole coast-land of France, from Flanders to the Pyrenees, he also exercised over Brittany that suzerain-

\* *Flambard*, *Flammar*. *Flammar*, cognominis est. "The word *Flammar*," adds the poet *Chromier*, "seems to have been prophetically applicable to his deeds and his fate."

† *Henry* p. 100. *Engl. vol. u. p. 139.*

‡ See *Henry's annotated letter to Comp. de l'Anglet* *vol. i. p. 139* top.

§ *Henry* *vol. vi. p. 38*. *R. Fr. vol. i. p. 121.* *Angl. vol. i. p. 139.* *Henry* *vol. vi. p. 38*. *R. Fr. vol. i. p. 121.* *Angl. vol. i. p. 139.* *Henry* *vol. vi. p. 38*. *R. Fr. vol. i. p. 121.* *Angl. vol. i. p. 139.*

⊗ *Henry* *vol. vi. p. 38*. *R. Fr. vol. i. p. 121.* *Angl. vol. i. p. 139.* *Henry* *vol. vi. p. 38*. *R. Fr. vol. i. p. 121.* *Angl. vol. i. p. 139.* *Henry* *vol. vi. p. 38*. *R. Fr. vol. i. p. 121.* *Angl. vol. i. p. 139.*

⊙ *Henry* *vol. vi. p. 38*. *R. Fr. vol. i. p. 121.* *Angl. vol. i. p. 139.* *Henry* *vol. vi. p. 38*. *R. Fr. vol. i. p. 121.* *Angl. vol. i. p. 139.* *Henry* *vol. vi. p. 38*. *R. Fr. vol. i. p. 121.* *Angl. vol. i. p. 139.*

⊗ *Henry* *vol. vi. p. 38*. *R. Fr. vol. i. p. 121.* *Angl. vol. i. p. 139.* *Henry* *vol. vi. p. 38*. *R. Fr. vol. i. p. 121.* *Angl. vol. i. p. 139.*

with the king. These were recovered but given up again, and William was driven back. *Matilda* *Paris* p. 10.

⊙ *Henry* *vol. vi. p. 38*. *R. Fr. vol. i. p. 121.* *Angl. vol. i. p. 139.*

⊙ *Henry* *vol. vi. p. 38*. *R. Fr. vol. i. p. 121.* *Angl. vol. i. p. 139.* *Henry* *vol. vi. p. 38*. *R. Fr. vol. i. p. 121.* *Angl. vol. i. p. 139.*

⊙ *Henry* *vol. vi. p. 38*. *R. Fr. vol. i. p. 121.* *Angl. vol. i. p. 139.*

ship which the dukes of Normandy had never succeeded in enforcing; and taking Anjou, Maine, and Touraine from his brother, he left him by way of indemnification to make himself duke of Brittany, (A. D. 1156.) He reduced Gascony, and governed Flanders, as its defender and guardian, in its count's absence; he took the Quercy from the count of Toulouse, and would have taken Toulouse as well, had not the French king undertaken its defence, (A. D. 1159,) and thrown himself into the town;\* though the Toulousan was nevertheless obliged to do him homage. The ally of the king of Arragon, and count of Barcelona and of Provence, Henry sought a princess of Savoy for one of his sons, in order to obtain a footing in the Alps, and so turn France on the south, while in its centre he reduced Berry, the Limousin, and Auvergne, and bought the Marche.† He even managed to detach the counts of Champagne from their alliance with the French king; and, finally, at his death, he possessed countries corresponding with forty-seven of our departments, whilst the king of the kingdom had a territory corresponding with fewer than twenty.‡

From his birth, Henry II. had found himself the object of singular popularity, without his having in any way deserved it. His grandfather, Henry Beaulere, was a Norman—his grandmother, a Saxon—his father, an Angevin; and he thus united in his own person all the western races. He formed the link between the conquerors and the conquered; between the south and the north. The conquered, in particular, had indulged the highest hopes, believing that in him was fulfilled Merlin's prophecy, and that Arthur had again come to life. It happened, to strengthen the prediction, that he obtained, forcibly or otherwise, the homage of the princes of Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and Brittany, that is, of the whole Celtic world; and he had Arthur's tomb sought and found out,§ that mysterious tomb, whose discovery was to mark the term of Celtic independence, and the fulfilment of time.

Every circumstance conspired to fan the belief that the new sovereign would realize the hopes of the conquered. He had been brought up at Angers, one of the cities in which jurisprudence had been earliest professed. It was the epoch of the revival of the Roman law, which was in so many ways to promote the consolidation both of the monarchical power and of civil equality. The idea of equality under one ruler, was the last legacy bequeathed us by the ancient world. In the year 1114, the celebrated counts Matilda, the cousin of Godfrey of Bouillon, and friend of Gregory VII., had given her license to the school of Bologna,

founded by Irnerio, of that city;\* and the emperor, Henry V., had confirmed the license, well aware of all the advantages which the imperial power might derive from the traditions of the ancient empire. The young duke of Anjou, Henry Plantagenet, son of the Norman Matilda—who was the widow of this same Henry V.—found at Angers, at Rouen, and in England, the traditions of the school of Bologna. As early as the year 1124, the bishop of Angers was a learned jurist.† The famous Italian, Lanfranc, William the Conqueror's right hand, the primate of the conquest, had first taught at Bologna, and had been one of the revivers of Roman jurisprudence. "It was," says one of the continuators of Sigebert of Gemblours, "it was Lanfranc of Pavia, and his companion, Garnerius, who, having discovered at Bologna the laws of Justinian, began to read and lecture upon them. Garnerius continued so to do. But Lanfranc, who professed the liberal arts and theology in Gaul, and had many disciples there, repaired to Bec, where he turned monk."‡

The principles of the new school were proclaimed precisely at the period Henry II. mounted the throne, (A. D. 1154.) The jurists, who had been summoned by the emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, to the diet of Roncaglia, (A. D. 1158,) addressed to him, by the mouth of the archbishop of Milan, these remarkable words: "Know that the right of making laws which belonged to the people is yours; your will is law, for it is said—the prince's pleasure is law, since the people have given up all their empire and power into his hands."§

On opening the diet, the emperor himself had said—"We, who are invested with the royal title, rather desire to rule according to law for the preservation of the rights and liberty of all, than to follow our own pleasure with impunity. To give one's self every license, and to change the office of government into a haughty and violent sway, is tyranny."|| This pedantry of republicanism, which is taken textually from Livy, gave an erroneous explanation of the ideal

\* Abb. Urspergensis Chron. ap. Savigny, Geschichte des Römischen Rechts im Mittelalter, iv. 10. Dominus Willelmus hunc legum, qui dudum neglecti fuerant, ad perfectionem Matilda comitissa renovavit.

† In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the whole of the clergy of this city were jurists. When Guichard Le Mare was bishop, (A. D. 1200-1214,) nearly all the members of his Church were professors of law. Bodin, Recherches sur l'Anjou, ii. 232. Four out of the fourteen bishops who formed the assembly of the clergy in 1332, had filled the law chair at the university of Angers. Ibid. 233.

‡ Robert de Monte, ap. Savigny, Römischen Rechts, &c., iv. 10. Order. Vital. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xi. 212. "He was famed for his learning over all Europe, and crowds of disciples flocked to him from France, Gascony, Brittany, and Flanders."

§ Radevicius, ii. c. 4. ap. Gieseler, Kirchengeschichte, i. P. 2, p. 72. "Sicut statim omne jus populi in condempnatis legibus tibi concessum, ita voluntis jus est, sicut dicitur: 'Quod Principi placuit, legis habet vigorem,' cum populus et in eum omne suum imperium et potestatem concesserit."—Henry the Second's counsellor, the celebrated Ranulf de Glanville, repeats this doctrine. De Leg. et Consuet. Reg. Angl. c. in proem.

|| Radevicius, ibid.

\* Hist. du Longueval, t. iv. p. 4-1.  
† Bond. Petrolog. p. 167. He had fifteen thousand marks of silver for it. The count was leaving for Jerusalem and did not know what to do with his possessions.

‡ André. Visions, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 447.

§ See Schomberg, t. vi. p. 4.

|| See Thierry, t. iii. p. 80.

aimed at by the new jurisprudence; which did not seek for liberty, but for equality under a monarch, and the suppression of that feudal tyranny which weighed down Europe.

Their doctrines may teach us how dear these legists must have been to princes, and so will history; for we shall henceforward see them by the side of monarchs, as if fastened to their ear, whispering their lesson to them. William the Bastard, as has been already shown, attached Lanfranc to himself. During his frequent absences, he confided the care of England to his charge,\* and, more than once, bore him out against his own brother. The Angevin, Henry, the new conqueror of England, took for his Lanfranc a scholar of Bologna, who had studied jurisprudence at Auxerre as well.† Thomas Becket, so was he named, was at the time in the service of the archbishop of Canterbury; whom he had influenced to side with Matilda and her son. Having only taken deacon's orders, and being thus neither priest nor layman, he was fit for every thing, and ready for every thing, but his birth stood much in his way. He is said to have been born of a Saracen woman, who had followed her Saxon lover when he had left the Holy Land.‡ Thence, his birth, on his mother's side, seemed to shut him out from the dignities of the Church, and, on his father's, from those of the State. He could have no hope, but from the king. The latter needed such men, for the execution of his projects against his barons. In the first year of his arrival in England, Henry razed to the ground a hundred and forty castles. He carried all before him. He married the heiresses of the more powerful families to men of inferior rank, lowering the former, elevating the latter, and leveling all. The Norman nobles had exhausted their strength in Stephen's wars, and the new king arrayed against them the men of Anjou, Poitou, and Aquitaine. Wealthy, from his paternal states, and those of his wife, he carried his soldiers, too, in Flanders and in Brit-

tany. 'Tis the advice Becket gave him:⁠\* who had become indispensable to him both in his business and pleasures. Supple, bold, a man of experience, a man of expedients, and a boon companion into the bargain,† partaking or else copying his master's tastes, Henry had given himself unreservedly up to him, and not himself only, but his son and heir. Becket was the son's tutor, the father's chancellor,‡ and, in the latter capacity, he strongly maintained the king's rights against the Norman barons and bishops, compelling the latter to pay *soutage*, despite their protests and clamor. Then, feeling that a brilliant war was essential to making the king master in England, he led him to the south of France to conquer Toulouse, to which Eleanor of Guyenne had pretensions. Becket led in his own name, and as if at his own expense, twelve hundred knights and more than four thousand soldiers, without including his own especial retainers, who were numerous enough to garrison many places in the South.⁠§ It is clear that an armament so disproportioned to the fortune of the richest private individual, was sent in the name of an unimportant person, to give the less alarm to the barons.

A vast league had been formed against the count of Toulouse, who was the object of universal jealousy, and the powerful count of Barcelona, the regent of Arragon, and the counts of Narbonne, Montpellier, Beziers, and Carcassonne, had entered into a mutual understanding with the king of England, who seemed on the point of conquering what Louis VIII. and St. Louis reaped with difficulty after the crusade against the Albigenses. It was essential to carry Toulouse by assault, without allowing the count breathing time, but the French king had thrown himself into it, and had his commands on Henry, as his suzerain, to forbear attacking a town under his protection.

\* Legend, vol. i. p. 285.

† Thompson, *Chron.* p. 1059. J. S. Strachan, *Ep. ep.*Epist. p. 110. *Chron. de Lanus*, 1062, p. 104.‡ *Legat. R. Fr. xv. 42*. The son of Henry, then not yet

born.

§ *Legat. R. Fr. xv. 40*. *Chron. Norm.* 114. *Legat. vol. i.*p. 284. *Legat. vol. i.* p. 284. The latterwill be found in the *Legat. vol. i.* p. 284. The latter





The great Italian legists who were the first archbishops of Canterbury, were the more inclined to favor the customs of Kent from their affining, in many respects, with the principles of the Roman law; and when Eudes, (Odo,) the Earl of Kent, William the Conqueror's brother, began to degrade the Kentish men to the same servile footing as the natives of the other provinces, Lanfranc withstood him to the face, and proved before all the world the liberties of his land by the testimony of aged Englishmen, versed in the customs of their country, and he delivered his men from the evil usages which Eudes wished to impose on them.\* On another occasion, (Odo's seizure of many manors belonging to the archbishop of Canterbury, during Stigand's disgrace,) a shire-mote was held, at Lanfranc's request, at Penenden, in which Geoffry, bishop of Coutance, presided by order of William; where, after a hearing of three days, the lands in question were adjudged to the Church.†

St. Anselm, Lanfranc's successor, showed himself still more favorable to the conquered. One day that Lanfranc was speaking to him of the Saxon Elfric, (or Alphege,) who had sacrificed himself in defending the liberties of his country against the Normans, "For my part," was Anselm's remark, "I think him a true martyr, for he preferred death to seeing his countrymen wronged. John died for truth's sake, Elfric for that of justice, and so both died for Christ, who is both truth and justice."‡ Anselm was the chief promoter of Henry Beaudouin's marriage with Edith, a descendant of the Saxon line of sovereigns, a match which, despite all argument to the contrary, must have led to the reclamation of the conquered lands. Anselm, as representative of the English people, in his capacity of archbishop of Canterbury, administered the oaths to Beaudouin, when he swore, for the second time, to observe the charters promising the maintenance of the Church and the freedom of its vassals.§

Henry, with the view of securing the crown from the power of the nobles, and of rendering himself more popular, had recourse to the same policy as his father, and he was not less successful than his father. At the death of Anselm, he was obliged to give up the idea of marrying Edith, and he was obliged to give up the idea of marrying her daughter, Matilda, who was the daughter of the Saxon king, Edgar. He was obliged to give up the idea of marrying her daughter, Matilda, who was the daughter of the Saxon king, Edgar.

\* Anselm, *op. cit.* p. 124. † *Ibid.* p. 125. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 126. § *Ibid.* p. 127.

§ *Langton's Hist.* p. 124, 125.

## DISPUTE BETWEEN HENRY AND BECKET.

Great was the surprise of the English monarch when he learned that his creature, his boon companion, Thomas Becket, took his new dignity in earnest. The chancellor, the worldling, the courtier, had suddenly recollected that he was one of the people. A son of the Saxon, he had turned Saxon; and his sanctity caused his Saracen mother to be forgotten. He surrounded himself with Saxons, with the poor and the beggar—wore their coarse dress, and ate with them, and as they did.\* From this time he resigned the great seal, and dropped his intercourse with the king. There were, thus, as if two kings; and the king of the poor, who held his court at Canterbury, was not the least powerful of the two.†

Henry, deeply offended, obtained from the pope a bull, rendering the abbot of St. Augustin's monastery independent of the archbishop; indeed, he had been so under the Saxon kings. By way of reprisal, Thomas summoned several of the barons to restore to the see of Canterbury estates which their ancestors had received in fee from their sovereigns; declaring that he knew no law which could sanctify injustice, and that what had been taken without a just title ought to be given up.‡ This was neither more nor less than mooted the question whether the whole work of the conquest were to be destroyed, and the Saxon archbishop were to wreak vengeance for the battle of Hastings on the descendants of the conquerors. The episcopate which William the Conqueror had strengthened for the support of the conquest, was now turned against it. Fortunately for Henry, the bishops were rather barons than bishops. Their temporal interests touched those Normans much more closely than those of the Church; and the majority declared in the king's favor, and were ready to swear to whatever pleased him. Thus the alarm which Becket's conduct occasioned in the thoroughly feudal church, enabled the king to extort from her an extent of power far beyond what he would otherwise have dared to seek.

The following are the principal points stipulated by the constitutions of Clarendon (A. D. 1164):—"The custody of every vacant archbishopric, bishopric, abbacy, and parson of royal benefice, shall be given, and its revenues paid, to the king, and the election of a new incumbent shall be made by the assent of the king, and by the assent of the majority of the Church, as discussed in the king's chapel, with the assent

\* *Walsley's Hist.* p. 124. † *Ibid.* p. 125. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 126.

§ *Langton's Hist.* p. 124, 125. † *Ibid.* p. 126. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 127.

§ *Langton's Hist.* p. 124, 125.

of the king, and with the advice of such prelates as the king may call to his assistance.—In suits, in which each or either party is a clergyman, the proceedings shall commence before the king's justices, who shall decide whether the cause is to be tried in the secular or episcopal courts: in the latter case a civil officer is to be present to report the proceedings, and if the defendant be convicted in a criminal action he is to lose his benefit of clergy.—No tenant in chief of the king, no officer of his household or of his demesne, shall be excommunicated, or his lands put under an interdict, until application shall have been made to the king, or in his absence to the grand justiciary, who is to take care that what belongs to the king's courts shall be there determined, and what belongs to the ecclesiastical courts shall be determined in them.—No archbishop, bishop, or dignified clergyman can lawfully go beyond the sea, without the king's permission.—Clergymen, who hold lands of the crown, hold by barony, and are bound to the same services as the lay barons.\*

These constitutions were nothing less than the entire confiscation of the Church in favor of Henry. When the king was to receive the revenues in the event of a see's becoming vacant, one might be sure that it would long remain so; just as in the time of William Rufus, who had farmed out one archbishopric, four bishoprics, and eleven abbeys.\* The bishoprics would become the reward, not of the barons, perhaps, but of the officials of the Treasury, of the scribes, and of complaisant judges. The Church, subject to military service, would become altogether feudal. Almonries, schools, and religious obligations would go to the support of Brabanters and Cotereaux, and pious foundations discharge the costs of murder. Losing with the power of excommunication the only weapon which remained to her, the Anglican church, cut off from all communication with Rome, and imprisoned in her island home, would at the same time, together with the loss of communion with the Christian world, lose all feeling of universality, of catholicism. The most serious attack upon her was the abolition of the ecclesiastical tribunals, and the repeal of the *benefit of clergy*. Undoubtedly, these rights had given rise to great abuses, and under their shelter the clergy had committed many crimes with impunity; but we have only to call to mind the frightful barbarism, the execrable venality of the lay tribunals of the twelfth century, to confess that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was at the period an anchor of safety. It might spare the guilty; but then how many innocent did it not save! The Church offered almost the only means by which the despised races could hope to retrieve their position, and the two Saxons, Brakspear (Adrian IV.) and Becket, are cases in point. At this time the

liberties of the Church were identified with those of the world.

And, therefore, the conquered races lent the archbishop of Canterbury a stout and firm support. His struggle for liberty was imitated in Aquitaine, though with more timidity and moderation, by the bishop of Poitiers,\* and, at a later period, in Wales, by the famous Gruffyddus Cambrensis, to whom we are indebted among other works, for his very curious description of Ireland.† The Lower Bretons, too, sided with Becket. A Welshman followed him into exile at the peril of his life;‡ as did the famous John of Salisbury.§ The Welsh students seem to have been the bearers of Becket's messages; for their schools were closed by king Henry's orders, and they themselves were prohibited from entering any part of England without first receiving his permission.

To see in this contest only a struggle between two hostile races, and to find in Thomas Becket a Saxon only, would be to circumscribe this grand subject. The archbishop of Canterbury was not merely the saint of England, the saint of the conquered—Saxons and Welsh; but quite as much the saint of France and of all Christendom. His memory was cherished by us, not less vividly than by his own countrymen. The house which he inhabited at Auxerre, and a church which he built in Dauphny, during his exile, are still pointed out to

\* To whom Henry II. addressed, through two of his justices, more stringent resolutions than even those embraced by the constitutions of Clarendon. See the Bishop's letter, *Ep. Ser. R. Fr.* xvi. 216.—See, also, *ibid.* 352, 353 &c., the letters written him by John of Salisbury, to keep him informed of all that was done in Becket's exile.—The bishop of Poitiers gave way in 1166, and made his peace with the king. *Joann. S. Rich. Epist.* *ibid.* 523.

† Elected bishop in 1176 by the monks of St. David, and expelled by Henry II. in favor of a Norman; re-elected in 1190 by the same monks, and again expelled by John Lackland. Too feebly supported, he failed in his courageous struggle for the independence of the Welsh church; but his country honored his memory for it.—“Long as our country shall endure,” says a Welsh poet, “they who write and they who sing, will remember thy noble daring.”

‡ *Ep. Ser. R. Fr.* xvi. 235. Therry, *ibid.* 160.

§ Salisbury is in the county of Kent, but not in the county of that name. The author must surely mean that Salisbury is ecclesiastically speaking, in the province of Canterbury. *Transcription.*—In the time of archbishop Theobald (Theobaldus) was John of Salisbury who was once, and on the attempt made by the church of Canterbury to recover its privileges. He writes, in 1150:—“I am the monk of the king's wrath . . . If the name of Rome is payable by any one, I am at the bottom of the matter; and if the Anglican Church dare to claim a shadow of liberty, either in the conduct of elections or of spiritual causes, all is put down to me as if I alone instructed my lord of Canterbury and the other bishop what to do.” . . . *J. Sarsbur. Epist.* *Ep. Ser. R. Fr.* xvi. 436. He contends, in his *Polemical* *Letter* (1159, p. 206), that “it is praiseworthy and just to fight a tyrant, in order to throw him off his guard and kill him.” In Thomas Becket's case, his letters betray such excess of moderation, that the confutation of his propriety. *Ep. Ser. R. Fr.* xvi. 508, 512 &c. as well as indignation at the conduct of p. 509, he often gets others to intercede for him with the king. *Ep. Ser. R. Fr.* xvi. 511 &c. and counsels Becket to make no resource. *Ep. Ser. R. Fr.* xvi. 527, &c. He seems little troubled with the sense of conspiracy, and thus defends his liberty as if it were his own power but for evil. (*Polemical*, p. 367.) We must not draw any hasty conclusion from his having studied under Abelard; his prayers are for St. Bernard and his disciple, Eugenius III. (*Ibid.* p. 311.)

\* *Petr. Bles. iii.*, cited by Jangard, vol. ii. p. 135.

the stranger. No tomb was more visited in the middle age than that of St. Thomas of Canterbury; no pilgrimage in greater request. A hundred thousand pilgrims are said to have visited it in a single year; and the tradition runs, that in one year nine hundred and fifty pounds sterling were laid on the shrine of St. Thomas, and only four pounds on that of the Virgin, while not a single offering was made to God himself.

Thomas was dear to the people above all the saints of the middle age, because by his low and obscure birth, by his Saracen mother and Saxon father, he was one of themselves. The worldly life which he had at first led, his love of dogs, horses, hawks,\* and all those youthful tastes which he never entirely lost, were quite to their taste. Under his priestly robes he bore a knightly, loyal, and courageous heart, whose impulses he found it difficult to repress. In one of the most critical moments of his life, when the barons and bishops who aided with Henry seemed ready to tear him in pieces, a voice called him traitor. At the word he stopped, and, hastily turning round, rejoined, "Were it not that my order forbids me, that coward should repent of his insolence."

The great, the magnificent, and the terrible in the fate of this man, arises from his being charged, weak and unassisted as he was, with the interests of the Church universal, which were those of mankind: a post, which was of right the pope's, which Gregory VII. had maintained, but which Alexander III. feared to occupy. He had enough to do with the anti-pope, and with his supporter, Frederick Barbarossa, the conqueror of Italy. Alexander was the head of the Lombard league, an Italian patriot and politician, who negotiated, fought, fled, came back, stirred up party zeal, encouraged desertion from the opposite ranks, made treaties, and founded cities. It did not suit his policy to offend the greatest king of Christendom, Innocent III., when he had the emperor already on his hands. His whole conduct towards Henry was shamefully timid and cringing, his sole object being to gain time by wretched equivocations, by letters and rejoinders, living on daily expedients, temporizing between England and France, and playing the diplomatist like a hyacinth, while the king of France accepted the patronage of the Church, and Becket suffered and died for her in a strange position, who taught the world to seek any where but at Rome for the representative of religion and the type of sanctity.

In this great and dramatic struggle Becket was severely tried, and had to bear up like a giant against threats, allurement, and his own suffer-

ings. Hence the hesitation observable in him in the beginning of the contest—a hesitation akin to fear. He gave way at first in the council of Clarendon, either through dread of personal violence, or that he was still influenced by the sense of his obligations to the king: a weakness, indeed, which commands our pity in a man who might be distracted between two opposing duties. On the one hand, he owed much to Henry; on the other, still more to his own see, to the Church of England, to the Church Universal, of whose rights he was the sole champion. This incurable duality of the middle age, divided between the state and religion, has been the grief and torment of the greatest minds,—of Godfrey of Bouillon, of St. Louis, and of Dante.

"Wretch that I am," exclaimed Thomas, on his return from Clarendon: "I see the Anglican church, in punishment of my sins, enslaved forever! It was so to be; I came out of the king's palace, not out of the church; I was a hunter of beasts, before I became a pastor of men. The lover of histrions and of dogs has become the guardian of souls . . . therefore, am I utterly abandoned of God!"†

Another time, Henry tried caresses instead of violence. Becket had only to say the word; he submitted every thing to him. It was a renewal of the temptation in the wilderness, when Satan took Jesus into an exceeding high mountain, and showing him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them, said, "All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me."‡ All his contemporaries see in Thomas's resistance to Henry, an image of the temptation of Christ; and in his death, a reflection of the passion. Analogies of the kind delighted the men of the middle age. The last work in this style, and the boldest, is that of the *Book of Conformities between the life of Jesus Christ and that of St. Francis*.

Even the extension of the royal power, which was the groundwork of the whole dispute, soon became a very secondary object with Henry, the chief being the ruin and death of Thomas. He thirsted for his blood. That the power which stretched over so many people should fall against the will of one man—that after so many easy triumphs, an obstacle should rise in his path—all this was too much for this spoiled child of fortune to bear. He was distracted at the thought, and even reduced to tears §.

\* See, writing in his subsequent flight, in France, seeing a hawk with a hawk in his west he could not help going up to him and taking an net which had been left behind by the hawk. Part of the writer of the story is the fact which he seemed him will have washed out the sin of his vanity. Vita quadragesima, p. 64.

† Ibid. p. 111. "In post hoc sum factus cum pastore ovium. Post hoc autem in me regem et unum regem, sed unumque post me. . . . Becket plene se totum per me dedit. . . . Then was he so overcome with grief, adds the writer, that he made his eyes pushed from his eyes, and he wept and wept and wept." ‡ Ibid. p. 109. Henry's words were like those of Satan, offering an easy triumph to man's pride. The bishop, repeating the king's words to himself, St. Bernard aided, "Woe to the man who is in French, here, the word of the evangelist, 'Hec omnia.'" § Ibid. p. 109.

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However, the king did not lack officious counsellors to endeavor to comfort him, and satisfy his desires; and the attempt was made in the month of October, 1164. Indisposed and weak, the archbishop was compelled to attend a great council in the town of Northampton. In the morning, having previously celebrated the mass of St. Stephen, the first martyr, which begins with the words, "The princes are met in council to hold judgment on me," he proceeded to court, arrayed as he was in the pontifical robes, and bearing in his hand the archiepiscopal cross.\* This embarrassed his enemies. After a fruitless attempt to take the cross from him, they recurred to the formalities of law, accused him of having made away with the public money, and of having celebrated mass in the name of the devil. They then demanded his deposition, which, once pronounced, they might have slain him with safe consciences. The king waited the result with impatience; symptoms of violence displayed themselves; and, as he walked along the hall, some of the courtiers threw at him knots of straw, which they took from the floor. The archbishop appealed to the pope, withdrew slowly, and left them speechless. This was the first temptation—the summons before Herod and Caiaphas. The crowd had been expecting him, in tears. As for him, he ordered tables to be laid, summoned all the poor of the city, and celebrated as it were the last supper with them.† That very night he set out, and with difficulty reached the continent.

The escape of his prey was a sore matter to Henry. But he seized Becket's estates, and divided the spoil. He banished all connected with him, whether in the ascending or descending line; and neither men, bowing under the weight of years, nor infants still hanging at the breast, nor pregnant women, were excepted. "The list of proscription was swelled with four hundred names; and the misfortune of the sufferers was aggravated by the obligation of an oath to visit the archbishop, and importune him with the history of their wrongs. Day after day crowds of exiles besieged the door of his cell at Pontigny."‡ Poor and famishing, they came to wring his heart with the sight of their wretchedness and rags; and, over and above, the English bishops addressed him letters full of bitterness and irony, congratulating him on the apostolic poverty to which he was reduced, and hoping that his fasts would profit his soul. § Such were Job's comforters.

*Canuariensi archiepiscopo gravissime conquerens, non sine gemitibus et suspiriis multis. Et lachrymans est, dicens quod idem Cantuariensis et corporis et animam pariter auferret, he protested that Becket would destroy him, soul and body.*

\* Roger de Hoveden, p. 494. Vita Quadrip. p. 54.

† Vita Quadrip. p. 54. Dicitur: "Sine propriis Christi . . . omnes inter se nolant ut epularentur in domo ad invicem." Et amplius sunt domus et atria circumque discumbentium.

‡ Lingard, vol. ii. p. 325.

§ Epist. S. Thomæ, p. 189. "We were somewhat com-

The archbishop welcomed his fate, and embraced it as a penance. Taking shelter first at St. Omer, and then at Pontigny, an abbey of the Cistercian rule, he led the solitary and mortified life of a recluse.\* From this retreat he wrote to the pope, acknowledging that he had been unduly thrust into the archiepiscopal see, and surrendering his dignity. Alexander III., who was at the time a refugee at Sens, feared taking a decided part, and bringing a new enemy upon himself. He condemned several of the constitutions of Clarendon, but declined seeing Thomas, and contented himself with writing him word that he reinvested him with the archiepiscopal dignity. "Go," was his cold comfort to the exile, "go, learn in poverty to be the comforter of the poor."

The only stay Thomas had, was the king of France. Louis VII. was but too well pleased at the trouble the whole business gave his rival; and, besides, he was, as we have seen, a singularly mild and pious prince. The archbishop, persecuted for defending the Church, was in his eyes a martyr; and he, therefore, received him with every mark of favor, observing, that to protect the exile was one of the ancient ornaments of the French crown.† He settled on Thomas and his companions in misfortune, a daily allowance of bread and other necessaries, and when the king of England sent to him to denounce the *former archbishop*—"By whom has he been deposed?" was Louis's remark. "I am a king, too; yet cannot I depose the meanest clerk in my realm."‡

Abandoned by the pope, and living on the charity of the king of France, Thomas did not quail. Henry having crossed over into Normandy, the archbishop repaired to Vézelay,—the very spot where twenty years before St. Bernard had preached the second crusade, and on Ascension day, with the most solemn ceremony, with the ringing of bells, and by the light of tapers, he excommunicated the defenders of the constitutions of Clarendon, the detainers of the possessions of the see of Canterbury, and all who had communicated with the antipope, whom the emperor supported; designating by name six of the royal favorites: and though he did not name the sovereign himself, he held the sword suspended over him.

This bold proceeding threw Henry into the

forted when we heard that you had crossed the sea, and were wisely aiming at no ambitious project, nor plotting against our lord the king." &c.

\* "He wore sackcloth, and used the scourge. He got the attendant lay brother to bring him privily, besides the delicate dishes that were served up to him, the ordinary allowance of the monks, with which he contented himself. But he soon fell seriously ill from a diet so contrary to his habits." Vita Quadrip. p. 53.

† Gervas. Cantuari. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xiii. 132. Rex Francus dicit: "Re date domino vestro (Henrico) quod si ipse consuetudines quas vobis avitis non vult dimittere, nec ego veteranum regum Francie libertatem volo populo dare, que cunctis exultantibus, et præcipue personis ecclesiasticis."

‡ Id. ibid. p. 128. Theobaldus baron. "(Quandam) episcopum, quæsit quis cum deponisset, et ait, 'Ego quidem rex sum, sicut et ipse, nec tamen possum terra mea: manum quandam clericum deponere.'"



"from that day he was no longer king"—fatal words, which did not fall in vain on the ears of the young king and the bystanders.

Thomas, struck by this new blow, and sold and abandoned by the court of Rome, addressed to the pope and cardinals terrible and damnable letters—"Why lay in my path a stumbling-block of offence? why strew my path with thorns? . . . How can you blind yourselves to the wrong which Christ suffers in me, and in yourself, who ought to hold Christ's place here below? The king of England has seized the possessions, has overthrown the liberties of the Church, has laid hands on the Lord's anointed, imprisoning and mutilating them, and depriving them of sight; while others he has forced to clear themselves by wager of battle, or by the ordeal of fire and water. And yet, with such outrages before us, we are wished to hold our peace! . . . Hirelings are and will be silent; but whosoever is a true shepherd of the Church, will with us. . . .

"I might flourish in power, abound in riches and pleasures, be feared and honored by all. But since the Lord has called me—poor and unworthy sinner that I am, to the charge of souls, I have preferred, inspired thereto by grace, to be humbled in his household, and to endure unto the death proscription, exile, and the extreme of misery, rather than traffic with the liberty of the Church. Let them act thus who hope for length of days, and who find in their merits the assurance of a better time. As for me, I know that my life will be short, and that if I warn not the impious of his iniquity, I shall be answerable for his blood. Then, gold and silver will avail naught, nor presents, which blind even the wise. . . . You and I, most holy father, will soon be summoned to the judgment-seat of Christ. And, it is in the name of his majesty and fearful judgment, that I ask from you justice on those who would crucify him a second time."

Again, he writes, "We can hardly subsist on the alms of the stranger. They who aided us are exhausted, and they who took pity on our exile are in despair, seeing the conduct of our lord, the pope. . . . Crushed by the Roman Church, we, who alone of the western world fight for her—were it not for the support of grace—should be constrained to desert the cause of Christ. . . . The Lord will see this from the summit of the heavenly mountain; and that fearful Majesty which stifles the breath of kings, will judge the extremities of the earth. For us, dead or alive, we are and shall be his, ready to suffer all for the Church. Would to God he may find us worthy to endure persecution for his justice' sake!"

"I know not how it happens that in this court it is God's party which is ever sac-

rificed; so that Barabbas escapes, and Christ is put to death. Six years will soon have passed since my banishment and the calamity of the Church have been suffered by the pontifical court. With you, unhappy exiles and the innocent are condemned solely because they are Christ's weak and poor, and that they have not chosen to wander from God's justice. On the contrary, you have absolved sacrilegists, homicides, impenitent ravishers, and men of whom I dare frankly say, that were they to appear before St. Peter even, the world would vainly try to defend them, God would not acquit them. . . . The king's envoys promise our spoil to cardinals and courtiers. Well! let God see and judge. I am ready to die. Let them arm the king of England for my destruction, and, if they choose, all the kings of the world: God to aid, I will not stray from my allegiance to the Church, either in life or death. In fact, I trust to God the defence of his own cause; 'tis for him that I am in exile; let him provide the remedy. Henceforward, my mind is made up no more to solicit the court of Rome. Let those who prevail by their iniquity apply to her, and who, in their triumph over justice and innocence, return boasting, to the grief of the Church. Would to God that the way of Rome had not already lost so many hapless and innocent persons!"†

These terrible words found so loud an echo that the court of Rome saw it was more dangerous to desert Thomas than to support him. The king of France wrote to the pope, "It is now incumbent on you to give up all your nugatory and procrastinating measures;"‡ and, in so saying, he was the organ of all Christendom. The pope took the decisive resolution of suspending the archbishop of York for his usurpation of the rights of his brother of Canterbury, and threatened the king, except he restored the confiscated property of the see. Henry felt alarmed; and an interview was arranged at Chinon between the archbishop and the two monarchs. Henry promised satisfaction, and displayed the utmost courtesy to Thomas, going so far as to offer to hold his stirrup at leave-taking.§ However, before they parted, bitter words passed between them, each upbraiding the other with benefits conferred, and, on parting, Thomas fixed his eyes with much meaning on the king, and said to him in a solemn manner, "I well believe I shall never see you more."—"Do you take me for a traitor, then?" was the king's quick reply. The

king's quick reply. The

\* *Vita Romana*. M. Thierry does not understand these words in the mystic sense, but translates, "the journey to Rome."

† *Epist. S. Thom.* p. 772, 773. *Ser. R. Fr.* xvi. 417. *Et Nescio quo pacto pater Domini semper tractatur in Curia, ut verberibus exaltet et Christus occidatur. . . . Jam in finem sexti anni proscriptio nostra. . . . Unum via Romana non gratis permissis tot miseris innocentibus.*

‡ *Ser. R. Fr.* xvi. 363. *Ne ulterius dissolutiones vestre frustratione progrediantur.* See also, *Epist. S. Thom.* p. 567.

§ *Gervais, Cont. ap. Ser. R. Fr.* xiv. 134. *Vita Quadrip.* p. 107. *Epist. S. Thom.* p. 604.

\* *Vita Quadrip.* p. 102, 103. *Pater filio dignatus est ministrare, et se regem non esse protestari.* *Epist. S. Thom.* p. 676, 700.

† *Epist. S. Thom.* p. 774, &c., *Ser. R. Fr.* xvi. 418, 420.





and drawn swords.\* The archbishop reached Canterbury amidst the singing of hymns and ringing of bells, and, ascending the pulpit, preached upon the text, "I am come to die in the midst of you."† He had already written to the pope, asking him to offer up on his behalf the prayers for the dying.‡

At this time the king was in Normandy, and he was both surprised and alarmed when the news reached him that the primate had dared to enter England. He was told how Thomas marched surrounded by crowds of the poor, of serfs, and of armed men; how this king of the poor had resumed possession of the throne of Canterbury; how he had pushed on as far as London, and how he brought bulls from the pope to lay the kingdom once more under interdict. Such, in fact, was the double dealing of Alexander III., that he had sent absolution to Henry, and to the archbishop his permission to excommunicate him. The king, beside himself with passion, exclaimed, "What, shall one who has eaten my bread, a wretch who came to my court on a lame horse, trample the monarchy under his foot! See him triumphing, and sitting on my throne! And not one of the cowards whom I feed has the heart to rid me of this priest!"§ It was the second time that these homicidal words had passed his lips; but now they did not fall from him in vain. Four of his knights felt that they would be dishonored did they not revenge the insult offered their lord: such was the strength of the feudal tie, and the virtue of the reciprocal oath by which lord and vassal bound themselves one to the other. They would not wait for the decision of the judges, whom the king had ordered to commence proceedings against him. They considered that their honor would be compromised, did he die by any other than their hands.

Setting out at different hours, and from different parts, they all reached Saltwood|| at the same time. Ranulf de Broc brought a large body of soldiers with him. "And lo! the fifth day after Christmas, as the archbishop was in his room, about the hour of eleven, and was settling business with some clerks and monks, the four knights entered. On being saluted by those who sat near the door, they return their salute, but in a low voice, and walk on up to the archbishop, when they seat themselves on the ground at his feet, without saluting him either in their own name or that of the king. They held their peace; and the Lord's Christ held his peace as well."¶

At last Renaud-fils-d'Ours (Reginald Fitzurse, *Bear's son*) took up the word:—"We bear thee, from beyond sea, orders from the king. Wilt thou hear them in public or in private?" The saint dismissed his attendants: but the door-keeper left the door open, so that all which passed could be seen from without. When Reginald had delivered his message, and the archbishop saw that he had nothing pacific to expect, he called in his attendants, and said, "Lords, you may speak before these."||

The Normans then pretended that king Henry had sent him orders to swear allegiance to the young king; and they accused him of having been guilty of high treason. They would have wished to catch him tripping, and to take advantage of his words; but they stumbled every moment, and exposed themselves. They charged him, moreover, with seeking to make himself king of England; and then, catching hastily at a word of the archbishop's, they cried out, "How, do you accuse the king of perfidy? Do you threaten us—do you wish again to excommunicate us all!" And one of them added, "So God help me, he shall never do it; too many have been anathematized by him already." They then got up like madmen, tossing their arms, and twisting their gauntlets.† Then, addressing the bystanders, they said to them, "In the king's name we bid you be answerable for that man, to produce him whenever and wheresoever demanded."—"What!" exclaimed the archbishop, "think you that I seek to escape? I will fly neither for the king, nor any living man."—"Thou sayest sooth," said one of the Normans; "God to aid, thou wilt not escape."‡ The archbishop called Hugh de Morville, the noblest of them, and who appeared the most reasonable, to come back; but ineffectually.§ They would not listen to him, and went out tumultuously, and with loud threats.

The gate was immediately closed behind them; when Fitzurse armed himself before the outer court, and taking an axe from a carpenter who was working there, began to beat at the gate. Those within, hearing the blows of the axe, besought the primate to take refuge in the church, with which his apartment communicated by means of a cloister or a gallery.

in introitu considerantibus, resolutis eis, sed voce submissa . . . et considerantes ante pedes ejus in terra . . . per moram aliquantulum compresserant silentio, inaccessibilis Christo Domini nihilominus tacente.

\* Ibid. p. 121.

† Ibid. p. 126. . . . "Miser, Miser. Etiam totam terram interdicto subijcis, et nos omnes excommunicas." . . . Illis igitur exsistentibus, et ire et convellere frons instantibus, chiroteas contorquentibus, brachia furiose iactantibus, et tam gestibus corporum quam vehementia clamorum manifesta insanie indicia dantibus, archiepiscopus etiam surrexit.

‡ Ibid. . . . "Quid est hoc? Numquid me fuga lahi velle putatis?" . . . Stiellius inquit, "Vere, vero, valente Deo, non effugies."

§ Ibid. . . . Secutus est eos usque ad ostium thalami. Hugonem de More Villa, qui ceteris, sicut nobilitate generis, ita et virtute rationis debebat premiorum, ut secum reversum loqueretur, inclamans.

\* Ser. R. Fr. xvi. 613.

† Vita Quadrip. p. 117.

‡ Roger de Hoveden, p. 521.

§ Vita Quadrip. p. 119. Unus homo, qui manducavit panem meum, levavit contra me calcaneum suum? Unus homo, qui mandato jumento et claudo, primo prorupit in curiam, depulso regum stennate, videntibus vobis fortune comitibus, triumphans exultat in solio!—Omnes quos nutrit . . . maledixit, quid de sacerdote uno non vindicarent. . . . Ibid. et J. Sarisbur. Epist. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xvi. 519.

|| Vita Quadrip. p. 120.

¶ Ibid. p. 121. . . . Salutati, ut moris erat, a nonnullis

fused, and they were about to force him; when one of them made the remark, "The hour of my duty, I will to the church," the archbishop; and, ordering his cross to be before him, he traversed the cloister low steps, and then proceeded towards the high altar, which was separated from the choir by a half-open grating.

When he entered the church, he found the altar all in commotion, locking and bolting doors. "By your vow of obedience," he cried, "we charge you not to close the doors."

A church must not be turned into a prison-keep. He then bade enter those of his household who had remained without.

Reginald Fitzurse presented himself at the other end of the church, clad in his coat of mail, with his large two-edged sword in his hand, crying out, "Here, here, loyal service to the king!" The other conspirators stood at his back, armed like him from head to foot, and brandishing their swords. The king's attendants were about to shut the doors of the choir, when he forbade them, and left the altar to enforce his orders. Then earnestly implored him to conceal himself among the crypts, or to escape up the spiral which led, by many windings, to the roof of the building; but he positively refused either. Meanwhile, the armed men advanced.

A voice exclaimed, "Where is the archbishop?" No answer was returned. "Where archbishop?" Becket replied, "Here I am; there is no traitor here. What are you for into the house of God, so attired?" "In your purpose!"—"Your death!"—"I pardon you; you will not see me shun your sword; but I command you in the name of my God not to touch one of my people, or layman, great or little." As he said, he received a blow with the flat of a sword on his shoulders, and he who struck it cried, "Fly, or thou art a dead man." He did not fly.

They then endeavored to force him from the church, from scruples to kill him; but he resisted them, energetically declaring that he would not move, and would permit them to execute their intentions on their own heads. Turning to another, he saw coming up with bared sword, he cried, "What is this, Reginald? I have you with favors, and you come to me and in the church?" The murderer replied, "Thou art a dead man." He then raised his sword, and with the same backstroke, the hilt of a Saxon monk called Edmundo, and wounded Becket on the crown and brow, struck by another Norman, he lay on his face on the ground, and was

given with such force as to shiver the sword on the flags. A man at arms, named William Maltravers, kicked the senseless body, and exclaimed, "Thus die the traitor who has disturbed the kingdom, and made the English to rebel."

They went away, saying, "He sought to be king, and more than king; well, let him be king now!" But, despite their bravadoes, they did not feel assured; and one of them returning to the church, to see if he were really dead, again plunged his sword into his head, so as to make his brains spirt out.† He could not kill him dead enough for his liking.

In fact, man is tenacious of life, and is not easily destroyed. To free him from the body, and deliver him from the burden of this earthly existence, is to purify, adorn, and perfect him. No ornament becomes him better than death. Before his murderers had struck the blow, Thomas's partisans had cooled, and relaxed in their zeal; the people doubted, Rome hesitated. No sooner had he been touched by the sword, inaugurated with his own blood, and crowned by his martyrdom, than he was suddenly raised from Canterbury to the skies. As his murderers had said, unknowingly repeating the very mockery of the Passion, "He was king." The whole world—people, kings, and pope—were of one mind with respect to him. Rome, by whom he had been deserted, proclaimed him saint and martyr; and the Normans who had slain him, received at Westminster with hypocritical compunction and scalding tears the bulls which canonized him.

In the very hour of the murder, when the assassins plundered the archbishop's house, and found among his garments the rude sackcloth with which he mortified his flesh, they were struck with terror, and whispered to themselves, like the centurion of the Gospel, "Verily, this was a just man."‡ In telling his death, all agreed that never had the Passion of our Saviour been more completely renewed in any martyrdom. If there was any difference, it was in favor of Becket. "Christ," says a contemporary, "was put to death out of the city, in a profane spot, and on a day which the Jews did not hold sacred. Thomas perished in the church, in Christmas week, and on Innocents' Day."§ (Dec. 29.)

King Henry felt the danger of his position; for the whole world considered him the murderer. The king of France and the count of Champagne solemnly accused him of the act to the pope, and the archbishop of Sens, primate of Gaul, fulminated sentence of excommunication against him. Even those who owed him most kept aloof from him in horror.

\* Ibid. p. 133. "Medius rex in medio rex." "Et rex in medio rex." "Medius rex in medio rex." "Et rex in medio rex."

† Ibid. "Ergo propter hoc rex in medio rex." "Ergo propter hoc rex in medio rex." "Ergo propter hoc rex in medio rex."

‡ Ibid. p. 137. "Ergo propter hoc rex in medio rex." "Ergo propter hoc rex in medio rex." "Ergo propter hoc rex in medio rex."

§ Ibid. p. 133.

reg. t. p. 211.

Quoted p. 130. Nearly the whole of this account is word for word from M. Thierry, t. iii. p. 211.

By dint of hypocrisy, he appeased the public clamor. His Norman bishops wrote to Rome, that he had neither eaten nor drunk for three days:—"While mourning the loss of the primate," they said, "we thought that we should have the king's death to mourn likewise."\* The court of Rome, which had at first affected indomitable indignation, suffered itself to be softened. The king swore that he had no share in Becket's death, offered the papal legates to submit himself to flagellation, laid at the pope's feet his recent conquest of Ireland, imposed the tax of Peter's penny upon each house in that country, renounced the constitutions of Clarendon, covenanted to pay towards the crusade, to serve himself if the pope required it,† and declared England a fief of the Holy See.‡

It was not enough to have appeased Rome: this would have been to have escaped too easily. No long time elapses before his eldest son, the young king Henry, claims his share of the kingdom, and proclaims his intention of avenging the death of his instructor, the holy martyr, Thomas of Canterbury. The grounds put forward by the young prince for claiming the throne, appeared of weight at the time, however trivial they may seem now. In the first place the king himself, when waiting upon him at table on the day of his coronation, had imprudently said that he abdicated. In the middle age, every word was taken seriously; and Henry's slip of the tongue was enough to make most of his subjects doubt between the two kings. The letter is all-powerful in barbarous times, in which the principle of all jurisprudence is, *Qui virgula cadit, causâ cadit*, (a comma's loss, is the cause's loss.)

Again, Henry had rendered only imperfect satisfaction for the death of the saint. To some, he still appeared sullied with the blood of a martyr. Others, remembering that he had offered to submit himself to the scourge, and seeing him pay yearly an expiatory tribute towards the crusade, believed him still to be doing penance. Such a state seemed irreconcilable with royalty. Louis the Débonnaire had been lessened and degraded by it in his subjects' eyes for ever.

Henry's sons had another specious excuse. They were encouraged and supported by the king of France, their father's lord suzerain; and the feudal tie was then held to be stronger

than that of nature. We have seen that Henry thought it right to sacrifice his own children to his vassal; and, in like manner, the sons of Henry II. contended that they ought to sacrifice their father himself to their lord paramount. In reality, Henry himself seemed to consider the feudal the most powerful of bonds, since he did not think himself sure of his sons until he had forced them to do him homage.

All his family, in the course of a journey that he took into the south, first his sons, and then Eleanor, his queen, withdrew from him, one by one. The young Henry had escaped to his father-in-law, the king of France, and when Henry's ambassadors claimed him in the name of the king of England, they found him, on their reception, sitting, attired as king, by the side of Louis: "In the name of what king of England do you speak to me?" asked the latter—"here is the king of England; but if it is to his father, the *ci-devant* king of England, that you give the title, know that he died on the day his son bore the crown, and, if he still pretend to be king, after having before the world resigned the kingdom into his son's hands, that is a matter which shall speedily be remedied."\*

Henry's two other sons, Richard of Poitiers, and Geoffrey, count of Brittany, had joined their elder brother, and done homage to the French king. The danger was imminent. Henry, it is true, had provided, with singular activity, for the defence of his continental possessions. But, understanding that the young Henry was about crossing into England with an army furnished by the count of Flanders, to whom he had promised the earldom of Kent, and that the king of Scotland threatened an invasion, he began raising mercenary troops—Brabant and Welsh routiers. He purchased the favor of Rome at a reckless rate, and declared himself its vassal, as well for England as for Ireland, adding this remarkable clause: "We and our successors will hold ourselves for true kings of England, only as long as our lords, the popes, shall hold us for Catholic kings."† In another letter he implores Alexander III. to defend his kingdom, as a fief of the Roman Church.‡

He did not yet think that he had done enough. He repaired to Canterbury. The moment that he descried at a distance the towers of Christchurch, he dismounted from his horse, put on the woollen garb of a penitent, and walked barefoot towards the city through the muddy and flinty road.§ When he reached

\* Ep. S. Thom. p. 857. Tribus fere diebus conclusus in cubiculo, nec cibum capere, nec consolationes admittere sinit. . . . Qui sacerdotum lamentibus primum, de regis salute corpus despicere. Vita Quadrip. p. 146.

† Vita Quadrip. p. 146. Ep. S. Thom. p. 873. . . . Quod lavaret ducentos milites per annum integrum sumptibus suis . . . in terra Hierosolymitana. . . . Quod prava statuta de Clarendonia, &c. . . . dimitteret. . . . Quod si necesse fuerit, ibi in Hispaniam, ad liberandam terram illam a paganis.

‡ Præterea ego et major filius meus rex, juramus quod a domino Alexandro papa et catholicis ejus successoribus recipimus et tenebimus regnum Angliæ. Baron. Annal. xii. 637. . . . At the close of the same year, moreover, he wrote to the pope . . . "The kingdom of England is yours; and I am bound to you, and you only, as my feudal superior." Petr. Bles. Epist. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xvi. 650.

\* Guill. Neubrig. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xiii. 113. Scito quia ille rex mortuus est . . . pro quo adhuc pro rege se regit . . . mature emendabitur.

† Baron. xii. 637. Muratori, iii. 463. Nos et successores nostri in perpetuum non reputabimus nos Angliæ veros reges, donec ipsi non catholicos reges teneant.

‡ Patrocinium H. Petri spirituali gladio tueatur. Ser. R. Fr. xvi. 650.

§ Vita Quadrip. p. 150. Per vicem et pinnas civitatis hiteas. . . . Robert de Monte, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xiii. 318. Per paludes et acuta cana.

umb, he threw himself on his knees, weep-  
 ing and sobbing. " 'Twas a sight to draw  
 from all who looked on."\* He then did  
 himself of his dress, and all—bishops,  
 and simple monks—were summoned to  
 , each in turn, some stripes on the mon-  
 as's shoulders. "It resembled," says the  
 ieler, "the scourging of Christ: the dif-  
 ference is, that the one was scourged for our  
 the other for his own."†—"All day and  
 night he remained in prayer by the holy  
 r's tomb, without taking food or going  
 or any natural want. He remained as he  
 , and would not even allow a carpet to be  
 under his knees. After matins, he made  
 round of the altars and of the holy relics ;  
 descended again into the crypt, to the  
 of St. Thomas. When day came, he  
 to hear mass ; then drank of water blessed  
 r martyr, filled a flask with it, and quitted  
 e bury with a light heart."‡ (July 11, 12,  
 1174.)

had cause, it appears, to be light-hearted. he had won the day. The self-same day turned that the Scottish king was his pris-

The count of Flanders durst not attempt  
threatened invasion. All the favorers of  
young king, in England, were forced in  
castles. The results of the war in Aqu-  
were more checkered. There, the young  
king had the support of the king of France,  
and in their favor the hatred of a foreign

In the twelfth century, as in the ninth, sons against fathers only served to the hostilities of different races which it to free themselves from a union contrary to their interests and unengendered to their own. Guyenne and Poitou struggled to free themselves from their connection with England France in the days of the Debonnaire, and Charles the Bald, had broken up the empire of the Carolingian empire.

e mobility of the Southerners, their capri-  
 volutions, their easy discouragements,  
 and an easy game to King Henry. Besides,  
 they were unsupported by Toulouse, which is  
 only rallying point for a great war in Aquit-

Prudence forbade them to renew attacks at enfranchisement, which turned to ruin. But it was not so much patriotism as a coldness of mind and the vain pleasure in war, which impelled the nobles of the south to arms; and this is inferable from what we know of the most celebrated of them, Hugh, Count of Burgundy. His enjoyment was to play some good trick on his lord, or to arm against him one of his sons, or Geoffrey, or Richard; then, when he had taken and all was on fire, to compose a *romance* in his castle of Hautfort, like

the Roman who, from the top of his tower, sang the fire of Troy while Rome was in flames. Was there but a chance of peace, this restless devil would throw off some biting satire, which would make the monarchs blush at thoughts of inactivity, and plunge them again into war.

In this family, it was a succession of bloody wars, and treacherous treaties. Once, when king Henry had met his sons in a conference, their soldiers drew upon him.\* This conduct was traitorously in the two houses of Anjou and Normandy. More than once had the children of William the Conqueror, and of Henri VI., pointed their sword against their father's breast. Fulk had placed his foot on the neck of his vanquished son. The jealous Eleanor, with the passion and vindictiveness of her southern blood, encouraged her son's disobedience, and trained them to parricide. These youths, in whose veins mingled the blood of so many different races, Norman, Aquitanian, and Saxon, seemed to entertain, over and above the violence of the Fults of Anjou and the Williams of England, all the opposing hatreds and discords of these races. They never knew whether they were from the South or the North, they only knew that they hated one another, and their father worse than all. They could not trace back their ancestry, without finding at each descent, of rape, or incest, or parricide. Their grandfather, the count of Poitou, had had Eleanor by a woman whom he had taken from her husband, and a holy man had said to them, "Nothing good will be born to you."† Henry the Second's own father had been Eleanor's lover,‡ and the sons she presented to Henry might have been his brothers. A saying of St. Bernard's was quoted of him,§ "He comes from the devil, to the devil he will return;" and his son Richard had held just the same language.¶ They felt this diabolical origin to be a family taint, and justified it by their deeds. When a priest, cruelly in hand, sought Geoffrey to reconcile him with his father, and prayed him not to be a second Absalom, "What," replied the youth, "would you have me renounce my right of birth?" "God forbid," replied the priest, "I wish you to do nothing to your own injury."—"You understand not my words," said the count of Brittany; "it is our family fate not to love one another. 'Tis our inheritance, and not one of us will ever forego it."¶

The following was the popular tradition with regard to a former countess of Anjou, the ancestress of the Plantagenets. Her husband

\* Roger de Herten p. 52 up there 100; 112

1. The first of these is the fact that the majority of the population of the United States is now living in urban areas. This is a result of the process of urbanization, which has been going on since the beginning of the 20th century. The population of the United States has increased from about 100 million in 1900 to over 200 million in 1950, and the majority of this increase has been in urban areas. This has led to a concentration of population in a few large cities, which has in turn led to a number of social and economic problems.

**: 1.1 .000**

(b) (1) If the person is a resident of the United States, the person's residence address shall be the address of the person's principal residence in the United States. If the person is a resident of the United States and the person's principal residence is in the United States, the person's residence address shall be the address of the person's principal residence in the United States.

[illegible]

• **1994**

had noticed that she seldom went to mass, and ever left the church secretly. He bethought himself of having her seized at the moment of leaving by four squires; but leaving her cloak in their hands, as well as two of her children, who were on her right hand, she bore off the two others who were on her left, concealed by a fold of the cloak, flew through the window, and never reappeared.\* "Tis almost the history of the Melusina of Poitou and of Dauphiny. Obligated to become every Saturday half woman and half serpent, Melusina took care to keep herself concealed on that day. Her husband having one day surprised her, she disappeared. He was Geoffrey of the Large Tooth, (à la Grande Dent, of the tusk!) whose likeness was still to be seen at Lusignan, over the gate of the famous castle. Whenever any one of the family was about to die, Melusina appeared in the night on the towers, uttering foreboding laments.

The true Melusina, a mixture of contradictory natures, mother and daughter of a diabolical generation, is Eleanor of Guyenne. Her husband punished her for the rebellions of his sons, by keeping her prisoner in a strong castle—her who had brought him so large an addition to his dominions. It was this severity of character which brought on Henry II. the hatred of the men of the South. One of them, in a barbarous and poetic chronicle, expresses his hope that Eleanor will soon be delivered by her sons; and, according to the practice of the age, he applies to the whole family the prophecy of Merlin†—"All these mischiefs have happened since the king of the North struck down the venerable Thomas of Canterbury. 'Tis queen Eleanor, who is styled by Merlin, 'The eagle of the broken alliance.' . . . Rejoice, then, Aquitaine; rejoice, land of Poitou! The sceptre of the king of the North is about to retire. Wo to him! He has dared to lift the lance against his lord, the king of the South. . . .

"Tell me, double eagle,‡ tell me, where wast thou, when thy eaglets, flying from the paternal nest, dared to plume their singles against the king of the North . . . "I was for this that thou wast taken from thy native country, and brought into a strange land. Songs are changed into tears; the harp gives place to mourning. Reared in royal freedom

in the days of thy tender youth, thy companions sang, and thou didst dance to the sound of their guitar . . . At length, I conjure thee, double queen, restrain thy tears at least a little. Return, if thou canst, return to thy towns, poor prisoner.

"Where is thy court? Where are thy young companions? Where are thy counsellors? Some, dragged far from their country, have met with an ignominious fate; others have been deprived of sight; others, banished, now wander in divers places. As for thee, thou criest, and no one listeneth to thee, for the king of the North holds thee shut up, like a bearded town. Cry out, then, cry out unweariedly: raise thy voice as a trumpet, that thy sons may hear thee, for the day is at hand when thy sons will deliver thee, and thou shalt revisit thy native land."§

It was king Henry's fate, in his latter year, to be the persecutor of his wife, and the cruel of his sons. He plunged into sensual pleasure without restraint. Old as he was, gray-headed, and enormously pot-bellied, he varied his days with adultery and rape. His beautiful Rosamond, whose bastards were ever about him, did not content his brutal passions. He violated his cousin, Alice,† heiress of Brittany, who had been placed in his hands as a hostage; and, having obtained as his son's future wife one of the king of France's daughters, who was not yet marriageable, he polluted her, child as she was.‡

However, fortune did not tire of punishing him. He had fixed his heart on pleasure, sensuality, and the natural affections; and was punished as lover and as father. The tradition runs, that Eleanor found her way into the labyrinth in which the aged king had thought Rosamond safe,§ and killed her with her own hand. His unworthy conduct towards the princesses of Brittany and France, excited unextinguishable hates. His fatherly love was fixed, most of all, on his sons Henry and Geoffrey—both died. Henry, his eldest, had wished to see his father before his death, and implore his pardon; but treachery was so common an occurrence among these princes, that the aged monarch delayed to go—and he soon learned that it was too late.¶

\* Richardus Pietaviensis, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xii. 422, 423. In the few last lines, I follow M. Thierry's translation.

† J. Sarisbur. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xvi. 301. Impugnavit ut proditor, ut adulter, ut incestus.

‡ Bromton, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xiii. 214. Quam post mortem Rosamunde defloravit.

§ Id. ibid. Huic puellæ fecerat rex apud Wodestane mirabilla architecture cameram, operi Dedalino similem, ne forsitan a regina facile deprehenderetur.

¶ Shortly after his son's death, he took Bertrand de Bors prisoner. "Before he pronounced the conqueror's doom on the conquered, Henry sought to taste for a moment the pleasure of revenge. In mocking a man who had avenged fear in his bosom, and had boasted that he did not fear him. 'Bertrand,' he said, 'you pretend that you never stand in need of half your wit, but I take it the time has come you will want all of it.'—'My lord,' replied the man of the South, with the habitual confidence inspired by his consciousness of the superiority of his mind, 'it is true that I

\* J. Bromton, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xiii. 215. . . . Rejeto pallio per quod tenebatur . . . cum reliquis duobus filiis per fenestram ecclesie . . . evolavit.

† This prophecy was—"Aquila rupta fœderis tertia nidi-ficatione gaudebit." (the eagle of the broken alliance, shall rejoice in the third nest building, or generation.) Raoul de Diceto and Matthew Paris ('A. D. 1149' apply it to Eleanor. John of Salisbury says, (ap. Ser. R. Fr. xvi. 534.) "Instat tempus, ut alunt, quo Aquila rupta fœderis, juxta Merlini vaticinium, frons sua denudatur, et quod apertum erat datur aut molo fabricatur in sinu Armorico," (the time draws nigh, as they say, when the eagle of the broken alliance, according to Merlin's prophecy, is about to gild the bit which is given to her wild boar, or which is making for him in Brittany.) The wild boar he takes to mean Henry II.

‡ Aquila bipertita—the name he applies to Eleanor.

Two sons were left him—the ferocious Richard, the cowardly and perfidious John. Richard thought that his father lived too long: he coveted the crown. As his aged parent refused to lay it down, Richard renounced his homage to his father, and declared himself the vassal of the new king of France, Philip-Augustus. Out of hatred to the English monarch, the latter affected to live on the most brotherly terms with his revolted son: they ate off the same dish, and shared the same bed. Hostilities between the father and son were for a time suspended by the preaching of the crusade: when Henry found himself at once attacked on every side—on the north of Anjou by the king of France, on the west by the Bretons, and on the south by the Poitevins. Notwithstanding the interference of the Church on his behalf, he was obliged to accept peace on Philip and Richard's own terms, to acknowledge himself unreservedly the vassal of the king of France, and submit to his mercy. He would at once have declared John, the youngest of his sons, and, as he thought, the most attached to him—heir to all his continental dominions; but when the French ambassadors were ushered into his presence, sick and bedridden as he was, and he inquired the names of Richard's supporters, (amnesty for whom was a condition of the treaty,) the first name on the list was that of his beloved John. "On hearing his name, he was seized with a sort of convulsive movement, sat up in bed, and gazing around with searching and haggard look, he exclaimed, 'Can it be true that John, my heart, the son of my choice, him whom I have doted on more than all the rest, and my love for whom has brought on me all my woes, has fallen away from me?' They replied that it was even so, that nothing could be more true. 'Well, then,' he said, falling back on his bed, and turning his face to the wall, 'henceforward let all go on as it may, I no longer care for myself nor for the world.'"

The fall of Henry II. was a great blow to the power of England. She recovered, though not wholly, under Richard, but only to sink the lower under John. The papal see took advantage of the reverses of her monarchs, to compel two distinct recognitions of its sove-

reignty: for John, as well as Henry, avowed himself unreservedly the vassal and the tributary of the pope.

Though the temporal power of the holy see increased, can the same be predicated of its spiritual? Did it not experience some falling off in the popular respect? A high idea of the ability of the popes must assuredly have been inspired by that wily and patient diplomacy of theirs, which could at will amuse, adjourn, clutch its opportunity, and with a "hey, presto," conjure away a kingdom; but all this told ill for their sanctity. Alexander III. had defended Italy against Germany, and had with great skill defended himself against the emperor and the antipope; but, during this time, who had fought for the liberties of the Church? Who had suffered and spoken for the cause of Christianity? A priest! at times deserted, at times betrayed by the pope. In exchange for the blood of a martyr, the pope had accepted the homage of a king; and, now, this martyr has become the great saint of the West: nay, Rome had been obliged to do him homage, and to proclaim him saint, herself. In Gregory the Seventh's time, sanctity had resided in the pope; and the religious sentiment of the people had found its echo in the hierarchy. Subsequently, mankind, emancipated as regards the external world by the crusade—of which the popes were not the leaders—and by the first movement of the communes—at which the popes had struck in the person of Arnold of Brescia—had been aroused in its innermost soul, by the voice of Abelard; and, to carry on its religious emancipation, Thomas of Canterbury had just taught it to seek elsewhere than at Rome for sacerdotal heroism and zeal for the liberties of the Church.

In reality the death of St. Thomas and the abasement of Henry did not advantage the pope, but the king of France. It was he who had given an asylum to the persecuted saint, and his desertion of him had only been momentary. Thomas, when he quitted France to meet martyrdom, had sent him a farewell message in which he had declared him to be his sole protector. The French king had been the first to denounce at Rome the archbishop's murder, and in consequence of it, had immediately attacked the king of England, and though this line of conduct was to his interest, yet the people looked up to him for it. The pope himself, when expelled by the emperor from Italy, had chosen France for his place of refuge; and thus, though he had more than once interposed to protect England when threatened by France, yet it was with the latter country that he maintained the most intimate and most uninterrupted relations. In fact, the only prince on whom the Church could rely was the king of France, the enemy alike of the Englishman and of the German. "Thy kingdom," wrote Innocent III. to Philip-Augustus, "is so blended with the Church, that the one cannot

have said so and in so saying I have only spoken the truth."—And I," said the king, "think that you have lost your wit."—Yes, my lord," replied Bertrand seriously, "I lost them the day that the vibrant young king your son died: on that day I lost wit, intellect and consciousness."—At the name of his son the mention of which came quite unexpectedly upon him, the king of England burst into tears and fainted. When he came to himself he was another man; his plans of vengeance were forgotten and he only saw in his prisoner the old friend of the son whose loss he mourned. Instead of the rage which kindled the desire of death or of confinement which Bertrand apprehended, "were Bertrand were Bertrand," said the king, "well may you have lost your wit about me, for he loved you better than sight or life, and for his sake I give you your life, your lands, your castle. I offer you my friendship and my love, and grant you five hundred marks of silver as compensation for the harm you have sustained."—*Henry II. c. p. 226.*

Ed. t. iii. p. 261.

suffer without the other's suffering also." Even when the Church chastised the king, she preserved a maternal affection for him. When Philippe I. and the whole kingdom were lying under interdict on account of that monarch's abduction of Bertrade, all the bishops of the North sided with him, and pope Pascal II. himself did not scruple to visit him.\*

On all occasions, great or small, the bishops armed their feudatories for his service. Even within the states of the duke of Burgundy, Louis VII. was supported by the militia of nine dioceses on the alarm of invasion by Frederick Barbarossa.† In like manner they had risen in aid of Louis VI. on the approach of the emperor Henry V.,‡ and in like manner they ranged themselves under Philip-Augustus at Bouvines. How could the clergy have done otherwise than defend kings brought up by themselves, and receiving from them a strictly clerical education! Philippe I., who was crowned when but seven years old, was able to read the oath to which he was to subscribe.§ Louis VI. was brought up in the abbey of St. Denys, and Louis VII. in the cloisters of Notre-Dame.¶ Three of the latter's brothers were monks. No one regarded with more respect and terror the Church's privileges than himself.¶ He revered the priests, and gave the precedence to the lowliest son of the Church. The protector of Thomas of Canterbury, he risked a dangerous voyage to England to visit the saint's tomb\*\*—yet was not the king of France himself a saint! Philippe I., Louis le Gros, and Louis VII., touched for the king's evil, and could not answer the demands on their time made by the confiding people on this account. The king of England would not have dreamed of claiming the gift of working miracles.††

Thus did this good king of France wax great, both God-ward and world-ward. The vassal of St. Denys, as soon as he has acquired the Vexin, he hoisted the banner of the abbey, the

oriflamme, in his van.\* He charged his arm with the mystic *fleur-de-lis*—the emblem, and the ideas of the middle age, of the purity of his faith. As protector of churches, he claimed their revenues when a see was vacant, and under pretext of making a crusade, attempted to raise some contributions from the clergy.†

Philip-Augustus did not degenerate from his sire. Saving his two divorces and the invasion of England, no monarch was more after the priests' own hearts. Notwithstanding the acquisitions made by the crown of France, he was a cautious prince, rather pacific than warlike. The *Philippide* of Guillaume-le-Breton, a classical imitation of the *Æneid* by one of this king's chaplains, has given rise to misconceptions of his real character; and writers of romance have done their best to exalt him as a hero of chivalry. But, in fact, the great successes of his reign, and even the victory of Bouvines itself, were the fruits of his piety, and of his protection of the Church.

He was surnamed Augustus from his being born in the month of August. Our earliest glimpse of him shows him at fourteen years of age fallen sick through fright at having lost his way and passed a whole night in a forest. The first act of his reign was eminently popular, and agreeable to the Church—being the expulsion and spoliation of the Jews, in compliance with the advice of a hermit, of great reputation at the time, who resided near Paris. According to the notions of the age, this act was a profession of piety, and full of encouragement to Christians. The Jews' debts, confined in prison, did not fail to applaud it.‡

Blasphemers and heretics were delivered without pity to the Church, and religiously burnt.¶ Philip hunted down the mercenary soldiers who had been scattered over the South by the English kings, and had taken to plunder on their own account, encouraging the popular association formed against them of the *Capuchons*.\*\* He directed his efforts against

\* See above, p. 220.

† Radevic. *Frisling*. ad ann. 1157.

‡ *Suger*. *Vita Lud. Grossi*, ap. *Ser. R. Fr.* xii. 51.

§ *Coronatio Phil. I.*, ap. *Ser. R. Fr.* xi. 32. *Ipse legit, dum adhuc septennis esset.* The oath began, "I will defend, as a king in his kingdom ought, every bishop, and the church intrusted to him." &c.

¶ *Suger*. *Vita Lud. Grossi*, ap. *Ser. R. Fr.* xii. 14.—*Frag. de Lud. vii. ibid.* 90.

\* On his return from a journey. (A. D. 1154.) he is surprised by night-fall at Creteil. Stopping there, he quarters himself on the inhabitants, who were serfs of the church of Paris. As soon as the canons hear of it, they discontinue divine service until the monarch indemnifies their born serfs, for the charges to which he has put them. Louis, says Stephen of Paris, gave the indemnification sought; and the deed to this effect was engraved on a staff, (*ergo*) which the church of Paris long preserved in token of its liberties. *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, v. 522.

\*\* *Chron. Normanne*, ap. *Ser. R. Fr.* xii. 799. *Transfretavit in Angliam, pergens ad S. Thomam Cantuariensem.*—Roger de Hoveden observes, that it was the first time a king of France had been seen in England.

†† *Gilbert*. *Novig.* l. i. c. i. The kings of England did not arrogate this gift, until they had assumed the title and arms of kings of France. *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, v. 519.

\* See the diploma of Louis the Fat, in the twelfth volume of the *Ser. R. Fr.*, and the note of the editors thereon.

† *Fragm. Histor.* ap. *Ser. R. Fr.* xii. 95.

‡ *Chronica Reg. Franc.* *ibid.* 214. . . . . *Remanet in silva sine societate Philippus; unde stupefactus conceptum timorem, et tandem per carbonarium fuit reductus comprehendum; et ex hoc timore sibi contigit infirmitas, que dicitur coronationem.*

§ *Ibid.* . . . . "He had them all spoiled in one day . . . those who refused baptism secreted themselves." They paid 15,000 marks, by way of ransom. *Rad. de Dierm.* ap. *Ser. R. Fr.* xiii. 204.—*Rigurdus*, *Vita Phil. Aug.* ap. *Ser. R. Fr.* xvii. Philip annulled all debts due to the Jews, with the exception of a fiftieth which he claimed for himself. See also, the *Chronicle of Mailros*, ap. *Ser. R. Fr.* xix. 254.

¶ *Shakspeare's* *Shylock* is no vain portraiture of the hard character of the Jews, and of the hatred borne them.

\* *Guillelmus Britanni Philippus*, l. i. "He would not permit any one to live, throughout his kingdom, who contravened the laws of the Church, who disagreed with but one single point of the Catholic faith, or who denied the sacraments."

\*\* The members of this association were bound by no vow: they only passed their word to labor in common for the preservation of the public peace. All wore a coat of cloth, and suspended a small image of the Virgin from their neck. In 1183, they surrounded seven thousand roustes or coterous, among whom were fifteen hundred women of

One ray of light pierced through this mysterious chaos of the twelfth century, (the work of the uneasy and trembling Church,) a belief, of soaring audacity, in the moral power and grandeur of man. The bold doctrine of the Pelagians—*Christ required no more than I, can make myself God through virtue*—was revived in the twelfth century, in barbaric and mystic guise. Man asserts that the end is come, that himself is that end. He believes in himself, and feels himself divine. Messiahs arise on every side. And it is not in Christ alone, but even within the range of Mahometanism, the enemy of the incarnation, that man esteems himself divine, and worships himself. The Fatimats of Egypt had already set the example. The chief of the Assassins also declares that he is the man who has been so long expected—the incarnate spirit of Ali, and the method of the Almohades of Africa and of Spain is recognised as divine by his followers. In Europe, a messiah appears in Antwerp, and is followed by the entire populace.\* Another, starting up in Brittany, comes to have revived the ancient Irish gnosticism † Amaury de Chartres, and his disciple, David of Dinan, a Breton, teach that every Christian is essentially a member of Christ; or, in other

His mother, a Spanish woman, lived in the town of Leon, Spain, and suggests that she is of gypsy stock. He was a gentleman of Leon and lived with his family in the forest of Brialmont, where he sheltered the Marquis de Pay after he had fled from the perils which he should have at once. He confessed that he was marked out by the waters of Fontainebleau, and that he had been sent to him when he fled to the Alps. And the rest of the story was told him by the Saint-God. He got together a number of these people when he saved *Madame de Montmorency* and *Madame de La Roche*. He was wounded by the Marquis de La Roche and was taken to the hospital of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit in the city of Paris.

1. The first of these is the fact that the Commission has not yet received any information from the Government of the United Kingdom regarding the proposed new legislation. This is a serious omission, as the Commission is unable to assess the impact of the proposed changes without this information.

THE world wore a sombre aspect at the close of the twelfth century. The ancient order of things was in peril; the new had not begun. It was no longer the material struggle between the pope and emperor, each alternately expelling the other from Rome, as in the time of Henry IV. and Gregory VII. in the eleventh century, the evil was on the surface, in the year 1200, it lay at the heart. Christianity labored under a deep and dreadful ill. How would it have rejoiced to return to the quarrel of the right of investiture, and to have to fight only for the straight staff, or the crook! In the time of Gregory VII., the Church was identified with the progress of freedom, and, up to the days of Alexander III., the head of the Lombard league, she had pursued the same career. But Alexander had shrunk from supporting Thomas Becket. He had defended the liberties of Italy, and betrayed those of England. Thus was the Church about to isolate herself from the great movement of the world. Instead of guiding it, and leading it the way, as she had hitherto done, she strove to stay this movement, to arrest the flight of time, to stop the earth which turned under her feet, and to strike every man who carried her along with it to strike movement motionless. Success seemed to crown Innocent III., but Boniface VIII. perished in the only ever-

[illegible]



words, that God is perpetually incarnate in the human race. The Son has reigned long enough, they say; the reign of the Holy Ghost is come. In some degree, this is Lessing's notion with regard to the education of man.

The audacity of these teachers, who are mostly professors in the university of Paris, (chartered by Philip-Augustus in the year 1200,) exceeds all bounds. Abelard was thought to be for ever crushed; but he lives again, and speaks in the person of his disciple, Peter the Lombard, who, from his chair at Paris, exercises despotic sway over the whole philosophy of Europe: his works had nearly five hundred commentators. This spirit of innovation accepts of two auxiliaries. Jurisprudence grows up by the side of theology, which it disturbs; and the popes, by forbidding priests to profess it, open and confine the chairs of law to laymen. From Constantinople come the metaphysics of Aristotle, while his commentators, brought from Spain, are about to be translated from the Arabic by order of the kings of Castile, and of the Italian princes of the house of Swabia, (Frederick II. and Manfred.) This is neither more nor less than the invasion of Christian philosophy by Greece and the East. Aristotle ranks almost equally with Jesus Christ.\* At first prohibited, and then tolerated by the popes, he reigns openly and aloud in every professorial chair; his power, however, being secretly divided with Arab and with Jew, with the pantheism of Averroës and the subtleties of the Cabala. Logic claims possession of all subjects, and opens up every bold speculation. Simon of Tournai teaches how to prove black or white, at will. One day that he had delighted and transported the school of Paris by his felicitous arguments in proof of the truth of Christianity, he suddenly exclaimed, "Oh, little Jesus, little Jesus, how I have exalted thy law! If I chose, I could still more easily humble it to the dust."†

Such were the pride and intoxication of the *I* on its first awaking. It attacks the *Not-I* under three forms, by philosophy, republicanism, and the spirit of industry. It breaks authority to pieces, and subdues nature. The school of Paris springs up between the young commons of Flanders and the old municipalities of the South—'tis logic between industry and commerce.

However, an immense religious movement fired the popular mind, bursting forth in two

points at one and the same moment—the rationalism of the Vaudois in the Alps, and German mysticism on the Rhine and in the Low Countries.

And, in truth, the Rhine is a sacred stream, the seat of legend and of marvel. I do not allude only to its heroic course between Meuse and Cologne, where it bursts its way through basalt and granite. Southward and northward of this, its feudal career, as it approaches the holy cities, Cologne, Mentz, and Strasbourg, it puts on milder features, becomes less stately and more popular, its banks trend off gently into lovely plains, and it steals in silent current beneath the veering bark, and the sweeping sail of the fisher. But all that belongs to it is poetry; though a poetry not easy to define. 'Tis now the vague impression of vastness, calm, and sweetness; now, a mother's voice recalling one's elemental nature, and, like the spirit of the ballad, making one thirst to plunge to the bottom of the cooling lymph: now, perchance, the poetic attraction of the Virgin, whose churches deck the whole course of the Rhine as far as her own city of Cologne—the city of the eleven thousand virgins. Her marvellous cathedral, with its sparkling rose-windows, and aerial balustrades, whose steps soar to the sky—the Virgin's own church did not exist in the twelfth century: but the Virgin did. Not a spot on the Rhine but she was there present, a simple German woman—whether beautiful or ugly, I know not; but pure, touching, and resigned. For proof, I point to the picture of the Annunciation at Cologne—where the angel presents the Virgin, not with a lovely lily as in the Italian paintings, but a book, opened at a passage hard to bear—Christ's passion before his birth; before the conception, all the pangs of a mother's heart. The Virgin has had her passion, too. It was she, it was woman, who resuscitated the genius of Germany. Mysticism awoke through the beguins of Germany and of the Low Countries.\* The knights and the noble *minnesingers* sang real woman—the charming spouse of the landgrave of Thuringia, so celebrated in the poetic contests of Wartbourg. The people adored an ideal one: mild Germany required a God-woman. With the Germans, the symbol of mystery is the rose. Simplicity and profundity mingle in this dreamy childhood of a people to whom it is given never to grow old, because living in the infinite and the eternal.

This mystic genius, apparently, was to die away as it descended the Scheldt and Rhine, and encountered Flemish sensuality and the industry of the Low Countries. But, here, industry had herself created a world of wretched

natus, i. e. visibili forme subjectus. Filius usque nunc operatus est, sed Spiritus Sanctus ex hoc nunc usque ad mundi consummationem inchoat operari.

\* Averroës, ap. Gieseler, Second Part, p. 378. "Aristotle is the type, formed by nature to show the perfection to which man may come."—Cornelius Agrippa said in the fourteenth century, "Aristotle was the forerunner of Christ in natural things, as John the Baptist was . . . in things of grace." Ibid.

† Matth. Paris, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xvii. 691. God punished him: he became so idiotical that his son could scarcely bring him to remember his Paternoster.

\* Matth. Paris, ann. 1250, ap. Gieseler, II. Second Part, p. 339. "An immense number of chaste women, who called themselves Beguins, arose in Germany, so that there were a thousand or more in Cologne alone."—Beguins, from the Saxon *beggen*, in *Uphillas, beggen*, (in German, *beten*.) "to pray." Mosheim, de Beghards et Beguinibus, p. 93, seq.



church to the apostolical succession, in opposition to the claim of the church of Rome, but how, is more than I can say.

The characteristics, then, of reform in the twelfth century, were rationalism in the Alps and along the Rhône, and mysticism along the Rhine. In Flanders, they were mixed; and still more so in Languedoc.

This country of Languedoc was a receptacle for all races, and was a positive Babel. Lying at the angle of the high road between France, Spain, and Italy, it exhibited a fusion of Iberian, Gallic, Roman, Saracen, and Gothic blood. These different elements clashed rudely with each other, and Languedoc was fated to be the grand arena of the contest between creeds and races. What creeds? I may say, all. Their opponents themselves could not distinguish the differences between them, and could find no other way of designating them than by the name of a town—Albi (hence Albigensis, Albigenesens).\*

The Semitic element—the Jewish and Arab—was prominent in Languedoc. Narbonne had long been the capital of the Saracens in France, and Jews abounded there. Ill-treated, but still allowed on sufferance, they flourished at Carcassonne, Montpellier, and Nîmes; in which towns their rabbins opened public schools. They formed the connecting link between Christians and Mahometans, between France and Spain; and the sciences applicable to our material wants, as medicine and geometry, were studies common to the professors of the three modes of faith. Montpellier

entertained stricter relations with Salerno and Cordova than with Rome; but an active commerce brought all into constant intercourse, the sea rather approximating than dividing them. Since the crusades, especially, Upper Languedoc had inclined, as it were, to the Mediterranean, and turned towards the east—the counts of Toulouse, were counts of Tripoli. The manners, and the doubtful faith of the Christians of the Holy Land, had flowed back and inundated our southern provinces. The beautiful coins and the beautiful stuffs of Asia, had done much to reconcile our crusaders with the Mahometan world. The merchants of Languedoc were ever passing over into Asia, cross on shoulder; but it was to visit the market of Acre rather than the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem; and so far had religious antipathies given way to mercantile considerations, that the bishops of Maguelone and of Montpellier coined Saracen money, had their profit on the minting, and discounted, without scruple, the impress of the crescent.†

Nobility, one would think, ought to have held out better against novelties: but, far different from the ignorant and pious chivalry of the North, who, even in the year 1200, would have been ready to take the cross, these nobles of the South were men of understanding, who could form a shrewd estimate, at least the majority of them, of what their nobility was. There were few of them who, in looking over their genealogical tree, could not find, and at no long date, some Saracen or Jewish ancestress—perhaps a grandmother. We have already seen how Eudes, (Odo,) the ancient duke of Aquitaine, Charles Martel's opponent, gave his daughter in marriage to a Saracen emir. In the Carolingian romances, Christian cavaliers marry without scruple their beautiful liberator—ever the sultan's daughter. Sooth to say, in this land of Roman jurisprudence, studied with the old municipalities of the empire, there were no nobles, strictly speaking, or rather, all were noble; that is, the inhabitants of the cities, who were held noble as compared with those of the country. The burgess, like

\* (According to the *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, by the Benedictine monks, the term is more accurately derived from Albigensis, the general denomination of Narbonnese Gaul in this century. "Peter Waldus, or Waldensis, a native of Lyons," says Dean Waddington, (*History of the Church*, p. 353. 4.) "was a layman and a merchant; but, notwithstanding the avocations of a secular life, he had studied the real character of his church with attention, followed by shame. Stung by the spectacle of so much impurity, he abandoned his profession, distributed his wealth among the poor, and formed an association for the diffusion of scriptural truth. He commenced his ministry about the year 1140. Having previously caused several parts of the Scriptures to be translated into the vulgar tongue, he expounded them with great effect to an attentive body of disciples, both in France and Lombardy. In the course of his exertions he probably visited the valleys of Piedmont; and there he found a people of congenial spirits. They were called Vaudois or Waldenses, (Men of the Valleys;) and as the preaching of Peter may probably have confirmed their opinions, and cemented their discipline, he acquired and deserved his surname by his residence among them. At the same time, their connection with Peter and his real Lyonnese disciples, established a notion of their identity; and the Vaudois, in return for the title which they had bestowed, received the reciprocal appellation of Leunis: such, at least, appears the most probable among many varying accounts."—*Ibid.*, p. 355. "The persecution of Peter Waldus and the dispersion of his followers, occasioned, as in so many similar instances, the dissemination of the opinions; and, notwithstanding some partial sufferings which were inflicted in Piedmont by Philippe Auguste, they were a numerous and flourishing sect at the conclusion of the twelfth century. They were often confounded in name with the Vaudois, in crime and exaltation with the Catharists and Petrobrusians, and other adversaries of papacy. But of these various descriptions, such as were found in France during the pontificate of Innocent III. were known by the general name of Albigensis or Albigenesens."—*TRANSLATOR*.

\* Richard wore at Cyprus a silk mantle, embroidered with crescents of silver.

† *Epistula Pape Clementis IV.*, *Episcop. Maginensi*, an. 1266, in *Thesaur. Novo Anecd.* t. II. p. 403:—"Truly, touching the coin (de moneta Millarenal) which you are having minted in your diocese, we marvel by whose advice thou doest this thing . . . For what Catholic ought to strike coin in Mahomet's name? . . . If you object custom in your defence, you accuse both yourself and predecessors of counterfeiting."—In 1303, St. Louis writes to his brother, Alphonso, count of Toulouse, reproaching him with allowing money to be struck in his county of the Venaisin, with a Mahometan inscription:—"On the superscription of which coin mention is made of the name of the peridious Mahomet, and he is there called the Prophet of God, which is to his praise and exaltation, and to the scorn and contempt of the Christian faith and name; we require you to put a stop to the practice."—According to Bonamy, (*Ac. des Inscript.* xxx. 735), this letter should be found in a register long since lost, and restored to the *Trésor des Chartes* in 1748; however, I have ascertained that this register is no longer to be found there.

‡ See above, p. 112.

The great city of Toulouse—a republic, governed by a count—was its central point. This count added to his possessions daily. As early as the first crusade, he was the richest prince in Christendom. He had missed the throne of Jerusalem, but had got Tripoli. His power, great as it was, had much to struggle with. In the north, the counts of Flanders, who had become kings of England, and in the south the great house of Barcelona, masters of Lower Provence and of Aragon, treated him as a vassal, notwithstanding his many centuries of possession. These two families of Flanders and of Barcelona traced up to St. Gilduin, progenitor to Louis the Debonnaire, the conqueror of the Moors, but, whose son, Bernard, had been exiled by Charles the Bald. The counts of Roussillon, Cerdagne, Conflant, and Béziers claimed kindred descent, and were all enemies of the count of Toulouse. He was twenty better off as regarded the houses of Béziers, Carcassonne, Albi, and Nîmes. In the Pyrenees were a race of poor, brave, and singularly independent mountaineers, whose servants were on their feet, and of excellent horsemen, whom he bought and sold at pleasure. These were the lords of Lézard, Arzac, and Armagnac, and the latter likewise of the countship of Toulouse, and often at sword's point. The partisans of the Albigensians were in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and their tragedy, a most singular and picturesque story, well known throughout Armagnac, where the two great cities of the two houses of Aquitaine constantly fought with Nîmes, the capital, and often became a cruel party of the South. Armagnac, Comminges, Béziers, and Toulouse, were more at one, but it was a war of the

[illegible]

Church was the cry. They cared little for interdicts. The count of Comminges lived, in peace, with three wives at once; and Raymond VI., count of Toulouse, kept a harem. Even as a youth, the latter addicted himself, by preference, to his father's concubines. This French Judæa, as Languedoc has been called, did not remind one of its prototype by its bituminous springs\* and olive-trees alone: it had its Sodom and Gomorrah, and it was to be feared that the vengeance of the Church would give it its Dead Sea as well.

It is not surprising to find that eastern doctrines had made their way in this country. Every belief had been entertained there; but their traces have been lost in Manicheism, the most hateful of all in Christian eyes. Manicheism had appeared in Spain, early in the middle age; and introduced into Languedoc from Bulgaria and Constantinople;† it easily gained footing there. This Persian dualism seemed to our southerners to explain the contradiction alike presented by the material world and man. A heterogeneous race, they willingly accepted a heterogeneous universe. Together with the God of goodness, they required a god of evil, to whom they could ascribe whatever is discordant between the Old Testament and the New,‡ and to which God they imputed the degradation of Christianity and the abasement of the Church. In themselves, and in their own corruption, they recognised the hand of a maleficent creator, who made a sport of the world. To the good God they referred the spirit, to the bad, the flesh; which it behoved to immolate; and in this immolation is the great mystery of Manicheism, since two roads might be followed to that end. Was this flesh to be subdued by abstinence, fasting, the renunciation of marriage, the diminution of human life by renouncing the power of propagation, and the depriving the demon who created it of all which human will can tear from him—according to which system, the highest principle of life is death, and suicide, its perfection! or else, was the flesh to be subdued by surfeiting it, by soothing the monster to silence, by filling

its gaping jaws, and throwing it a sop to save the rest—at the risk of throwing it all, and of one's whole self being swallowed up!

We are very imperfectly acquainted with the precise doctrines of the Manicheans of Languedoc. From the accounts of their enemies, we see that many contradictory things were imputed to them, which, undoubtedly, apply to different sects. According to some, God created the world: according to others, the devil.§ Some proclaim salvation by works; others, by faith.¶ These preach a material God: those think that Jesus Christ did not really die, and that it was a shadow which suffered on the cross.‡ Elsewhere, these innovators are represented as saying that they preach to all, while many of them exclude women from eternal happiness.¶ They pretend to simplify the law; yet prescribe a hundred genuflections a day.|| The one point in which they seem agreed, is hatred of the God of the Old Testament. "This God who promises, and who does not perform, is," they say, "a juggler. Moses and Joshua were *roustiers* in his par."¶

"In the first place, we must premise that the heretics recognised two creators; the one, the Creator of things invisible, whom they call the good God; the other, the maker of the visible world, whom they called the wicked God. To the first they attributed the New Testament, to the second, the Old; which they wholly rejected, with the exception of some passages quoted from it into the New, and which they receive through their respect for the latter.

"They said that the author of the Old Testament was a liar, because it is said in the book of Genesis, 'But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die;' and yet, they argued, after eating they did not die. They also treated him as a homicide for having reduced to ashes the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, and destroyed the world by the waters of the deluge, and for having buried under the sea Pharaoh and the Egyptians. They believed all the patriarchs of the Old Testament to be damned, and ranked St. John the Baptist as one of the great devils. They even said among themselves, that the Christ who was born in the earthly and visible Bethlehem, and was crucified at Jerusalem, was only a false Christ; that Mary Magdalen had been his concubine, and

\* See above, p. 163.

† These heretics were called *Bulgars*, or *Cathari*, 'Catharists' from the Greek *katharos*, signifying pure. Mon. Ant. ind. c. p. Gieseler, ii. p. 2, p. 488. *Hæresis quoniam Bulgæorum vocant.*—Gieseler, Mon. ibid. p. 491. "Our Germans call them *Cathars*, *Flanders Popes*, and *France Treverant*, from their trade of weaving."—The mystic Bulgarians also took the name of *Pious Workmen*, *Beauteous Weavers*. On the contrary, the doctors exhibit to our mind a more and more prosaic spirit. A religious brotherhood, consisting chiefly of weavers, was formed in the thirteenth century, in Lombardy and Tuscany. Its origin may undoubtedly be sought in Germany. Holman, *Stedwæsen*, i. 234.

‡ Petrus Valt. Sermon. c. 1. p. 1. Ser. R. Fr. xv. 3. *Quia creatores, invisibilium selecti, . . . benignum Deum, et visibilium, et gentium Deum. Novum Testamentum benigne Deo, vetus vero mundi quo attribuitur. At id est quod unus est creator, sed habuit filios Christum et Deum.* (Thus, with the Manians, Ormuz and Ahriman are subordinated to a supreme God, the Eternal, Zervane Akrene. See Gieseler and Guignaut, *Religions de l'Antiquité*, t. ii.) *Quidam dicebant quod nullus posset peccare ab umbilico et inferius.*

\* Mandt, l. 251, ap. Gieseler, ii. p. 504. *Omnia que fieri sunt, facta esse a Diabolo.*

† Eberhard, *Liber Anthracis*, p. 501. *In operibus nimis modo confidentes, fidem præmittunt.*—Petrus Valt. Sermon, c. 2, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xix. 6. *Hi mortali caligati quantumque flagitio manus impositum, demando. *Ecce nostrum dicitur peccet, its salutem.**

‡ Id. ibid. The latter, undoubtedly, are rather Gnostics than Manicheans; their heresy is that of the Docetæ.

§ Eberhard, ibid. 501. *Fœmine scilicet colorum hominum nitentur surripere.*

¶ Herder, *Mon. Epist.* ibid. 467. *Cœlestis in die genus flectunt.*

¶ Eberhard, ib. 508. *Eam Jerusalem esse, etc.*—Petrus Valt. Sermon, c. 4.

that she was the woman taken in adultery, mentioned in the Gospel. For Christ, they said, never ate, nor drank, nor put on a fleshly body, and was never in this world, save spiritually in St. Paul. We say, in the earthly and visible *Bethlehem*, because the heretics imagined that there was another, invisible earth, where the good Christ was brought into the world and crucified.

"They said, moreover, that the good God had two wives, Colla and Coliba, and that he begat sons and daughters.

"Other heretics said that there was only one creator, but that he had two sons, Christ and the devil. They said, too, that all creatures were originally good, but that they had been corrupted by the ——— mentioned in the Revelation.

"All these unbelievers, members of Antichrist, first-born of Satan, seeds of sin, children of crime, with their hypocritical tongue, and seducing by lies the heart of the simple, had infected by the poison of their perfidy the whole province of Narbonne. They said that the Roman church was little else than a den of thieves, and was that harlot spoken of in the Revelation. They did away with the Sacraments of the Church so far as to teach publicly that the water consecrated for baptism is just the same as any other water, and that the host of the most blessed body of Christ is nothing more than common bread; insinuating in the ears of the simple the horrid blasphemy, that Christ's body, were it the size of the Alps, would long since have been consumed and reduced to nothing by the numbers that have eaten of it. Confirmation and confession they deemed follies, and holy matrimony, prostitution, and believed that none could be saved who wedded and begat sons and daughters. Denying the resurrection of the flesh, they forged I know not what cabal of fables, saying, that our souls are those immortal spirits, which, precipitated from heaven for their presumptuous apostasy, left their glorious bodies in the air, and that after these souls have successively passed through seven different bodies upon earth, they return, this expiation ended, to resume their former bodies.

"We must also explain that some of these heretics called themselves *perfects* or *gospel men*; others styled them *believers* or *vaudous*. The former wore black garments, abstained from wine, and professed to never touch what they were uttering, chiefly with regard to food, a perpetual fast; they also contended that nothing could justify the taking of an oath. The believers lived in the world, and, without endeavoring to imitate the life of the perfects, hoped, however, for salvation, through the same profession of faith: the two were divided in their way of life, but were equally regarded their creed and their infidelity. The believers gave themselves up to usury, robbery, homi-

cide, and the pleasures of the flesh, to perjury, and every vice. In fact, they sinned with a sense of perfect safety and license, because they believed that without restoring property wrongfully acquired, without confession or repentance, they could be saved, provided they could repeat a *pater* when at the point of death, and receive imposition of hands from their teachers. These heretics chose from among the perfects, rulers whom they called deacons and bishops, and believed their salvation impossible unless their rulers imposed hands upon them when they were dying. Once a dying man, however great a criminal he might have been, received imposition of hands, and was able to repeat a *pater*, they believed him saved, and, to use their expression, comforted: he was to fly straight to heaven, without having made any reparation or employed any other mediatory means.

Some heretics said that no one could sin from the navel downwards. They treated images in the churches as idolatrous, and called bells, the devil's trumpets. They said, too, that it was not a greater sin to sleep with one's mother or one's sister than with any other. One of their greatest follies was to believe that if any of the perfects committed mortal sin, by eating, for instance, ever so little meat, or cheese, or eggs, or any other forbidden food, all whom he had comforted lost the Holy Ghost, and that it was necessary to comfort them over again; and that even those who had been comforted looked from heaven through the sin of him who had comforted them.

"There were, too, other heretics, named Vaudous, after one Valdus, of Lyons. They were bad, but much less so than the rest; for they agreed with us in many things, and only differed in a few. To pass over the greater number of their heresies, their chief errors lay in four peculiarities: in their wearing sandals after the manner of the apostles, in asserting that taking an oath, or shedding man's blood, was on no account permissible; and, especially, in maintaining that the earliest arriver, in case of need, might consecrate the body of Jesus Christ, provided he wore sandals, even had he not been ordained by the bishop.

"This brief account of the sects of the heretics may suffice. When any one applies to be admitted of their brotherhood, he who inducts him, says, 'Friend, if thou wilt to belong to us, thou must renounce all the articles of the church of Rome.' He replies, 'I do.' Receive, then, the Holy Ghost from good men.' He then breathes seven times in the convert's mouth, and says, 'Dost thou renounce the cross which, at thy baptism, the priest has signed over thy breast, shoulders, and head, with oil and the chrism?' 'I do.' 'Dost thou believe that water works thy salvation?' 'I do not.' 'Dost thou renounce the veil which at thy baptism the priest has placed











led to so much abuse; and attaching themselves to the caliph of Bagdad, this old idol, so long the slave of a succession of military leaders, saw himself the object of their voluntary homage, and the recipient of their conquests. They pursued with fury, and put to death without mercy, the Alides, the Assassins, the free-thinkers, the *phelassafe* or philosophers,\* just as innovators in religious matters were hunted down in Europe: a strange spectacle—two hostile religions, strangers to one another, unconsciously agreeing, and at the same period, in proscribing freedom of thought! Noureddin, like Innocent III., was a legist,† and his general, Salaheddin, (Saladin,) was overthrowing the Mussulman schismatics of Egypt, while Simon de Montfort was exterminating the Christian schismatics of Languedoc.

However, the inclination to innovation was so rapid and so fatal, that Noureddin's own children allied themselves with the Alides and the Assassins, and Saladin was compelled to crush them. This Kurd,‡ this barbarian, the Godfrey or the St. Louis of Mahometanism, a great soul enthralled to infinitely small devotional practices,§ a humane and generous nature that forced itself to be intolerant, taught the Christians the dangerous truth that "a circumcised dog" might be a saint, and that a Mahometan might be a born knight in purity of heart and magnanimity.||

Saladin had twice dealt heavy blows on the enemies of Islamism. On the one hand, he invaded Egypt, dethroned the Fatimites, and destroyed the focus of the bold beliefs which had found their way through every part of Asia; and, on the other, he had overthrown the petty Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, defeated and taken king Lusignan at the battle of Tiberias,¶ and gained possession of the holy

city. His humanity to his prisoners formed a striking contrast to the hardness of heart displayed towards their brethren by the Christians of Asia. While those of Tripoli barred their gates on the fugitives from Jerusalem, Saladin employed the money which remained from the expenses of the siege, to ransom the poor and the orphans who had fallen into his soldiers' hands. His brother, Malek-Achel set two thousand at liberty for his own share.\*

France had carried through the first crusade almost single handed. Germany had largely contributed to the second. The third was popular; and most of all so in England. But king Richard brought with him only knights and soldiers; no useless hands, as in the former crusades. The king of France did the same; and both employed Genoese and Marseillaise transports. Meanwhile the emperor Frederick Barbarossa had set out with a large and formidable army. He sought to recover his reputation both as a soldier and a good Catholic, which had been compromised by his Italian wars. He surmounted the difficulties to which Conrad and Louis VII. had succumbed in their march through Asia Minor; and, old and exhausted as he was with his numerous mishaps, triumphed over nature and over Greek perfidiousness, and over the ambushes laid by the sultan of Iconium, who sustained a memorable defeat at his hands;‡ but it was only to end his life ingloriously in the waters of a small wretched stream of Asia. His son Frederick of Suabia survived him scarcely a year: languishing and sick, he refused to listen to the physicians who prescribed him incontinence, and bore off in death the palm of virginity,§ like Godfrey of Bouillon.

However, the kings of France and England bore on their way by sea, but with very different views. From the time of their meeting in Sicily, the two friends had quarrelled. It was a renewal of the temptation of the Normans and Aquitanians, such as we saw in the case of Bohemond and of Raymond de St. Gilles, to stop short of the object for which the crusade was undertaken. At first, they wished to stop at Constantinople, then at Antioch. The Gaseo-Norman, Richard, had even desired to call a halt in the tempting vales of Sicily. Tancred, who had got himself made its king, was supported solely by the voice of the people and their hatred of the Germans, who claimed the island in the name of Constance.

\* Bibliothèque des Croisades, t. ii. (Extrait des Historiens Arabes, par M. Renaud, p. 370.—Kilg: Arslan being accused of having joined this sect, Noureddin made him make public profession of his belief in Islamism: "With all my heart," said King Arslan, "I see that Noureddin is bent on crushing the unbelievers."

† Hist. des Atabeks, ibid. He had studied the law under Abou Hanifa, one of the most celebrated of the Mussulman lawyers. He always said: "We are the ministers of the law—our duty is to see it executed;" and he conducted his own causes before the courts. He was the first to institute a proper court of justice, prohibit torture, and substitute for it personal defence. In a letter to Noureddin, Saladin complains of the rudeness of his laws. However, he acknowledges: "Wherever we know as regards justice, we have learned of him." Saladin himself employed his leisure in studying the law; whence his surname of *Reformer of justice upon earth*.

‡ D'H. vol. iii. Bibliothèque Orientale.

§ Bibliothèque des Croisades, iii. 362, sqq. describes him as attached to the most trifling practices. He tested whenever he had the opportunity, and made all his attendants do the same. On some of the chief, one day, finding that he had fallen, he was moved to tears.

¶ Saladin's government over the Christians is dwelt upon with much more, in the Latin historians, and chiefly by the historians of William of Tyre, than by the Arab writers. This goes to show the liberality which notwithstanding the religious hostility, gave the Mussulmans to have felt at one of the general sentiments of the nation. Michael H. des Croisades, iii. 346.

¶ With Lusignan were made prisoners the prince of Antioch, the marquis of Montserrat, the count of Edessa, the

constable of the kingdom, the grand masters of the temple and of Jerusalem, and almost the whole nobility of the Holy Land. S. Jac. de Vitruvo, c. 94. Hist. Hieros. p. 118. Bern. Thes. c. 155, 156.

\* Michaud, Hist. des Croisades, t. ii. p. 346, 350.

† H. t. Hierosolym. ap. Bongars, p. 1161. The writer asserts that there were above three hundred thousand Turks engaged.

‡ Gualfr. Monach. ap. Raumer, Gesch. der Hohenst. "When his physicians suggested that his life might be saved by indulging in love, he answered, that he preferred death to defiling his body while bound on a divine pilgrimage."



This valor and all these efforts produced little result. We have said that all the nations of Europe were represented at this siege; but their national hatreds were represented as well. Each fought on his own account as it were, and instead of seconding, strove to injure the rest. The Genoese, the Pisans, and the Venetians, rivals in war and commerce, regarded each other with hostile eye. The Templars and the Hospitallers could scarcely refrain from coming to blows. There were two kings of Jerusalem in the camp, Guy of Lusignan, who was favored by Philippe-Auguste, and Conrad of Tyre and Montserrat, whose claims were supported by Richard. Philip's jealousy kept pace with the increasing glory of his rival; and falling sick, he accused Richard of having poisoned him. He claimed half of the island of Cyprus, and of the money paid by Tancred; and at last he gave up the crusade and embarked almost alone, leaving the French ashamed of his departure.\* Richard succeeded no better for being left to himself. He offended all by his insolence and pride. The Germans having displayed their colors on one quarter of the walls, he ordered them to be thrown into the fosse.† He turned his victory of Assur to no use, and missed the opportunity for regaining Jerusalem by refusing to promise the garrison their lives. As he drew near to the holy city, the duke of Burgundy deserted him with the French who remained under his command. From this moment all was lost. A knight pointing out Jerusalem to him from a distance, he burst into tears, and veiling his face with his surcoat, he exclaimed: "My God, let me not behold thy city, since I am unable to deliver it!"‡

In fact, this crusade was the last. Asia and Europe had come into contact, and had found each other invincible. Henceforward it is to other lands, to Egypt, to Constantinople, anywhere save the Holy Land, that, under pretexts more or less specious, the great expeditions of the Christians will be directed. Besides, religious enthusiasm was on the wane. The miracles and revelations which signalized the first, disappear by the third crusade, which is a great military expedition, a struggle of races quite as much as of religion. The long siege of Acre is to the middle age a siege of Troy, and

its plain was long the common dwelling of both parties. There they saw each other daily, measured each other's strength, learned to know each other, and their hates diminished. The Christian camp becomes a large city, frequented by merchants of both religions.\* They willingly mingle and dance together; and the Christian minstrels lend their voices to the sound of Arab instruments.† The miners on both sides agree to do each other no injury when they meet in their subterranean task. Much more; each side gets to hate itself more than the enemy. Richard is less the enemy of Saladin than of Philip-Augustus, and Saladin hates the Assassins and the Alides more than the Christians.‡

During this great movement of the world, the king of France prosecuted his private interests in the quietest manner. Leaving the honor to Richard, he took the profit, and seemed reconciled to the division. Richard remains the guardian of the grand cause of Christendom, amuses himself with adventures and deeds of "derring-do," immortalizes, and impoverishes himself. Philip, who swore when he left that he would not injure his rival, loses not a moment, but hastes to Rome to obtain the pope's dispensation from his oath. He returns to France in time to divide Flanders on the death of Philip of Alsace; compels his daughter and his son-in-law to give up part of it by way of jointure to his widow, but reserves Artois and St. Omer for himself, in memory of his wife, Isabella of Flanders.‡ Meanwhile, he excites the Aquitanians to revolt, and encourages Richard's brother to seize the throne. The foxes make their game in the lion's absence. Who knows that he will return? The chance is, that he will either be slain or taken. And he was taken; traitorously taken by Christians. The very duke of Austria, whom he had insulted, and whose banner he had thrown into the fosse of St. Jean d'Acre, surprised him as he was passing in disguise through his territory, and gave him up to the emperor Henry VI.¶

\* For instance, the camp before Ptolemais, in 1191. Michaud, ii. 451.

† *Id. ibid.* p. 450, 522. The crusaders were often admitted to the table of Saladin, and the emirs to that of Richard.

‡ Saladin sent presents to the Christian kings on their arrival, of Damascus plums and other fruits; they sent him jewels. Michaud, ii. 436, (citing Brantôme.) Philip and Richard reciprocally accused each other of holding correspondence with the Mussulmans. Richard wore at Cyprus a cloak powdered with crescents of silver. *Biblioth. des Croisades*, ii. 665. Richard offered his sister (the widow of William of Sicily) in marriage to Malek-Adhel; and the two were to reign conjointly, under the auspices of Saladin and of Richard, over the Mussulmans and Christians, and to govern the kingdom of Jerusalem. Saladin showed no repugnance to the proposition; but the lawyers and teachers of the law were exceedingly surprised at it, and the Christian bishops threatened Jane and Richard with excommunication. Michaud, ii. 477. Saladin wished to be made acquainted with the laws of chivalry; and Malek-Adhel sent his son to be knighted by Richard. *Id.* p. 522.

§ Boned, Petrosburg, p. 511. The pope refused.

¶ *Id.* p. 512. Oudegherst, c. 98.

\* When Richard reached Vienna after three days' journey, exhausted with fatigue and hunger, his page, who spoke Saxon, went to the market to buy provisions, and paid with gold bezants. He made a swaggling display of

leur mestre leur disoient: Cuides tu, fesoient ils a leur chevaux, que ce soit le roy Richard d'Angleterre? Et quand les enfans aus Sarrasins brevoient, elle leur disoient: Tai-toi, tai-toi, ou je traï querre le roy Richard qui te traï.

\* Before Ptolemais, several of the French barons posted themselves under the English banner. From this time, the chronicle of St. Denis indignantly speaks of the king of England by the name of *Trickard*, (the trickster,) instead of Richard.

† The chronicler says into a privy—In cloacum dejicere. . . . *Ser. R. Fr.* viii. 27.

‡ *Id.* *ibid.* *ibid.* 1761, p. 116. Tandis qu'ils estoient en ces parties, un sien chivalier lui escriut: "Sire, sire, venez jusques ci, et je vous menerai Jerusalem." Et quant il oy ce, il se vint a terre a terre et se vint en plorant, et dit à Notre-Seigneur: "Biau Sire Dieu, je te pri que tu ne souffres que je voie ta sainte cité, puisque je ne la puis delivrer des mains de tes ennemis."

This was the law of the middle age. The stranger who passed through the lands of the lord without his consent belonged to him. The emperor did not disturb himself about the privileges conferred by having taken the cross. He had destroyed the Normans of Sicily, and thought it to his advantage to humble those of England. Besides, John and Philippe-Auguste offered him as large a sum as Richard would have given for his ransom;\* and undoubtedly he would have kept him prisoner, had not the aged Eleanor, the pope, and the German barons themselves shamed him out of such a design towards the hero of the crusade.† However, he did not let go his hold of him until he had exacted from him a ransom of a hundred thousand marks of silver, and Richard had done him homage as a vassal of the empire, by the delivery of the cap from his head,‡ (the symbolic resignation of his crown into the hands of Henry.) The latter conceded to him in exchange the mockery of a title to the kingdom of Arles. The hero returned to England, (A. D. 1194.) after having been a captive thirteen months, — king of Arles, vassal of the empire, and ruined. He had but to show himself to reduce John and repulse Philip. The remainder of his life was passed gloriously in a succession of truces, and of petty wars. However, the counts of Brittany, Flanders, Boulogne, Champagne, and Blois sided with him against Philip. He fell while besieging the castle of Chibuz, whose lord he sought to compel to deliver up to him a treasure which had been discovered on his estate, (A. D. 1199.) He was succeeded by his brother John, although he had named his nephew Arthur, the young duke of Brittany, his heir.

Nor did Philip reap greater glory the while. The great vassals were jealous of the power he had attained, and he had independently quarrelled with the pope, whose favor he had raised his house to such a pitch. Philip had married a Danish princess, in the single view of securing a divorce from the Danes against Richard, but he had conceived a dislike to the young barbarian from his wedding day, and having no longer need of her father's assistance, he had

divorced her in order to marry Agnes de Méranie, of the house of Franche-Comté; and this unlucky divorce, which embroiled him for several years with the Church, had condemned him to inactivity, and rendered him a passive and helpless spectator of the great events which took place in the mean time, of Richard's death and of the fourth crusade.

The Westerns had slight hope of succeeding in an enterprise in which their hero, Richard Cœur-de-Lion, had failed. However, the momentum which had been imparted a century before, went on of itself. Politicians endeavored to turn it to account. The emperor, Henry VI., himself preached the crusade to the diet of Worms, declaring that he desired to make atonement for the imprisonment of Richard. Enthusiasm was at its height: all the German princes took the cross. Many found their way to Constantinople — others followed the emperor, who persuaded them that the right road to the Holy Land was Sicily. He thus managed to secure important assistance towards conquering this island, which was his wife's by inheritance, but whose inhabitants, whether Norman, Italian, or Arab, were unanimous in rejecting the German yoke. He only became master of it by shedding torrents of blood, and it is even said, that his wife poisoned him in revenge for her country's wrongs. Brought up by the jurists of Bologna with the idea of the divinitable right of the Cæsars, Henry relied on making Sicily his vantage-ground for the invasion of the Greek empire, as Robert Guiscard had done, and then returning into Italy to humble the pope to the level of the patriarch of Constantinople.

The conquest of the Greek empire, which he was unable to accomplish, was, indeed, the consequence and unforeseen result of the fourth crusade. Saladin's death, and the accession of a young pope full of ardor and of genius, (Innocent III.) seemed to reanimate Christianity. The death of Henry VI., too, reassured Europe, returned at his power. The crusade, preached by Folk of Neuilly, was, above all, popular in Northern France. A count of Champagne had just been elected king of Jerusalem. His brother, who succeeded to his citizenship, took the cross, and with him most of his vassals. This powerful baron was head of no fewer than eighteen hundred fiefs. Nor must we forget his marshal of Champagne, who marched at the head of his vassals, Geoffroy de Villehardouin, the historian of this great expedition, the first poet, writer, the first historian of France, who wrote the *Chanson de Roland*. It is a native of Champagne, too, the Sieur de Joinville, who is to write the history of St. Louis and the close of the crusades. The barons of the north of France took the cross in crowds, and among them the counts of Blois, of St. Paul, of Boulogne, and of Amiens, with the

\* Richard's ransom was estimated at 100,000 marks of silver, which was the sum offered by John and Philippe-Auguste. The emperor, however, did not accept of this offer, but demanded 200,000 marks. Richard, however, did not accept of this offer, but demanded 200,000 marks. Richard, however, did not accept of this offer, but demanded 200,000 marks.

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\* *Joinville*, i. c. 10. *Chanson de Roland*, p. 254. (Two thousand two hundred knights owed service and homage to his peerage.) *Joinville*, i. c. 10.







which threatened Judæa and Egypt. Nicetas, much better acquainted than Villehardouin with the negotiations preceding the crusade, asserts that the whole had been arranged, and that the arrival of the young Alexius only accelerated the impulse already given: "It was," he says, "a wave upon a wave."<sup>\*</sup>

The crusaders constituted in the hands of Venice a blind and brutal force, which it launched against the Greek empire. They were ignorant alike of the motives and secret intelligence of the Venetians, and of the state of the empire they were about to attack. Thus, when they found themselves before its astonishing capital, and beheld the innumerable palaces and churches of Constantinople, with their gilded domes flashing in the sun, and gazed on the myriads of men who crowded the ramparts, they could not help a feeling of momentary doubt. "Know," says Villehardouin, "there was none so bold, whose heart did not tremble . . . each looked to his arms . . . as the time was at hand he would have need of them."

It is true that the population was great; but the city was unprepared for defence. The Greeks had entertained the conviction, since their repulse of the Arabs, that Constantinople was impregnable; and from this conviction neglected the means of rendering it so. Constantinople had sixteen hundred fishing-boats, and only twenty ships, not one of which, however, it sent against the Latin fleet, and none attempted to fall down the stream to cast the Greek fire into it. Sixty thousand men, indeed, appeared on the bank magnificently armed; but no sooner did the crusaders show themselves, than they vanished.† In fact, this light cavalry of theirs could not have sustained the shock of the heavy men-at-arms of the Latins; and the city had no other defence than was afforded by its strong walls and a few corps of excellent soldiers, forming the Varangian guard, which consisted of Danish and Saxon refugees from England,‡ together with some Pisan auxiliaries: in all parts, the commercial and political rivalry between the two people, armed the Pisans against the Venetians.¶

\* Nicetas in Alex. Comm. c. 9. p. 344. *Kaeto tri ganō epiphatōn, kai epeia, o phatis, tri epeia: Pōpaleis izi-eklēsiastai.*

† "Now you must know, that many looked upon Constantinople who had never seen it, nor could have believed there to be so rich a city in the world. When they saw those lofty walls and those rich towers with which it was enclosed all round, and those rich palaces, and those lofty churches, which were so many in number that no one would credit it without seeing, and the length and width of the city, which was peerless beyond all others. And know, there was none so bold whose heart did not tremble; and it was no wonder, since such an enterprise was never undertaken by so scant a number since the world was created." Villehardouin, p. 143, 241. See, also, Foulcher de Chartres, c. 41, ap. Bongars, p. 346, and Will. Tyr. l. ii. c. 3; l. xv. c. 26.

‡ In another engagement, "the Greeks turned their backs, so were they huddled at the first shock." Villehardouin, p. 191.

§ *Ib.* p. 212.

¶ Nicetas, l. iii. p. 288.

The latter, probably, had friends in Constantinople; for as soon as they had found the harbor and presented themselves at the foot of the walls, the standard of St. Mark appeared on them, planted by an invisible hand, and the doge was quickly master of twenty-five towers. But he had to forego this advantage in order to carry assistance to the Franks, who were surrounded by the Greek cavalry they had despised. That very night the emperor fell in despair. His predecessor, the aged Isaac Comnenus, was released from prison; and it only remained for the crusaders to enter the city in triumph.

It was impossible that the crusade should end thus. The new emperor could only satisfy the requisitions of his liberators by ruining his subjects. The Greeks murmured, the Latins pressed and threatened. In the mean time he insulted the people in a thousand ways, as well as the emperor of their own making. One day, when playing at dice with prince Alexius, he clapped a coarse woollen or hair cap on his head.\* They took pleasure in offending against all the customs of the Greeks, and were scandalized at whatever was new to themselves. Discovering a mosque or a synagogue, they fell upon the infidels, who defended themselves. They then set fire to some houses, and the flames spreading, the conflagration raged over the thickest and most populous quarter of the city for above a league in front, and lasted eight days and nights.†

This event put the finishing stroke to the exasperation of the people, who rose up against the emperor whose restoration had brought so many evils in its train. For three days the purple was offered to every senator in turn, great courage was required to accept it. The Venetians who, apparently, could have interfered, remained outside of the walls, and watched. Perhaps they feared trusting themselves in this immense city, in which they might have been crushed; perhaps it suited them to allow the emperor whom they had made to be overpowered, that they might enter Constantinople as enemies. In fact, the aged Isaac was put to death, and was replaced by a prince of the imperial family, Alexius Mourzoufle, who showed himself equal to the emergency in which he accepted the empire. He began by rejecting the captious propositions of the Venetians, who still offered to be satisfied with a sum of money.‡ They would by this means have ruined him, and have rendered him hateful to the people, like his predecessor. Mourzoufle levied money, indeed; but it was to employ it in his own defence. He armed vessels, and twice endeavored to burn the enemy's fleet. The situation of the Latins became precarious. However, Mourzoufle could not create soldiers at once. The crusaders were warriors of a far different stamp; the Greeks could not withstand their

\* *Ib.* *ibid.* p. 358.

† *Ib.* *ibid.* p. 355.

‡ *Ib.* *ibid.* p. 355.



## CHAPTER VII.

RUIN OF JOHN.—DEFEAT OF THE EMPEROR.—  
WAR OF THE ALBIGEOIS.—GREATNESS OF THE  
KING OF FRANCE. (A. D. 1204—1222.)

BEHOLD the pope, conqueror of the Greeks in spite of himself. The two churches are united. Innocent is the sole spiritual head of the world. Germany, the old antagonist of the popes, is disabled; torn between two emperors, who choose the pope arbiter between them. Philippe-Auguste has just submitted to his orders, and taken back a wife whom he hates. The west and the south of France are not so docile. The Vaudois resist him on the Rhône; the Manicheans in Languedoc and the Pyrenees. The whole coast of France, on both seas, seems on the point of separating from the Church. The Mediterranean shore, and that of the Atlantic, obey two princes of dubious faith, the kings of Aragon and of England; and between the two are the seats of heresy, Beziers, Carcassonne, and Toulouse, where the great council of the Manicheans is assembled.

The first on whom the blow fell was the English king, duke of Guyenne, the neighbor and the relative as well of the count of Toulouse, whose son he brought up.\* The pope and the king of France profited by his ruin; an event which had been long preparing. The power of the Anglo-Norman kings depended, as we have seen, solely on the mercenary troops whom they kept in pay: they could confide neither in the Saxons nor in the Normans. The maintenance of the troops supposed resources, and a system of finance foreign from the habits of the age—and they could only support the expense by grievous and violent exactions, which gave an edge to previous hatreds, rendered their position the more dangerous, and compelled them to increase the numbers of those very mercenaries who ruined and drove their people into revolt. To renounce the employment of mercenaries, was to throw themselves into the hands of the Norman aristocracy; to continue to make use of them, was to march straight on destruction—a fearful dilemma, in the solving of which they were fated to fall. It was fated that the monarch should be ruined by the reconciliation of the two races who jointly occupied the island. Normans and Saxons were at last to come to an understanding for the abasement of the monarchy—the loss of the French provinces was to be the first result of this revolution.

Henry II. had, at the least, amassed a treasure. But Richard ruined England by his preparations for the crusade. "I would sell

London," he said, "if I could find a buyer." "From one sea to the other," says a contemporary, "England was reduced to beggary." Money, however, had perforce to be found to pay the enormous ransom required by the emperor; and more again when Richard, on his return, wished to make war on the king of France. Whatever he had sold at his departure, he resumed possession of without reimbursing the purchasers;† and so by ruining the present, he ruined the future; for henceforward no one could be found to lend to the king of England, or to buy of him. His successes, good or bad, capable or incapable, were condemned, in advance, to irremediable poverty, to cureless powerlessness.

But the progress of things rather required new resources. The want of unity in the English empire had never made itself more felt. Consisting of people who had all warred on each other before being reduced under the same yoke,—of Normandy, hostile to England before William's time, of Brittany, the enemy of Normandy, of Anjou, the rival of Poitou, and of Poitou, which claimed over the whole South the rights of the duchy of Aquitaine; they all found themselves united whether they would or not. In preceding reigns, the English king had ever one or other of these continental countries firmly attached to him. The Norman William, and his two first successors, could rely on Normandy, Henry II. on his countrymen the Angevins, and Richard Cœur-de-Lion was generally acceptable to the Poitevins and Aquitanians, the countrymen of his mother, Eleanor of Guyenne. He illustrated the glory of the Southerners, who regarded him as one of themselves, wrote verses in their language, had numbers of them about him, and his chief lieutenant was the Basque Marcader. But these different people became gradually estranged from the English kings. They perceived that Norman, Angevin, or Poitevin, this king, separated from them by such distinct interests, was in reality a foreign prince; and the close of Richard's reign completely opened the eyes of the continental subjects of England.

These circumstances would explain the violence, bursts of passion, and reverses of John, even had he been a better and a wiser monarch. He was driven to unheard-of expedients to raise money in a country so often ransacked to the utmost. What could there be left after the greedy and prodigal Richard? John endeavored to force money from the barons, and they compelled him to sign the great charter. He threw himself upon the Church; she deposed him. The pope, and the pope's favorite, the king of France, profited by his ruin. The

\* Guib. Newbrig. p. 368. *Londonas quoque vendam si cui et in oleum invenirem.*

† R. de How. p. 544. *Tota Anglia, à mari usque ad mare, prodita et inopiam.*

‡ Str. R. Fr. xviii. 43. *Thierry, Com. de l'Angl. t. iv. p. 103.*

\* Chron. L. n. undec. ap. Ser. R. Fr. xiv. 155. *Lequel le Roy d'Angl. terra avia norra l'ua temps et de sa poynesse.*

English monarch, feeling his bark sinking, tossed Normandy and Brittany into the sea. The French king had but to stoop to pick them up.

It was the rivalry between John and his nephew Arthur which led the way to this inevitable and fated separation of the English empire. The latter, the son of one of John's brothers by the heiress of Brittany, had been hailed from his birth by the Bretons as a liberator and avenger, and despite Henry II., they had baptized him by the national name of Arthur.\* His cause was favored by the Aquitanians. The aged Eleanor alone sided with her son John, in the desire of preserving the unity of the English empire, which would have been destroyed by Arthur's elevation to a separate throne.† Arthur, in fact, held this unity very cheap; for he offered to yield Normandy to the French king, provided he might retain for himself Brittany, Maine, Touraine, Anjou, Poitou, and Aquitaine;‡ so reducing John to England. Philip willingly accepted the offer, filled Arthur's strongholds with his garrisons, and having no expectation of keeping possession of them, he demolished them. Being thus betrayed by his ally, Arthur turned towards his uncle, then on full back on French soil, invaded Poitou, and besieged his grandmother, Eleanor in Mirebeau. It was no new thing in this family to see sons aimed against their parents. However, John came to his mother's assistance, and the siege, defeated Arthur, and took him prisoner, together with many of the great lords who favored his cause. § What became of his prisoner? "This is a point which has never been cleared up. Matthew Paris asserts that John, who has treated him well at first, was turned by the treachery and obstinacy of the young Breton. "A traitor," he says, "disappeared, and God grant may have been different from what you report de Jares." But two great hopes had been conceived of Arthur, for the young nation of the people to resign itself to this uncertainty. He was said to have been put to death by John's orders; it was also asserted that John had killed him with his own hand. ¶ Philippe-Auguste's charge of treachery, as it is not held by his own eyes, that John took Arthur in a secret place, and then twice, when he was sleeping, and threw him into the river, is not confirmed by the chroniclers. \*\* The Bretons, it is true, were not the only people nearer their own land, and placed it hard by

Cherbourg, at the foot of those sombre downs which offer one precipice along the whole line of ocean.\* Thus the tradition grew in details and in dramatic interest, until at length, in Shakespeare, Arthur is a young, defenceless boy, whose mild and innocent words disarm the fiercest assassin.

This event at once gave Philippe-Auguste the superiority. He had already accredited the report of Richard's relations with the infidels, with the old man of the mountain, by taking guards for his protection against his emissaries,† and he now followed up against John the rumors touching Arthur's death, and aimed to be at once the avenger and the judge of the crime. He summoned John to appear before the court of the great barons of France, the court of peers, as it was then termed, after the style of the romances of Charlemagne. He had previously summoned him to the same court, to justify his having taken Isabella of Lusignan from the count of la Marche. John demanded a safe conduct at the least; it was refused him. Condemned without being heard, he levied troops in England and in Ireland, resorting to the most violent measures to force the barons to follow him, so far as to seize on the estates of some recusants, and to let others of a seventh of their revenues, but to no end. They assembled, but no sooner were they collected together at Portsmouth, than they made known to him, through archbishop Hubert, that they were resolved not to embark. In fact, what interest had they in the war? The majority, although Normans by descent, were strangers to Normandy. They had little inclination to fight to strengthen the king's hands against themselves, and to enable him to lord it at once and the same time over his insular and his continental subjects.

John had also addressed himself to the pope, accusing Philip of having broken the peace and violated his oaths. Innocent acted as judge, not of the fact, but of the law; and his legates came to no decision. Philippe took possession of Normandy, (x. n. 1204.) John, since it had declared to the Normans that they need expect no help from him. He had plunged

like a madman into a vortex of pleasures. The envoys from Rouen found him playing at chess, before attending to them, he would flush his hawk. † He passed every day's captivity with his beautiful queen, and prolonged his mother's repose until no return. § However, if he did not cut, he negotiated with the enemies of the Church, and of the French

\* Chœron. *Walter Rousas*, p. 267. Thierry, *l. vi. p. 16.*

† *Ann. de France*, l. vi. p. 16. *Chœron*, *Walter Rousas*, p. 267. *Thierry*, *l. vi. p. 16.*

‡ *Ann. de France*, l. vi. p. 16. *Chœron*, *Walter Rousas*, p. 267. *Thierry*, *l. vi. p. 16.*

§ *Ann. de France*, l. vi. p. 16. *Chœron*, *Walter Rousas*, p. 267. *Thierry*, *l. vi. p. 16.*

\*\* *Ann. de France*, l. vi. p. 16. *Chœron*, *Walter Rousas*, p. 267. *Thierry*, *l. vi. p. 16.*

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† *Ann. de France*, l. vi. p. 16. *Chœron*, *Walter Rousas*, p. 267. *Thierry*, *l. vi. p. 16.*

‡ *Ann. de France*, l. vi. p. 16. *Chœron*, *Walter Rousas*, p. 267. *Thierry*, *l. vi. p. 16.*

§ *Ann. de France*, l. vi. p. 16. *Chœron*, *Walter Rousas*, p. 267. *Thierry*, *l. vi. p. 16.*

king. He subsidized the emperor, Otho IV., his nephew, while on the one hand he entered into a correspondence with the Flemings, and, on the other, with the barons of the south of France, and brought up at his own court his other nephew, the son of the count of Toulouse.

This said count, the king of Aragon, and the king of England—suzerains of the whole South—seemed to be on terms with each other at the expense of the Church: and, indeed, hardly observed any outward deference to her. The danger that threatened ecclesiastical authority in this quarter was excessive. It was not a few scattered sectaries, but a whole church which had risen up against the Church. Ecclesiastical property was everywhere invaded. The very name of priest was a reproach. Churchmen durst not suffer their tonsure to be seen in public.\* The clerical dress was ventured to be worn by a few retainers of the nobles only, who were forced by their lords to assume it, in order that they might seize upon some benefice in their name. The instant a Catholic missionary dared to preach, shouts of derision drowned his voice. Sanctity and eloquence did not awe them. They had hooted St. Bernard.†

\* Guillelm. de Podio Lur. in prologo, ap. Ser. R. Fr. xix. 194. "The saying, 'I had rather be a monk than do this or that,' became as common as 'I had rather be a Jew,' &c. And when the priests went abroad, they drew over the hair from behind so as to conceal the tonsure."

† "The holy abbot of Clairvaux, fired with zeal for the faith, visited this land afflicted with an incurable heresy, and thought that he ought to repair at first to Vertueil, where there then flourished a crowd of knights and of people, thinking that if he could root out heresy there, he would easily triumph over it everywhere else. When he began to speak in church against the notables of the spot, they went out: the people followed, and the holy man following them in his turn, began to preach the word of God in the public place. They commended themselves in the adjoining houses, but he nevertheless, preached to the people about him. The others, however, began to raise a loud noise and to beat on the doors, thus hindering the people from hearing his voice, and arresting the Divine word on its passage. Shaking off, then, the dust from his feet as a testimony against them, to make them comprehend that they were but dust, he departed, and casting back his looks on the town, he cursed it, saying, 'Vertueil, may God wither thee up!' He denounced it on manifest proofs, for at that time according to an old chronicle, there dwelt in the castle here a hundred knights having arms, banners, and horses, and maintaining themselves at their own expense, not at that of others. From this period, they were yearly weakened by misfortunes as well as by war, so that they were not left a monument's peace, either through destructive battles, sterility, attacks, or sedition. I myself, when a child, saw the noble Isarn Nobilit, formerly the principal lord of Vertueil, and who was said to have been fully a hundred years of age, living in poverty at Toulouse, and contented with a single hackney. Thus, how strictly God adjudged many lords of the same castle, who fell off from his cause, was shown by the event itself, since none of all that the holy man had cursed, could rest a moment, until the count of Montfort having given Vertueil to the venerable father Fulk, bishop of Toulouse, the Divine vengeance grounded and away after the expulsion of the lords." Guillelm. de Pod. Lur. c. i. The same thing happened to the bishop of Carcassonne:—"One day, as he was preaching in his city, and, according to his wont, was upbraiding the audacious with their heresy, they would not listen to him. 'You will not hearken to me,' he said; 'believe me, I will testify against you with so loud a voice, that men shall come from the ends of the world to destroy your city. And hold it for certain, that were your walls of iron and of towering height, you could not protect your-

Such was the wretched and precarious situation of the Catholic Church in Languedoc. The common but very erroneous belief is, that in the middle-ages the heretics alone were persecuted. On both sides alike, violence was held to be lawful to bring over one's neighbor to the true faith. Persecution kept pace with power either way, as may be seen in Jerome of Prague, Calvin, the Gomarists of Holland, and numerous others. The martyrs of the middle-age seldom display the meekness of the martyrs of the primitive times, who knew how to die only; whereas the Albigeois of Languedoc, the illuminati of Flanders, and the Protestants of Rochelle and the Cevennes,—all their attempts at reformation being more or less impressed with the warlike character of the time,—conquered or submitted, persecuted or suffered, but ever recklessly fought on.

The struggle was imminent in the year 1200. The heretical Church was fully organized, and had its hierarchy, its priests, its bishops, and its pope. Their general council was held at Toulouse, which city would undoubtedly have been their Rome, and its capitol have replaced the other in case of ultimate triumph. Ardent missionaries were dispatched in every direction by the new Church. The innovation spread to the most distant and least suspected countries, to Picardy, Flanders, Germany, England, Lombardy, Tuscany, to the very gates of Rome, to Viterbo.\* But, on the other hand, many had been shocked by the oriental wildness of Manicheism. To recognise two principles, that of good and that of evil, seemed to be an admission of two Almighties, to elevate Satan to heaven, and throne him by the side of God. These blasphemies struck the hearers with horror. On the other hand, the people of the North saw the mercenary soldiers, the *routiers*, mostly in the service of England, realizing among themselves all that was told of the impiety of the South. They were partly from Brabant, partly from Aquitaine: Narader, the Basque, as has been already noticed, was one of Richard Cœur-de-Lion's principal lieutenants. The mountaineers of the South, who now repair to France or Spain to drive some petty traffic, or exercise some small craft, did the same in the middle-age; but the only trade of that day was war. They maltreated the priests all the same as the peasants, dressed up their women in the consecrated vestments, beat the clergymen, and made them sing mock

selves from the just vengeance with which the sovereign Judge will visit you for your want of belief, and wickedness." So for these words, and for similar threats which the holy man thundered in their ears, they drove him from their city, and forbade, by proclamation of banishment, and under pain of severe punishment, any one from buying or selling with him or his." Petrus Vall. Barn. c. 16.—Fulk had not with a like reception at Toulouse, when he took possession of the bishopric:—"He was never able to raise there more than ninety-six souls of Toulouse; and durst not send four mules, which he had brought with him, to the waiting place, without an escort. They used to be warned of a well sunk in his house." Guillelm. de Pod. Lur. c. 2.

\* Gesta Innocentii, iii. p. 78.



gard to discipline, it fell almost to the level of the voluptuous Cluny. The latter had, at least, from an early period, affected mildness and indulgence; and there Peter the Venerable had received, consoled, and buried Abelard. But corrupted Cîteaux maintained, in riches and in luxury, the severity of her primitive institution. She remained animated with the sanguinary spirit of the crusades, and continued to preach faith to the neglect of works. The more the unworthiness of the preachers rendered their words vain and unprofitable, the more they raged. They revenged themselves for the little effect produced by their eloquence, on those who estimated their teaching by their morals. Maddened by their impotence, they threatened, they damned; and the people only laughed.

One day that the abbot of Cîteaux was setting out with his monks, magnificently equipped, to labor for the conversion of the heretics in Languedoc, two Castilians who were returning from Rome,—the bishop of Osma and one of his canons, the famous St. Dominic,—did not hesitate to tell them that this luxury and pomp would destroy the effect of their discourses: "You must march barefoot," they said, "against these sons of pride; they need examples, you will not subdue them by words." The Cistercians dismounted and followed the two Spaniards.\*

The honor of this spiritual crusade belongs to the Spaniards, the countrymen of the Cid. One Durando, of Huesca, who had been a Vandal himself, obtained from Innocent III. permission to form a brotherhood of *poor Catholics*, in which the Vandals, the *poor of Lyons*, might be enrolled. It is true that the creed was different, but the externals were the same,—the same costume, the same mode of life,—and it was hoped that by the adoption, on the part of the Catholics, of the dress and customs of the Vandals,† the Vandals might accept in exchange the faith of the Catholics; in short, that the truth would triumph over the superstition. The zeal of these missionaries led them to approximate the Vandals so closely, that they excited the suspicion of the bishops, and their incautious attempt met with but trifling success.

\* *Historia de S. Dominico*, edit. Balthasar, p. 517. Durando, the Spaniard, says, "There is a story, which I have heard from the mouth of a Spaniard, that the Cistercians, when they were going to Languedoc, were met by two Castilians, the bishop of Osma and one of his canons, the famous St. Dominic, who told them that this luxury and pomp would destroy the effect of their discourses, and that they must march barefoot against these sons of pride; they need examples, you will not subdue them by words." The Cistercians dismounted and followed the two Spaniards.

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At this epoch the pope laid his commands on the bishop of Osma and St. Dominic, to become fellow-laborers with the Cistercians. Dominic, the fearful founder of the Inquisition, was a noble Castilian, of singularly eloquent and pious character.\* None were rarer in him than the gift of tears, and in the eloquence which causes them to flow.† While a student at Palencia, a severe famine taking place, he sold all, even to his books, to give to the poor.

The bishop of Osma had just reformed a chapter on the rule of St. Augustine, and Dominic entered it. Having occasion to visit France on various missions, with Dominic in his suite, they had witnessed with despair the religious destitution which prevailed there. There was one castle in Languedoc whose inhabitants had not taken the sacrament for many years.‡ Children died unbaptized. They comprehend the agony with which the religious and reflective of the middle age beheld the souls of these innocents sinking, through their parents' impiety, into the bottomless gulf. They must identify one's self with the feelings and belief of the time.

Aware that the poorer among the people trusted the education of their daughters to heretics, the bishop of Osma founded a monastery near Montreal, in order to withdraw them from this danger. St. Dominic gave them no possessions; and hearing a woman say, "that she quitted the Albigens, she would be more destitute, he sought to sell himself as a slave, that he might have wherewithal to restore his soul, too, to God.¶

All this zeal was useless. No powers of eloquence or of logic could stop the mages of liberty of thought. Besides, his alliance with the hated Cistercians deprived Dominic of all credit. He was even obliged to advise one of them, Pierre de Castelnau, to absent himself for a time from Languedoc.

\* He used to pray with such fervor and intensity, as he utterly renounced all around him. As he was praying one night before the altar, the devil, to disturb him, let fall a enormous stone from the roof, which fell with an extraordinary crash in the church, and grazed in its fall the saint, who, without even seeing it, and the devil flew away. *Act. S. Dominici*, p. 562.

† When proofs of his sanctity were being collected, in order to his canonization, a monk deposed that he had seen him weeping in his cell with tears, which were so down his cheeks so copiously, that one drop would make a river. *Act. S. Dominici*, p. 567. "Truly his tears were of his own, and not of others, weeping frequently and abundantly, as if pouring to his Father in secret tears, without being heard, as a torrent." *Ibid.*, p. 567. "He spoke with tears, and it is said, that he wept his brothers to give the sacrament to the unbaptized, and that there were three hundred and thirty of them, and he wept his brother to the grace of God." *Ibid.*, p. 567, 568.

‡ *Historia de S. Dominico*, edit. Balthasar, p. 546. "Videntes illam quiescentem, per hunc rursus presbiterum, et dicit pauperibus."

¶ *Historia de S. Dominico*, edit. Balthasar, p. 546. "Videntes illam quiescentem, per hunc rursus presbiterum, et dicit pauperibus."

\* *Historia de S. Dominico*, edit. Balthasar, p. 546. "Videntes illam quiescentem, per hunc rursus presbiterum, et dicit pauperibus."

would have fallen a victim to the people. As to him, they abstained from laying hands on his person, but threw dirt at him, spat in his face, and fastened, according to one of his biographers, straws to his back.\* Transported out of his usual mildness, the bishop of Osmâ raised his hands to heaven, and exclaimed, "O Lord, let thy hand fall heavily upon them; chastisement alone can open their eyes."†

The catastrophe of the South might have been foreseen from the moment Innocent III. mounted the chair of St. Peter. The very year that he was elected pope, he wrote to the princes missives breathing blood and destruction;‡ and his wrath was inflamed to the utmost by Raymond VI., count of Toulouse, who succeeded his father in 1194. Reconciled with the ancient enemies of his house,—the kings of Aragon, lords of Lower Provence, and the kings of England, dukes of Guyenne,—the count had no longer any fears, and cast all reserve to the winds. In his Languedocian wars and those in Upper Provence, he constantly employed the routiers, banned by the Church, and pushed his incursions without distinction of lay or church lands, or respect for Sunday or for Lent, expelling the bishops, and surrounding himself with heretics and Jews.

"At first from his cradle, he cherished and even made much of the heretics, and having them in his territories, he honored them in every way. Even to this day, from what I hear, he takes heretics everywhere about with him, in order that if he happen to die, he may breathe his last in their hands. He said one day to the heretics, (I have in good authority) that he wished to have his son brought up at Toulouse among them, in order that he might be reared in their faith, let us rather say in their infidelity. One day, too, he said that he would give a hundred thousand marks of silver, if one of his knights would espouse the belief of the heretics; that he had often exhorted him so to do, and often had the multitude preached to him. Moreover, when the heretics sent him presents or provisions, he received them very graciously, preserved them in his body, and would

suffer no one to partake of them but himself and some of his intimates. Frequently, too, as we know for certain, he worshipped heretics, by kneeling to them, asking their blessing, and giving them the kiss of peace. One day that the count was waiting to give audience to some persons who did not come, he exclaimed, 'It is clear that the devil made this world, since our wishes are ever disappointed.' He also said to the venerable bishop of Toulouse, who himself told it to me, that the Cistercians could not work their salvation since their flocks were given up to luxury. I heard-of heresy."

"The count, moreover, invited the bishop of Toulouse to come to his palace at night to hear the heretics preach; whence it is clear that he often heard them at night.

"One day he chanced to be in church during mass. Now he had with him a buffoon, who, as mountebanks of the kind are wont, made game of people by grinning like a histrion; and when the officiating priest turned to the people and said, *Domine vobis*, the wicked count bade his buffoon take off the priest. He said once that he would rather be a certain heretic of Castres, in the diocese of Alby, whose limbs had been cut off, and who led a life of suffering, than be king or emperor.

"His constant attachment to heretics is clearly proved by the fact that no legate of the Apostolic see could ever induce him to expel them from his territory, although, at the instance of these legates, he took I know not how many oaths of abjuration.

"He manifested such contempt for the sacrament of marriage, that whenever his wife displeased him, he put her away and took another, so that he had four wives, three of whom are still alive. He married, first, the sister of the viscount de Beziers, named Helienne, after her the daughter of the duke of Cyprus, after her the sister of Richard, king of England, and when she, who was his cousin in the third degree, died, he married the King of Aragon's sister, who was his cousin in the fourth degree. I must not omit to mention, that he was frequently in the habit of pressing his first wife to take the veil, and when, impudently, he was refusing, she put the question as to it to him whether she should tent, or not, he said, No; whether at forty and, he still said, No; and then, asking what it was to be said, he answered, that if he would consent to lead the life of a solitary, he would provide for all her wants, and so the matter was arranged.

"He was now a confirmed voluptuary, and so debauched, that he forgot all Christian laws; he abused his own sister. From his childhood, he eagerly sought out his father's enemies, and kept with them, and no woman pleased him so much as one who had lain with his father. And therefore his father, as well on account of his heresy as of this enormous crime, often foretold him that he would

\* *Actes de Innocent III.* See also the *Mandata Armandi ante abbatem*. Ibid. p. 367.

† *Actes de Innocent III.* See also the *Mandata Armandi ante abbatem*. Ibid. p. 367.

‡ *Actes de Innocent III.* See also the *Mandata Armandi ante abbatem*. Ibid. p. 367.

§ *Actes de Innocent III.* See also the *Mandata Armandi ante abbatem*. Ibid. p. 367.



lose his inheritance. The count had, besides, a wonderful liking for the routiers, by whose hands he despoiled churches, destroyed monasteries, and robbed his neighbors of all he could. Such was the way of life of this limb of the devil, this son of perdition, this first-born of Satan, this raging persecutor of the cross and of the Church, this support of heretics, this executioner of Catholics, this apostate covered with crimes, this sink of all sins.

"One day that the count was playing chess with a certain chaplain, he said to him in the course of the game, 'The God of Moses, in whom you believe, cannot help you at this game;' adding, 'may that God never be my aid.' Another time, as the count was about to proceed from Toulouse to Provence, to fight some enemy, rising in the middle of the night he repaired to the house in which the Toulousan heretics were assembled, and said to them, 'My lords and brothers, the fortune of war is uncertain; whatever happen to me, I commit my soul and body to your keeping.' And he took with him in this expedition two heretics, in lay attire, in order that if he fell, he might die in their hands.—One day that this accursed count was sick in Aragon, his malady becoming worse he had a litter made, and was borne in it to Toulouse; and when asked why he had himself carried in such haste, although suffering from serious illness, he replied, wretch that he was, that it was 'because there are no Good Men in this land, in whose hands I can die.' Now, the heretics are called Good Men by their followers. But he showed himself to be a heretic by signs and speech much more plainly still, for he said, 'I know that I shall lose my territory through these Good Men; well, I am ready to lose my land, and my head, too, for them.'"

Whatever might be the truth of these charges, advanced by an irritated enemy, he was triumphant on the Rhine at the head of his army, when he received a terrible letter from Innocent III., predicting his ruin. The pope required him to desist from the war, to join with his enemies in a crusade against his heretical subjects, and to throw open his states to the crusaders. Raymond at first refused, was excommunicated, and submitted; but he sought to elude the execution of his promises. The monk, Pierre de Castelnau, dared to upbraid him to his face with what he called his perfidy, and the prince, unused to such language, let fall words of wrath and vengeance, words, perhaps, like those levelled by Henry II. at Thomas Becket.\* The result was the same. Fervid devotion did not suffer the slightest word of the suzerain to be spoken in vain; and those whom he fed at his table believed that they belonged to him body and soul, not excepting their eternal safety. One of Raymond's knights overtook the monk on the

Rhône, and stabbed him.† The assassin found an asylum in the Pyrenees with the count of Foix, then a friend of the count of Toulouse, and whose mother and sister were heretics.

#### CRUSADE AGAINST THE ALBIGEOIS.

Such was the beginning of this fearful tragedy. (A. D. 1208.) Innocent III. would not be satisfied, like Alexander III., with the excuses and submission of the prince, but had the crusade preached throughout the whole of the north of France by the Cistercians. The late conquest of Constantinople had familiarized men's minds to a holy war against Christians. The proximity, too, was tempting. There was no necessity to cross the sea; and paradise was offered to him who would pillage here below the rich champaigns and wealthy cities of Languedoc. Humanity, also, was appealed to in order to steel men's hearts. The legate's blood called out for, it was said, the blood of the heretics.‡

Vengeance, however, would have been difficult had Raymond VI. been able to avail himself of all his forces, and to contend, without taking precautions in other quarters, against the party of the Church. He was one of the most powerful, and, probably, the richest prince of Christendom. Count of Toulouse, marquis of Upper Provence, master of the Quercy, Rouergue, and the Vivarais, he had purchased Maguelone, and the king of England had ceded him the Agenois, and the king of Aragon the Gevaudan, as the dowries of their sisters. As duke of Narbonne he was suzerain of Nîmes, Beziers, Uzes, and of the countships of Foix and Comminges in the Pyrenees. But the vast power of his was not exercised everywhere by the same title. The viscount de Beziers, supported by his alliance with the count of Foix, refused to depend on Toulouse. Toulouse itself was a sort of republic. In the year 1202, the consuls of this city declare war in Raymond's absence, on the knights of Albigeois, and both parties choose the count their arbiter and mediator;§ and in the time of his father, Raymond V., so startling an outbreak of political independence had accompanied the first symptoms of heresy, that the count himself solicited the kings of France and England to undertake a crusade against the Toulousans and the viscount de Beziers.¶ This crusade took place; but it was in his successor's time, and to his cost.

Nevertheless, the crusade began in Lower Languedoc, Beziers, Carcassonne, &c., where

\* *Ibid.* Inter costas inferius vulneravit. Chron. Lang. d. d. 116. Ung gentilhome, servito d'ordit count Be mon, donet d'ung spot a travers le corps d'ordit Peyr de Castelnau.

† Innoc. l. ii. Epist. 24. ad Philipp. August. Ego, ignis natus Christi ecclesie christianissime princeps! . . . (Tantum ad te per te sanguis noster vocat audire.—Ad Comit. Bar. &c. Ex. Christi milites! eia, struunt milites christiane tirones!)

‡ Hist. Génér. du Languedoc, t. III. p. 125.

§ *Ibid.* p. 47.

¶ Innoc. l. xi. Epist. 29. Mortem est publice comminatus.



abbot of Vaux-Sernay, when, at the imminent hazard of his life, that prelate publicly read to the crusaders the papal bull against this undertaking.\* This action rendered Montfort a marked man, and paved the way for his future greatness. After all, the praise of heroic virtues cannot be denied to this dreaded executor of the decrees of the Church. Raymond VI., whose ruin was Montfort's work, himself acknowledged the fact.† Not to mention his courage, his severe morals, and his invariable trust in God, he displayed a care of the meanest of his followers before unknown to crusaders. His nobles and he having swum their horses over a river swollen by a storm, when it appeared that the infantry and the ailing were unable to cross it, Montfort immediately swam back, followed by four or five horsemen, and remained with the poor fellows, who were in danger of being attacked by the enemy.‡ He is also lauded for his humanity to the useless mouths turned out of besieged places in the course of this horrible war, and for the protection which he extended to his female prisoners, whose honor he ever caused to be respected. His wife, Alice de Montmorency, was not unworthy of him; and when the greater number of the crusaders had abandoned Montfort, she put herself at the head of a new army, and marched it to her husband.§

The army assembled before Béziers was guided by the abbot of Cîteaux, and by the bishop of that city, who had drawn up a list of those whom he had devoted to death. The inhabitants refused to deliver them up, and no sooner did they see the crusaders marking out their camp, than they boldly sallied forth to surprise it. They little knew the military superiority of their enemies. The infantry were enough to repulse them; and before the knights could take any share in the action, they entered the town pell-mell with the besieged, and found themselves masters of it. Their only difficulty was how to distinguish the heretics

from the orthodox: "Slay them all," said the abbot of Cîteaux; "the Lord will know his own."<sup>¶</sup>

"Seeing this, the inhabitants withdrew as many as could, men as well as women, into the great church of St. Nazaire, the priests of which had the bell tolled until the butchery was completed. Neither tolling of bells, nor priest in his sacerdotal vestments, nor clergyman, could prevent the whole of them being put to the sword. Not so much as one could escape. These murders and butcheries were the greatest pity that ever has been seen and heard. The town was given up to pillage, and fire was set to it in every quarter, so that it was all laid waste and in ruins, just as it is seen at the present day, and not a living thing remained in it. It was a cruel vengeance, seeing that the count was not a heretic, nor belonged to the sect. There were present at this scene of destruction the duke of Burgundy, the count of St. Pol, the count Peter of Auvergne, the count of Geneva, called Guille-Comte, and the lord of Anduze, called Pierre Vermont, with Provençals, Germans, and Lombards, and men of every nation who had come, to the number, it is said, of more than three hundred thousand, for the sake of pardon."<sup>‡</sup>

Some state the number who perished at sixty thousand; others say thirty-eight thousand. The executioner himself, the abbot of Cîteaux, in his letter to Innocent III., humbly admits that he was unable to slay more than twenty thousand.<sup>§</sup>

So great was the terror inspired, that all the towns were abandoned without an attempt at defence: the inhabitants fled to the mountains. Carcassonne, into which the viscount had thrown himself, alone held out. In vain did his uncle, the king of Aragon, intercede for him with offers of giving up all the rest: the sole favor which he could obtain was, that the viscount might leave the city in safety with twelve companions. "I would rather be flayed alive," exclaimed the brave young man: "the legate shall not lay hand on the least of my followers, for 'tis I have brought them into danger."<sup>¶</sup> However, so many men, women, and children from the country had taken shelter in the city, that it was impossible to hold out. They fled by means of a passage that went three leagues under ground. The viscount demanded a safe conduct that he might plead his cause before the crusaders, and the legate had him arrested as a traitor. Fifty prisoners are said to have been hung; four hundred burnt.

All this blood would have been shed in vain, had not some one volunteered to prolong the

\* Petr. Vall. Sern. c. 20.

† Chron. Langued.—Guill. Podii Lorr. c. 30. "I have heard the count of Toulouse speak in the highest terms of the constancy, foresight, valor, and all the princely qualities of Raymond, his enemy."

‡ Petr. Vall. Sern. c. 64. "The river was swollen by so sudden and violent a storm, that none could pass it without risking the loss of life. In the evening, the noble count, seeing that almost all the knights and the flower of the army had swum the river and gained the castle, but that the footmen and invalids had been compelled to remain on the other side, called his marshals and said, 'I shall return to the army'—to which the latter replied, 'It will be the entire strength of the army is in the fortress, and only pilgrims are left behind.' Besides the river is so high and rapid that none can cross it, not to speak of the danger there would be of the Toulousians falling on you and cutting you off."—But the count replied, "For be it from me to do as you advise, What! shall Christ's poor be exposed to death and the sword, and I remain in a fort? If upon what I do, I commit myself to God, and will assuredly cross and share their fate!" On the word, quitting the castle, he crossed the river, returned to the footmen, and, together with a few knights, not more than four or five, remained with them several days, until the bridge was repaired for them to pass."

§ Hist. du Langued. l. xix. c. 84, p. 194.

\* Caesar. Heisterbac. l. v. c. 21. . . . Creditum; non enim Dominus qui sunt ejus.

† Chron. Langued. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xix. 122.

‡ Innoc. III. l. xii. Epist. 108.

§ Chron. Langued. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xix. 124.

crusade, and to keep watch in arms over the dead bodies and ashes. But who would accept this rude task, consent to be heir to his own victims, establish himself in their desert houses, and don their bloody vestments? The duke of Burgundy would not: "Methinks," he said, "we have wrought the viscount all enough, without taking his heritage from him." The counts of Nevers and of St. Pol said the same. After waiting to be pressed a little, Simon de Montfort accepted the office; and, opportunely for him, the viscount de Beziers, who was his prisoner, died shortly after.\* Montfort had now only to procure the pope's confirmation of the legate's gift: and he laid on each house an annual tax of three deniers for the benefit of the Church of Rome.†

However, territory so acquired was not easily preserved. The crowd of crusaders melted away. Montfort had been the gainer, and might keep if he could. Of that immense army, there only remained with him four thousand five hundred Burgundians and Germans;‡ and he soon had no more troops than what he was obliged to maintain at a heavy cost. He had then to wait for a new crusade, and to amuse the counts of Toulouse and of Foix, whom he had at first threatened. The latter took advantage of this respite to repair to Philippe-Auguste, and then to Rome, to convince the pope of the purity of his faith. Innocent gave him a gracious reception, and referred him to his legates. They, who had had the hint given them, contrived to gain still further time, and assigned him three months to work out his justification, laying down invulnerable petty and vexatious conditions, which would serve them as handles for repudiation. At the appointed time the unhappy Raymond hastened in the hopes of at length obtaining that absolution which was to secure him rest; but master Theodorus, who is chief in number, declares that all the conditions are not fulfilled. "If," he said, "he has failed in little things, how can he be found faithful in great?" The count could not refrain from tears. "However the waters may overflow," said the priest, with allusive mockery, "they will not reach the Lamb."§

Meanwhile, Montfort's wife had brought him a new army of crusaders. The heretics, no longer able to turn their armies to towns after the destruction of Beziers and Carcassonne, had taken refuge in some of our mountains, where a violent nobility made common cause with them, as like the Picards, in the sixteenth century, they had many notions of the papacy. One of their prime palatine lords was the castle

of Minerve, close to Narbonne;¶ the archbishop and magistrates of which city, in the hope of diverting the crusade from themselves, had enacted stringent laws against the heretics, who, however, hunted out of the ancient territory of the viscount de Beziers, fled in crowds towards Narbonne. Shut up in numbers in the castle of Minerve, they could only subsist by foraging as far as the gates of the city. The Narbonneese summoned Montfort, and aided him. The siege was dreadful. The besieged neither hoped nor wished for pity. When driven to surrender, the legate offered their lives to all who would recant; and one of the crusaders expressing his indignation at this, "Don't distress yourself," said the priest, "your prey will not escape,—not one will accept the offer."‡ In fact, these were *Perfects*, that is, the highest in the heretical hierarchy, and the whole company of men and women, to the number of a hundred and forty, hurried to the funeral pile, and threw themselves into it.§ Montfort, pushing on to the South, laid siege to the strong castle of Termes, another asylum of the Albigensian Church. It was thirty years since any denizen of this castle had drawn nigh the communion table. The machines for battering down the place were constructed by the archbishop of Paris.¶ Incredible efforts were required for its reduction. The besiegers planted crucifixes on the top of the machines, in the hope either of blunting the resistance of the besieged, or of rendering them more guilty still if they persevered in defending themselves at the risk of striking Christ. Among those who were burned when the place was forced, was one who professed a wish to recant. Montfort insisted on his being burned: it is true that the flames refused to touch him, and only consumed his bonds.

It was evident, that after having made himself master of so many strong places in the mountains, Montfort would descend into the plain, and attack Toulouse. In his alarm, the count applied to every one, to the emperor, to the king of England, to the kings of France and of Aragon. The two first, threatened by the Church and by France, could give him no help. Spain was occupied with the advances of the Moors. Philippe-Auguste wrote intercessorily to the pope. So did the king of Aragon, who only aimed to gain over Montfort himself, consenting to accept his homage for the domains of the viscount de Beziers, and to assure him of his good faith, in giving his own son in chains.¶ At the same time, this generous prince, desiring to show that he

\* Hist. de France, t. viii. p. 231. "Fugit enim viscount de Beziers, et cum suis milibus in desertum secessit, ubi mori fecit, et sepeliri fecit, et in desertum secessit, ubi mori fecit, et sepeliri fecit." — Hist. de France, t. viii. p. 231.

† Hist. de France, t. viii. p. 231.

‡ Hist. de France, t. viii. p. 231.

§ Hist. de France, t. viii. p. 231.

¶ Hist. de France, t. viii. p. 231.

¶ Hist. de France, t. viii. p. 231.

\* Hist. de France, t. viii. p. 231.

† Hist. de France, t. viii. p. 231.

‡ Hist. de France, t. viii. p. 231.

§ Hist. de France, t. viii. p. 231.

¶ Hist. de France, t. viii. p. 231.

was willing to share the fortunes of the count of Toulouse, whatever they might be, gave him one of his sisters in marriage, and another to the count's young son, who was afterwards Raymond VII.\* He repaired in person to intercede with the count in the council of Arles. But the priests had no entrails. The two princes were obliged to fly from the town without taking leave of the bishops, who sought to arrest them.† The following are the contemptuous terms to which they would have had Raymond submit:—

"That count Raymond shall lay down his arms without retaining one soldier or auxiliary; that he shall not only submit absolutely and forever to the Church, but repair and refund whatever losses she may have sustained by the war; that in all his territories, no one shall ever eat more than two kinds of flesh; that he shall hunt down and expel all heretics, and their allies and abettors; that within a year and a day he shall deliver up to the legates and to the count de Montfort every person whom they or he shall name or require, to be punished or disposed of as may be thought fit; that his subjects, whether noble or low-born, shall never wear any jewels or fine clothes, or any thing but sorry black cloaks, (*capex*) that all his places of strength shall be demolished, so as not to leave stone upon stone; that no relation or friend of his shall reside in any city, but in the country only, as villeins and peasants; that no new tax shall be levied by him, but that every head of a family in his territories shall pay four deniers of Toulouse to the pope's legate, or to whomsoever he may appoint; that the tithes shall be paid over all his lands; that neither the papal legate, nor the count de Montfort, nor any of his people, great or little, shall pay toll for any thing they may take or want, in travelling through the country under his jurisdiction;—that when Raymond shall have complied with all these demands, he shall associate himself with the knights of St. John, and go into voluntary banishment, as a crusader, to the Holy Land, never to return without the legate's leave; and finally, that when he shall have complied with all the foregoing conditions, his lands and lordships shall not be restored to him until such time as the legate, or the count de Montfort, shall please."‡

Such a peace was war. Montfort still declined to attack Toulouse; but his minion, Folquet, formerly a troubadour, and now bishop of Toulouse, as wildly fanatic and revengeful as he had once been dissolute, exerted himself to the utmost in this city to promote the crusade. He organized the Catholic party there under the name of the White Company;§ which said company took up arms in the count's despite to assist Montfort, then besieging the castle of

Lavaur.\* It was the refusal of assistance on this occasion, on the part of the city, which the latter made his pretext for advancing on Toulouse, when he wished to take advantage of an army of crusaders that had just arrived from the Low Countries and Germany, with the duke of Austria and other powerful lords. The priests abandoned Toulouse in solemn procession, singing litanies, and devoting to death the people whom they deserted; and the bishop expressly petitioned the same fate for his flock as had befallen Béziers and Carcassonne.

It was now clear that ambition and vengeance had much more to do with all this than religion. This same year the monks of Claremont seized on the bishoprics of Languedoc, and their abbot took the archbishopric of Narbonne and the title of duke as well, in Raymond's life-time, without shame or modesty.† Shortly after, Montfort, at a loss where to find heretics for a new army to kill that then arrived, led into the Agénois, to carry on the crusade in an orthodox country.‡

On this, all the lords of the Pyrenees declared openly for Raymond. The counts of Foix, of Bearne, and of Comminges, joined him in forcing Simon to raise the siege of Toulouse; and de Montfort was on the eve of sustaining a decisive defeat at the hands of the first-mentioned of these counts, at Castelnau-dary, when the skill and courage of his veteran troops recovered the day. These petty princes were encouraged by the interest which the greater sovereigns took more or less openly in Raymond. Savary de Mauléon, seneschal to the king of England, was at Castelnau-dary with the troops of Aragon and of Foix; but unhappily his master durst not exercise a direct interference, and the king of Aragon was constrained to join all his forces to those of the other Spanish princes, in order to repulse the formidable invasion of the Almohades, who were three or four hundred thousand in number. All the world knows how gloriously the Spaniards forced at las Navas de Tolosa the chains behind which the Mussulmans sought to entrench themselves; a victory which consti-

\* "At the taking of Lavaur," says the monk of Vau-Sernay, "Amery, lord of Montfort, and other knights, to the number of eighty, were dragged out of the castle, and by the noble count's order, were immediately hung on gibbets, but as soon as Amery, who was the tallest of them, had been hung up, the gibbets fell, not having been securely fixed in the ground. The count, seeing that this would occasion great delay, ordered the throats of all the rest to be cut; and the order being extremely acceptable to the pilgrims, crusaders, the latter soon massacred them on the spot. The body of the castle, who was a heretic's wife, and an accused heretic, the count ordered to be thrown into a well, which was then filled up with stones. After this, our pilgrims collected the innumerable heretics who had filled the castle, and burnt them alive with extreme joy." *Fort. Vell. Sarn. c. 52.*

† *Hist. du Langued. l. xviii. c. 16. p. 222.*

‡ However, they found seven Vaudois in the castle of Mauléon, whom they burnt, says Pierre de Vau-Sernay, "with unspeakable joy." At Lavaur, as we have just seen, they had burnt innumerable heretics "with extreme joy."

§ *Chron. Langued. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xix. 144.*—*Fort. Vell. Sarn. c. 57. 79.* John formally resisted their laying siege to Marmande, and threatened to attack the crusaders.

\* *Guill. de Pod. Lour. c. 12.*

† *Hist. du Lang. l. xxi. c. 98.*

‡ *Chron. Langued. ap. Scr. R. Fr. xix. 136.*  
Praised by Dante.

new era for Spain, and freed it hence-  
d from the obligation of defending Eu-  
gainst Africa, the strife of races and  
ns was at an end. (July 16, 1212.)

his moment the reclamations of the king  
gon in favor of his brother-in-law seemed  
y some weight. The pope hesitated for  
ant. The king of France made no se-  
the interest he took in Raymond. But  
se having been confirmed in his first no-  
y those who profited by the crusade, the  
Aragon felt that he must have recourse  
e, and sent a defiance to Simon. The  
ever as humble and prudent as he was  
injured of the monarch whether it were  
at he had defied him, and in what he,  
thful vassal of the crown of Aragon, had  
unfortunate as to near his suzerain's  
sure. At the same time he held him-  
dly. The bulk of the people sided with  
versaries, and his followers were few;  
en they were either knights, eased in  
nd almost invulnerable, or mercenaries  
ourage, and who had grown old in this  
ar, while Don Pedro had only the militia  
towns, numerous, it is true, and a few  
of light cavalry accustomed to the de-  
warfare of the Moors. The moral dif-  
between the two armies was greater:  
Montfort's men had faith in their cause,  
dressed, taken the sacrament, and kissed  
shies. All historians, and even his son,  
nt Don Pedro, as being biased with fir-  
it thoughts.

prist came to warn the count:—Your  
re are few compared with those of your  
its, among whom is the king of Aragon,  
experienced warrior, followed by his  
and by a large army, you are unable  
with the king, backed by such a host."  
this," said the count, producing a letter,  
hich the priest had read to the Aragonese,  
sh had said to the wife of a noble of the  
ort. He began with the assurance that if  
r her love, he had come to fight by the  
root of the land, with other knights  
g to defend the people, and not to fight  
er from this. "What do I hear?" re-  
lantly the count said, "I have heard  
fear of a king who seeks to cross the sea  
for wounds here!"

applies to Muret, where the king of France  
sided with Raymond, and the king of Aragon  
sided with Montfort. The battle was fought  
on July 16, 1212. The king of France was  
killed, and the king of Aragon was wounded.  
The battle was a decisive victory for Montfort  
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Whether these things be true or not, as soon  
as Montfort came in presence of his enemies at  
Muret, near Toulouse, he feigned to decline  
battle, and drew off; when suddenly wheeling  
upon them with the whole of his heavy caval-  
ry, he rode them down, and slew, it is said,  
more than fifteen thousand; his own loss being  
confined to eight men and one knight.\* It had  
been agreed by several of Montfort's followers  
that they would seek out and attack the king  
of Aragon alone; one of them at first mistook  
for him one of his friends, who, by his orders,  
wore his arms, but soon exclaimed, "The king  
is a better knight than this;" on which Don  
Pedro pricked towards him, crying out, "I am  
the king," and fell as he spoke, pierced by  
many hands.

The memory of this prince was long and  
dearly cherished; a brilliant troubadour, a  
faithless husband, but who could have had the  
heart to remember that† When Montfort saw  
him stretched on the ground, and easily dis-  
tinguished him from the rest by his lofty statu-  
re, the fierce general of the Holy Ghost could  
not but let fall a tear.‡

The Church seemed victorious in the South  
of France, as in the Greek empire. There  
remained its Northern enemies—the heretics  
of Flanders, the excommunicated John, and  
the anti-Cesar, Otto.

For five years (1208-1213) England had  
entertained no relations with the holy see.  
The separation was, apparently, as complete  
as it was in the sixteenth century. Innocent  
had pushed John to extremity, and had raised  
against him a new Thomas Becket. In the  
year 1208, precisely at the period that the pon-  
tiff began the crusade in the South of France,  
he commenced one under a less warlike form  
against the king of England, by elevating an  
enemy of his to the primacy. Independently  
of his position as head of the Anglican Church,  
the archbishop of Canterbury was, as we have  
seen, a political personage also. Not much  
more than the royal clerk and lieutenant, was  
the head of Kent,§ of those southern counties  
of England which constituted the most refrac-  
tory portion of the kingdom, and the most im-  
bued with the old British and Saxon spirit.  
The primacy of England flows to us as the  
representative of the national liberties, analogous  
to the Justiz von Aragon. It was of the first  
importance to the monarch to have the other  
feudal lords, who would be ready to support  
he always nominal, but it was not his pro-  
tection, though the Northern counties. But the  
banks of St. Augustine at Canterbury over

looked the king with a view to the recovery of  
the kingdom, which he had lost to the king of  
France. The king of France was killed, and the  
king of Aragon was wounded.

\* *Proc. V. de St. Louis*, c. 12. *Proc. V. de St. Louis*, c. 12. *Proc. V. de St. Louis*, c. 12.

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protested against such election in favor of the imprescriptible right of their house, the primitive metropolis of English Christianity. The voice of these poor Kentish monks was the only one that revived the memory of the ancient protest of the people, and bore witness to an ancient right of the conquered.

Innocent took advantage of this disputed point. He declared in favor of the monks; and when the latter could not agree among themselves, he annulled the first elections, and without waiting for the king's authority, which he had sent for, he caused the delegates of the monks to elect at Rome, under his immediate superintendence, one of John's personal enemies, a learned ecclesiastic, like Becket of Saxon origin, as is proved by his name of Langton. He was first professor, then chancellor of the university of Paris. We have of his some gallant verses addressed to the Virgin Mary. John no sooner learned that the archbishop was consecrated, than he banished the monks of Canterbury, laid hand on their possessions, and swore that if the pope should lay the kingdom under interdict, he would confiscate the goods of all the clergy, and cut off the nose and ears of every Romish priest he should find in England. The interdict came, and excommunication as well. But no one durst acquaint the king with either—*Effecti sunt quasi canes muti, non audentes latrare*, (they were as dumb dogs, afraid to bark.) The terrible news was whispered from one to the other; but none dared promulgate it or conform to it. Archdeacon Geoffrey having resigned the exchequer, John had him crushed to death with a leaden cowl; and fearful of being deserted by his barons, he had required hostages of them. They durst not refuse to take the communion with him. He boldly took upon himself the part of the adversary of the Church, and rewarded a priest who had preached to the people that the king was God's scourge, and was to be endured as the instrument of the divine wrath. This hardness of heart and show of security on John's part awoke terror; he seemed to delight in the struggle. He devoured at his ease the goods of the Church, violated maidens of high birth, bought soldiers, and mocked at every thing. Money he took at will from priests, towns, and Jews; the latter he imprisoned when they refused advances, and had their teeth extracted one by one.\* Five years did he laugh at God's wrath. His oath was, "By God's teeth." *Per dentes Dei*.† . . . It was the last outbreak of that Satanic spirit which we have remarked in the English monarchs, and which was exemplified in the furious rages of William Rufus and of Cour-

de-Lion, in Becket's murder, and in the suicidal wars of the family—"Evil, be thou my good."<sup>‡</sup>

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\* Paradise Lost, B. iv. v. 110.—It is to be regretted that Shakespeare did not venture on giving a second part of King John.

† The king of England was the personal enemy of the Montforts: Simon's grandfather, the earl of Leicester, had dared to lay hands on Henry II. Simon's brother, by the mother's side, one of the most valiant knights engaged in the battle of Muret, was that Guillaume des Barres, who wrestled, in Sicily, in presence of the French and English armies, with Richard Cœur-de-Lion, and in whose bodily strength the latter had the mortification of finding his equal.—Simon de Montfort's second son will, as we have said, carry on, in the name of the English common, the family struggle against John's sons. John dared not send troops to the support of his brother-in-law, Raymond, but he displayed the greatest indignation against each of his barons who joined Montfort, and, when he arrived in Guyenne, they quitted the army of the crusaders to a man. It was some of John's own court who defended Castellan-dary and Marmande against Montfort.

‡ Mith. Paris, p. 232.

§ Rymer, t. i. p. i. p. 111. Johannes Dei gratia rex Anglie . . . libere concedimus Hen et Ric. Agnatis, etc. ac domino nostro pape Innocentio ejusque Catholicis successoribus totum regnum Anglie, et totum regnum Hibernie, etc. . . . illis tanquam feudatariis recipiantes. . . . Ecclesia Romana mille marcas sterlingorum precipit annuatim, etc.

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\* Chron. de Melrose, ap. Scr. R. Fr. xiv. 249.—Mith. Paris, p. 160. Ju sit rex torquendus suis, ut debuit singulis, unum ex modis eorum exenterat dentibus. . . . The poor Jew thus lost one of his double teeth daily, but on the eighth day gave in, and delivered up his money.

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him his letters, whereat count Raymond was exceeding joyful and glad of heart. They then left Viterbo and went straight to Genoa, where they waited for count Raymond's son.

"Now history says that after all this, and when count Raymond's son had remained at Rome the space of forty days, he had a private interview with the holy father, with his barons and the lords who were of his company. When he had arrived, after the child had saluted the holy father, as he well knew how to do, for the child was wise and well-mannered, he sought the holy father's permission to return, since he could have no other answer; and when the holy father had heard and listened to all that the child wished to say and show him, the holy father took him by the hand, and made him sit by his side, and addressed himself to speak to him, saying—'Son, listen, that I may speak to thee, and if thou doest that which I am about to say to thee, thou wilt never fail in any thing.

"In the first place, love and serve God, and take not what belongs to another; as for thine own, if any one seek to deprive thee of it, defend it, and by so doing thou wilt have many lands and lordships; and in order that thou mayest not remain without lands or lordships, I give thee the countship of Venaissin, with all its appurtenances, Provence, and Beaucaire, to serve for thy maintenance until the Holy Church shall have assembled its council. Then thou mayest return on this side of the mountains to have satisfaction and justice in what thou seekest against the count de Montfort.'

"The child then thanked the holy father for what he had given him, and said to him, 'Lord, if I can recover my lands from the count de Montfort and those who retain them, I pray thee, lord, not to impute it to me as a fault, and not to be angered with me.' The holy father answered him, 'Whatever thou mayest do, God grant thee to begin well, and finish better.'

These wishes of a weak old man were not to be realized. It was neither the Raymonds nor the Montforts who reaped the patrimony of the count of Toulouse. The lawful heirs recovered it; but only quickly to yield it. The usurper, notwithstanding all his courage and prodigious strength of mind, was already conquered in heart, when a stone, launched from the walls of Toulouse, delivered him from this "mortal coil," (A. D. 1218.)\* His son, Amaury de Montfort, resigned his rights over

Languedoc in favor of the French king; and the whole of the South, some free cities, threw itself into the arms of Philippe-Auguste.† In 1222, the legate himself and the bishops of the South besought him on bended knee to allow Montfort to do him homage. In truth, the conquerors were at a loss what to do with their conquest, and doubted that they could retain it. The four hundred and thirty fiefs which Simon de Montfort had given, to be held according to the custom of France, might be torn from their new possessors; they secured themselves a powerful protector, and the conquered, who had seen the king of France on several occasions opposed to the pope, hoped from him a little more equitable and gentler treatment.

Casting our eyes at this period over Europe, we shall descry in all its states a weakness and an inconsistency of principle and of position, which could not fail of turning to the profit of the king of France.

Before the frightful war which brought on the catastrophe of the South, Don Pedro and Raymond V. had been the enemies of the municipal liberties of Toulouse and of Aragon. The king of the latter country had wished to be crowned by the hands of the pope, and to do him homage, in order to be more independent of his subjects. The count of Toulouse, Raymond V., had himself solicited the king of France and England to make a crusade

\* Raymond VII. writes to Philip-Augustus, (July, 1218).—"I apply to you, my lord, as to my chief and only patron . . . humbly praying and beseeching you to deign to take pity on me." *Preuves de l'Histoire du Languedoc*, t. II. p. 275.

† (December, 1222) "That . . . Amaury thought fit to deign of your condescendence to accept for yourself and your heirs forever, the land which he or his father held, or might hold, in or near the territory of Albigensium, as a fief thereof, desiring that the Church and that land might be governed under the shadow of your name, and praying for the bottom of our hearts, as much as royal power brings to your illustrious majesty, by grace of the King of kings, and for the honor of holy mother Church and your benediction, that you would receive the offering of the aforesaid land and the said count's resignation; and you will find us and the other prelates prepared to exert ourselves to the utmost in this matter on your behalf, and to expend the means which the Church has, or may have, here." *Preuves de l'Hist. du Languedoc*, t. III. p. 276.—(1222).—"When we had been long left in solitary wise in Béziers, expecting death every moment, and desiring death since we lived in torture, the enemies alike of the faith and of peace, being their swords over our heads, lo! O dreaded king, thou arrived on the 1st of May a messenger . . . When brought us a welcome message, a message of comfort, to the relief of all our misery, namely, that it pleased the magnificence of your mightiness, (quod videlicet placet celsitudinis vestre magnificentie.) in council of the prelates and barons of your kingdom assembled at Melun, to take into consideration the remedy and succor of a land, which would be turned into a desert and a word of everlasting reproach, had not the Lord quickly succored us by the ministry of your most right hand, for which we—agitated with excess of war, and worn out with extreme grief—at length breathing, again thanks in the first place to the Most High, in whose hand are the hearts of kings, knowing that it was by his inspiration that you, &c. . . . Therefore with bended knees, O most divided king, with torrents of tears, and tears with sob, we implore your royal majesty to obey the call of God . . . since your kingdom is threatened with the extension of the Church Universal, except you devise remedies and succor." &c. . . . *Ibid.* p. 278.

‡ See above, p. 163.

\* *Gaill. de Pol. Laur.* c. 30. "The count was worn out with fatigue and sick of life, ruined and exhausted by the charges to which he was put; and the incessant upbraidings of the legate to rouse him from what he termed his negligence and inactivity, were too much for him; and so he prayed the Lord to end his troubles in the rest of death. On the evening before St. John the Baptist's day, a stone, launched from a muscorgel, struck him on the head, and he expired on the spot."



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These wishes of a weak old man were not to be realized. It was neither the Raymonds nor the Montforts who reaped the patrimony of the count of Toulouse. The lawful heirs recovered it; but only quickly to yield it. The usurper, notwithstanding all his courage and prodigious strength of mind, was already conquered in heart, when a stone, launched from the walls of Toulouse, delivered him from this "mortal coil," (A. D. 1218.)\* His son, Amaury de Montfort, resigned his rights over

Languedoc in favor of the French king; and the whole of the South, some free cities apart, threw itself into the arms of Philippe-Auguste.\* In 1222, the legate himself and the bishops of the South besought him on bended knee to allow Montfort to do him homage.† In truth, the conquerors were at a loss what to do with their conquest, and doubted that they could retain it. The four hundred and thirty fiefs which Simon de Montfort had given, to be held according to the custom of Paris, might be torn from their new possessors except they secured themselves a powerful protector: and the conquered, who had seen the king of France on several occasions opposed to the pope, hoped from him a little more equity and gentler treatment.

Casting our eyes at this period over Europe, we shall descry in all its states a weakness, and an inconsistency of principle and of position, which could not fail of turning to the profit of the king of France.

Before the frightful war which brought on the catastrophe of the South, Don Pedro and Raymond V. had been the enemies of the municipal liberties of Toulouse and of Aragon. The king of the latter country had wished to be crowned by the hands of the pope, and to do him homage, in order to be more independent of his subjects. The count of Toulouse, Raymond V., had himself solicited the kings of France and England to make a crusade

\* Raymond VII. writes to Philip-Augustus, (July, 1222.)—"I apply to you, my lord, as to my chief and only protector . . . humbly praying and beseeching you to deign to take pity on me." *Preuves de l'Histoire du Languedoc*, t. ii. p. 275.

† (December, 1222) "That . . . Amaury brought you to deign of your condescendence to accept for yourself and your heirs forever, the land which he, or his father held, or might hold, in or near the territory of Albigensium, we rejoice thereto, desiring that the Church and that land may be governed under the shadow of your name, and praying from the bottom of our hearts, inasmuch as royal power belongs to your illustrious majesty, by grace of the King of kings, and for the honor of holy mother Church and your kingdom, that you would receive the offering of the aforesaid land and the said count's resignation; and you will find us and the other prelates prepared to exert ourselves to the utmost in this matter on your behalf, and to expend the means which the Church has, or may have, here." *Preuves de l'Hist. du Languedoc*, t. iii. p. 276.—(1222.) "When we had been long left in solitary wise in Beziers, expecting death every moment, and desiring death since we lived a torture, the enemies alike of the faith and of peace baring their swords over our heads, lo! O dreaded king, there arrived on the 1st of May a messenger . . . who brought us a welcome message, a message of comfort, to the relief of all our misery, namely, that it pleased the magnificence of your mightiness, (quod videlicet placet celsitudinali vestre magnificentie,) in council of the prelates and barons of your kingdom assembled at Melun, to take into consideration the remedy and succor of a land, which would be turned into a desert and a word of everlasting reproach, had not the Lord quickly succored us by the ministry of your royal right hand, for which we—squalid with excess of we, and worn out with extreme grief—at length breathing, render thanks in the first place to the Most High, in whose hand are the hearts of kings, knowing that it was by his inspiration that you, &c. . . . Therefore with bended knees, O most dreaded king, with torrents of tears, and torn with sobbs, we implore your royal majesty to obey the call of God . . . since your kingdom is threatened with the subversion of the Church Universal, except you devise succor, and succor," &c. . . . *Ibid.* p. 276.

‡ See above, p. 262.

\* Guill. de Pod. Laur. c. 30. "The count was worn out with fatigue and sick of his ruin and exhausted by the charges to which he was put; and the incessant upbraidings of the legate to rouse him from what he termed his negligence and inactivity, were too much for him; and so he prayed the Lord to end his troubles in the rest of death. On the evening before St. John the Baptist's day, a stone, launched from a mangonel, struck him on the head, and he expired on the spot."

against the civil and religious liberties of the city of Toulouse. A representative of the feudal, he longed to crush the municipal principle, which curbed his power. The English king was continuing against Canterbury and against his barons the struggle commenced by Henry II. Finally, the emperor Otto of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion, sprung from a Guelphic family, the bitter enemy of the emperors, but English by his mother's side, and brought up at the English court with his uncles, Richard and John, thinking more of his mother than of his father, went over to the Ghibelines, just as the Ghibeline house of the princes of Suabia was restored by the popes, and Innocent III., the guardian of the young Frederick II. Thus Otto, equally deserted by Guelphs and Ghibelines, found himself confined to his domains of Brunswick, and took away with him his uncle John against the Church and Philippe-Auguste, who defeated him at Bouvines. Such was the anomalous condition of Europe. The princes were against municipal, and for religious liberties. The emperor was Guelph; the pope, Ghibeline. The pope, while attacking kings on religious grounds, supported them against the people on political considerations. He crowned the king of Aragon, anointed *Matthieu Chretien*, and named the archbishop of Canterbury, just as Alexander III. had abandoned Becket. Thus the pope renounced his ancient part of defender of political and religious liberties; while the French monarch, on the contrary, was granting numerous communal charters, took a share in the crusade of the South, but only so far as to be a voucher for his faith, and alone in Europe held a strong and simple position: his alone was the future.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### FIRST HALF OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. MYSTICISM. LOUIS IX. SANCTITY OF THE KING OF FRANCE.

THE vast struggle which has been described in the preceding chapters, has been, in reality, to the pope's advantage. He has been the very winner. Over the emperor, over the king, over the heretical Albigenses, and the sects of the *Brooks*. England and Naples are becoming twoiefs of the holy see, and the tragic death of the king of Aragon has not a better result to all kings. Yet have the princes, who seemed so little to strengthen the papal power, that we shall see him, in the midst of the thirteenth century, abandon the greater part of Europe, contenting at Lyons the protection of the French, and, at the commencement of the following century,

outraged, beaten, buffeted by his good friend the king of France, and, at last, compelled to place himself in his hands at Avignon. 'Tis to the profit of France that conquered and conquerors, the Church's enemies and the Church herself will have succumbed.

How explain this rapid decay from Innocent the Third's day to that of Boniface the Seventh—such a fall after such a victory? In the first place, the sword is powerless against thought; rather, it is the nature of this vivacious plant to germ, grow, and flourish under its iron blade. How much the more, then, if the glaive is raised by the hand to which it ought to be most a stranger, by a pacific and priestly hand! if the lamb bites and tears, if the father murders! . . . the Church, forfeiting in this manner her character for sanctity, it will presently devolve on a layman, on a king, on the king of France. And thus, unwittingly, the pious Louis IX. inflicts a fearful blow on the Church.

The very remedies applied have turned into so many evils. The pope has only overcome independent mysticism, by himself opening large schools of mysticism. I speak of the mendicant orders. This was combating mischief by mischief; undertaking the most difficult and contradictory of all things; to reduce aspiration to rule, to fix the limits of illumination, and to give form to delirium! Liberty is not to be sported with in this fashion, but is a two-edged blade, which wounds him who fingers it, he grasps it, and seeks to use it as his instrument.

The orders of St. Dominic and of St. Francis, on which the pope endeavored to support the tottering Church, had a common mission—to preach. The first monastic period, the age of monkish industry, in which the Benedictines had elevated at one and the same time the land and the mind of the barbarians, had passed away. The age of the promoters of the crusade, of the monks of Cîteaux and of Clairvaux, had ended with the crusade. The Church required a moral crusade, one on which she should no longer summon men to the Jerusalem of India, but to the Jerusalem of charity, unity, simplicity, and obedience. The integrity of Christianity was, probably the unity of the Church. In the twelfth and thirteenth century, it had been saved by the monks; the day was over for the priest. But at the time of the crusades, the monks were working in the field, and the monks of the thirteenth century had quitted the field for a monastery, and, as monks, had ceased their teachers' duty. The monks of the thirteenth century were the monks of the court of St. Dominic.\* The world was no longer the same, the world was not that of the twelfth century. The monks drew at the crusades, with the simplicity has even sickened his thirst, who a patient and fa-

\* They were called the *Preter Preterites*. TRANSLATION.

tigued—that of grace;\* and there jettied† from this spring two orders, those of St. Dominic‡ and St. Francis. The spring being re-opened, there was abundance for every one; all came, and laymen were made free of it. The third order (*Tiers-Ordre*) of St. Dominic and of St. Francis received a multitude of men who could not quit the world, and who sought to reconcile its duties with monastic perfection. St. Louis and his mother belonged to the third order of St. Francis.

Thus far the influence of the two orders was common to either; yet, with this resemblance, each bore the imprint of a different character. The order of St. Dominic, founded by an austere spirit, by a Spanish gentleman, and born under the sanguinary inspiration of Citeaux in the midst of the Languedocian crusade, early stopped short in the career of mysticism, and displayed neither the fiery enthusiasm nor the discursive flights of the sister order. It was the chief auxiliary of the popes, until the establishment of the Jesuits. The office of the Dominicans was to regulate and to repress. Thiers was the Inquisition; and to them was confided the teaching of philosophy even within the pontifical palace. While the Franciscans hurried over the world in the wildness of inspiration, alternately sinking and rising from obedience to liberty, and from heresy to orthodoxy, firing the world and agitating it with the transports of mystical love, the sombre genius of St. Dominic buried itself within the sacred palace of the Lateran, and the granitic vaults of the Escurial.§

The order of St. Francis was less trammelled, and hurried headlong into love, the love of God, exclaiming, as did Luther at a later period—Perish the law, flourish grace! The founder of this wandering order was a huckster or pedler of Assise; and he got his name of Francis, (*Francois*.) Italian as he was, from his mostly speaking French, (*Francien*.) "He was," says his biographer, "in his younger days, a vain person, a buffoon, a joker, and a singer, lavish, fickle, and bold. . . . He had a round head, small forehead, black eyes with no malevolence in them, straight eyebrows, straight and thin nose, small pricked-up ears, sharp and ardent tongue, earnest and mild voice, white, equal, and compact teeth, thin lips, little beard, meager neck, short arms, long fingers and nails, a poor leg, a small foot, and little or no flesh."|| He was five and twenty when converted by a dream. On rising, he

takes horse, sells his stuffs at Foligno, brings back the money to an old priest, and on his refusing it, throws it out of the window. He seeks, at all events, to remain with the priest, but is pursued by his father, escapes, lives a month in a hole, is discovered by his father, laden with blows, and followed by the mob with volleys of stones. His friends compel him to make a formal renunciation of all his worldly goods before the bishop. His joy was at no height; he gives his father all his clothes, not even reserving a pair of drawers: the bishop throws his cloak over him.\*

He is now launched into the world, and runs through the woods, singing his Creator's praises. Stopped by robbers, who ask him who he is, he replies, "I am the herald who proclaim the Great King." They thrust him into a gully full of snow—a new joy for the saint, who drags himself out of it, and goes on his way rejoicing. The birds sing with him: he preaches to them, and they listen: "Birds, my brothers," were his words, "do you not love your Creator, who gives you wings and feathers, and all you want?" Then, satisfied with their docility, he gives them his blessing, and allows them to fly away.† In like manner he exhorted all living things to praise and thank God. He loved them, sympathized with them; he saved, when he could, the hare pursued by the hunters, and sold his cloak to redeem a lamb from the shambles. In his boundless charity he embraced inanimate nature herself. Corn-fields, vines, woods, stones, he fraternized with them all, and summoned them all to the divine love.‡

In time, a poor idiot of Assise attached himself to him; then a rich tradesman left all to follow him. These first Franciscans, and those who joined them, fell at first into diabolical extravagancies, akin to those of the fakirs of India, suspending themselves by cords, and loading themselves with iron chains and wooden shackles.§ Then, when they had somewhat satisfied this longing for pain, St. Francis long revolved within himself whether prayer or preaching were the preferable of the two, and might have been still engaged in meditating on the point, had he not bethought himself of consulting St. Clara and brother Sylvester. They decided for preaching.|| From this moment he hesitated no longer, but girded his loins with a cord and set out for Rome. "Such

\* Ibid. Th. Cellan. pp. 667, 668. Nec formalis vestitus, totus coram omnibus denudatur. Episcopus . . . pallio quo indutus erat, contextit eum.

† Ibid. p. 669. "Frates mei, aves, multum debetis laudare Creatorem," etc. . . . One day that the swallows hindered him from praying by their chirping, he begged them to cease. "Sorores meae, hirundines," etc. They obeyed at once.

‡ Ibid. p. 705. "Herbes, vineas, lapides, et silvas, et omnia speciosa camporum. . . ." "He admonished both land and fire, the air and the wind to Divine love," &c. . . . "He called all created things *brothers*, as my brother, when my sister, fly," &c.

§ Ibid. p. 695. Aliquis suspensus funibus. . . .

|| Vita S. Franc. & S. Bonaventurae, p. 774.

\* The Universities had just deserted St. Augustin for Aristotle. Bunsen, i. 249—the Mendicants went back to St. Augustin.

† *I. in juit. deux ordres*. See the translator's note at p. 1-1-2.

‡ Dominic was established in the privileges of a "Founder" by the bull of Honorius III.; who created for him the office of Master of the Sacred Palace.

§ Built by Philip II.

|| Acta SS. Ombros, t. II. Vita S. Francis & Thoma Cellano, p. 695, 706. Thomas was a disciple of St. Francis, and twice wrote his life by order of Gregory IX.





woman assumed on earth a position proportioned to the new importance which she had acquired in the celestial hierarchy. In the thirteenth we find her seated, at least as mother and regent, on many of the western thrones. Blanche of Castile governs in the name of her infant son, as does the countess of Champagne for the young Thibaut, and the countess of Flanders for her captive husband. Isabella of Marchie also exercises the greatest influence over her son, Henry III., king of England. Jane of Flanders did not content herself with the power, but desired manly honors and ensigns, and claimed at the consecration of St. Louis the right of her husband to bear the naked sword, the sword of France.\*

Before proceeding to explain how a woman governed France, and broke down feudal powers in the name of a child, we must remind the reader how every circumstance of the period favored the increase of monarchical strength. Royalty had only to float on, borne by the current. It sustained no check from the death of Philippe-Auguste, (A. D. 1223.) His son, the weak and sickly Louis VIII., named ironically, it would seem, Louis the Lion, did not the less play a conqueror's part. He failed in England, it is true, but he took Poitou from the English. In Flanders, he maintained the countess Jane on the throne, doing her the kindness to keep her husband prisoner in the tower of the Louvre. She was the daughter of Baldwin, the first emperor of Constantinople, who was supposed to have been slain by the Bulgarians. One day, he suddenly presents himself in Flanders. His daughter refuses to recognise him, but he is welcomed by the people, and she is compelled to fly to Louis VIII., who brings her back with an army. The old man was unable to answer certain questions; twenty years' hard captivity might well have impaired his memory. He passed for an impostor, and the countess put him to death. She was looked upon by all her people as a parrieide.

In this manner Flanders was subjected to French influence, and Languedoc soon followed. Louis VIII. was summoned thither by the Church to act against the Albigeois, who start-

ed up again under Raymond VII.\* On the other part, a vast number of the Southerners were anxious to have this war of tigers, which had been so long going on among them, put an end to by the intervention of France. Louis had proved his humanity and knightly loyalty at the siege of Marmande, where he vainly endeavored to save the besieged. Five and twenty lords and seventeen archbishops and bishops gave it as their advice to the king that he should take upon himself the extirpation of the Albigeois;† and, indeed, he put himself in motion at the head of all Northern France, the men-at-arms alone amounting to fifty thousand. The alarm in the South was great. Numerous barons and cities sent to meet Louis, and to do him homage. Nevertheless, the republics of Provence, Avignon, Arles, Marseilles, and Nice, hoped that the torrent would pass on one side. Avignon offered a free passage outside its walls; but, at the same time, entered into a secret understanding with the count of Toulouse to destroy all the forage on the approach of the French cavalry, for Avignon entertained the closest relations with Raymond, and had remained twelve years under excommunication for his sake. Indeed, the podestas of Avignon took the title of bailiffs or lieutenants of the count of Toulouse. Louis VIII. insisted on passing through the city itself, and on its refusal, laid siege to it. Frederick II.'s remonstrances on behalf of this imperial city were unheeded, and she was forced to ransom herself, give hostages, and throw down her walls. The besiegers put to death all the French and Flemings whom they found there. Great part of Languedoc was struck with dismay; Nîmes, Albi, and Carcassonne surrendered; and Louis VIII. settled seneschals in the latter town and in Beaucaire. It seemed as if he were to effect in this campaign the complete reduction of the South. But the siege of Avignon had been a fatal delay; a destructive epidemic broke out in the camp from excessive heats; and Louis had himself fallen sick when the duke of Brittany and the counts of Lausignan, Marche, Angoulême, and Champagne entered into an agreement to withdraw. They all repented of having forwarded the king's success; and the count of Champagne, the queen's lover, (such at least is the tradition) was accused of having poisoned Louis, who died shortly after his departure. (A. D. 1226.)

According to the feudal laws, the regency and guardianship of the young Louis IX. should have belonged to his uncle Philippe-le-Hurepel, (the Gross,) count of Boulogne. The pope's legate and the count of Champagne, who were said to be equally favored by the queen-mother, Blanche of Castile, secured the regency to her. A woman commanding millions of men

\* She made herself a chaplet of fair, flourishing roses. God has drawn you there, you who love not.

He applies each verse in a mystic sense to the Virgin, and then exclaims with enthusiasm—

"C'est-est la belle Aliz,  
C'est-est la fleur,  
C'est-est le li."—

(This is the fair Aliz, this is the flower, this is the lily.)  
Rupelort, Poésie du XII. et du XIII. siècle.

The French on St. Bonaventura, is said to have composed the Greater and lesser Psalter of the Blessed Virgin Mary. "The first is a kind of serious parody, in which each verse is applied to the Virgin. Psalm . . . 'for in fairness thou exceedest all women.'"

\* By a singular coincidence, a woman, in the year 1250, succeeded, for the first time, a suitor, (Châtier Edouard succeeding Almonday.) Before this, a woman's name had never been seen on the coin, or mentioned in the public prayers. The edict of Bédouin protested against the scandal of this innovation. Michaud, Hist. des Croisades, t. iv. p. 357.

\* See the letter of the bishops of the South to Louis VIII. Preuves de l'Hist. du Lang. p. 2-9; and the letters of Honorius III., ap. Ser. R. Fr. xix. 699-702.

† Hist. du Lang. l. xlii. p. 350, and Preuves, pp. 298, 300.

vast innovation; and was a brilliant  
nment of the military and barbarian sys-  
him had prevailed up to that time, to  
pon the pacific path of the spirit of mod-  
ies. The Church aided the movement.  
s the legate, the archbishop of Sens and  
hop of Beauvais came forward to attest,  
e last king had named his wife regent  
death-bed. His will, which is still ex-  
ntains nothing of the sort.\* It is, too,  
d that he would have confided the care  
kingdom to a Spaniard, to king John's  
to a woman who was said to be selected  
count of Champagne as the object of his  
gallantries. Though at first the king's  
, like the other great barons, the count  
vertheless the most powerful support of  
one after the death of Louis VIII. He,  
loved his widow; as it was said, on the  
hand, Champagne loved France; the  
manufacturing cities of Troyes, Bar-sur-  
&c., necessarily sympathized with the  
and regular power of the king, rather  
ith the military turbulence of the lords.  
ing's party was the party of peace, order,  
security of travelling. All who had oc-  
to travel, merchants or pilgrims, were  
dly for the king, and thus serves to ex-  
h bitter hatred entertained by the great  
towards the count of Champagne, who  
rly separated from their league. The  
y of the growing importance of the in-  
us part of the community felt by the  
which gave their sting to the wars of  
rs, and Languedoc, was certainly not a  
er to the fearful ravages committed in  
agne by the barons during the minority  
Louis.

head of the feudal league was not Philip,  
ung king's uncle, nor the counts of  
e and of Flanders, the first, the father-  
e second, the brother of the English  
but the duke of Brittany, Pierre Mau-  
who was descended from one of the sons  
noble Gisors. Brittany, holding of Nor-  
land, consequently of England as well  
France, divided between the two crowns,  
like, too, was the first bound to point in  
position. Brought up in the schools of  
n, and the first to feel the effects of the  
prestigious and brilliant court life, the  
stable to the prince, he the son of a prin-  
me of France, the weaker king's  
s to make the young country the field of  
new and more things. To be sure, he  
but he was able to do with the aid of  
of the count of Flanders, Brittany, and  
ided by the counts and barons. He was  
better than the great nobles, and he was

rights of pasturage, the use of all dead wood  
for fuel, and exemptions from toll.\* The lords  
of the interior of the country, too, were with  
him, especially the barons of French Brittany,  
(Avangour, Vitre, Fougères, Chateaubriant,  
Dol, Chateaugiron.) but he was on all terms  
with those of the coast, (Leon, Rohan, le  
Faou, &c.) endeavoring to wrest their privi-  
leges from them, and, particularly, the pre-  
cious right of  *wreck*, in virtue of which they  
claimed all shipwrecked vessels. He also  
struggled against the Church, accusing it of  
simony before the barons, and employing against  
the priests the knowledge of canonical law  
which he had acquired from themselves. In this  
struggle he showed himself inflexible and  
barbarous; on the refusal of a *cure* to bury an  
excommunicated person, he ordered the body  
and him to be buried together.†

Mauclerc was thus too busied within his own  
territory, to be able to act with much vigor  
against France, to which end he would have  
required to have been well supported by Eng-  
land. But the Plantagenets who governed and  
plundered the young Henry III., did not leave  
him money enough to undertake an honorable  
war. He was to have crossed over in 1226,  
but was detained by a revolt. Mauclerc ex-  
pected him again in 1229, but Henry the  
Third's favorite was bribed by the queen-regent  
of France, and nothing was ready. She had  
furthermore the address to hinder the count of  
Champagne from marrying Mauclerc's daugh-  
ter.‡ Consensus of the weakness of their  
league, the barons, notwithstanding all their ill-  
will, durst not formally disobey the infant king,  
in whose name the regent issued her orders,  
and when summoned by her, in 1228, to join her  
with their followers against Brittany, they all  
appeared, but brought only two knights each.

The weakness of this league of the North  
allowed the regent and her counsellor the le-  
gate to act with vigor against the South. A  
new crusade was commenced in Languedoc,  
which was, at least, in its justification, the hor-  
rifice of a city practised by Raymond VII., who  
murdered all his prisoners. The house would  
have made a profitable residence, had not the  
crusaders methodically set on fire the destruction  
of the cities which constituted the staple wealth  
of the country. The Languedocians had re-  
sisted as long as they durst, but in vain; and thus,  
they lost, and that most grievously. He was  
obliged to see the walls of the cities to stand a

\* De Maistre, *Précis de l'Histoire de Bretagne*, t. 1, p. 106.

† De Maistre, *Précis de l'Histoire de Bretagne*, t. 1, p. 106.

‡ De Maistre, *Précis de l'Histoire de Bretagne*, t. 1, p. 106. See also the *Précis de l'Histoire de Bretagne*, t. 1, p. 106. The count of Champagne was bribed by the queen-regent of France, and nothing was ready. She had furthermore the address to hinder the count of Champagne from marrying Mauclerc's daughter.

De Maistre, *Précis de l'Histoire de Bretagne*, t. 1, p. 106.

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De Maistre, *Précis de l'Histoire de Bretagne*, t. 1, p. 106.

French garrison within it, to authorize the establishment of the Inquisition, to confirm France in possession of Lower Languedoc, and to leave Toulouse after his death as the dower of his daughter Jane, who was betrothed to one of the king's brothers.\* Upper Provence he ceded to the Church; and hence the origin of the right of the popes to the countship of Avignon. He himself repaired to Paris, humbled himself, submitted to the scourge in the church of Notre-Dame, and voluntarily gave himself up to six weeks' imprisonment in the tower of the Louvre.† This tower, in which six counts had been imprisoned after the battle of Bouvines, from which the count of Flanders had just been released, and in which the old count of Boulogne had slain himself in despair, had become the château, the country-seat in which the great barons lodged, each in his turn.

By this time the regent had sufficient confidence in her power to defy the count of Brittany, and cited him to appear before the peers. This tribunal of the twelve peers, framed after the mystic number of the twelve apostles, and on the poetic traditions of the Carolingian romances, was not a fixed and regular institution. Nothing could be more convenient for the monarch. On this occasion the peers happened to be the archbishop of Sens, the bishops of Chartres and of Paris, the counts of Flanders, Champagne, Nevers, Blois, Chartres, Montfort, Vendôme, the lords of Coucy and Montmorency, and many other barons and knights.

Their sentence would not have done much, had Mauleverc been better supported by the English and by the barons. The latter treated separately with the regent. Forced to succumb to Blancher, all the hatred of the barons was accumulated against the count of Champagne, who was obliged to take refuge in Paris, and was only suffered to return to his domains on condition that he would take the cross in expiation of the death of Louis VIII.: which was a plain admission of his guilt.

Thus the whole movement which had troubled Northern France passed over towards the South and the East. The two rival chiefs, Thibaut and Mauleverc, were removed to a distance by new events, and left the kingdom at peace. Thibaut became king of Navarre by the death of his wife's father, and sold to the regent Chartres, Blois, Sancerre, and Chateaudun. He was followed by numbers of the barons. The king of Aragon, who, at the same period, began his crusade against Majorca and Valencia, likewise took away with him many knights, especially a large number of Provençal and Languedocian *fauvets*‡—those

who had been exiled in the war of the Albigens. Shortly afterwards, Pierre Mauclerc, who was count of Brittany in right of his wife only, abdicated the countship in favor of his son, and was named by pope Gregory IX. general-in-chief of the new crusade to the East.

Such was the favorable situation of the kingdom at the epoch of the majority of St. Louis. (A. D. 1236.) The monarchy had lost nothing since the time of Philippe-Auguste. Here let us pause a moment, and review the progress of kingly authority, and of the central power since the accession of the grandeur of St. Louis.

Sooth to speak, Philippe-Auguste had founded this kingdom by uniting Normandy with Picardy. He may be said, too, to have founded Paris, by giving it its cathedral, its market (*halle*), its pavement, hospitals, aqueducts, new bounds, new arms, and, especially, by chartering and endowing its university. He had established the royal jurisdiction by inaugurating the assembly of peers by a popular and humane act—the condemnation of John, and the punishment of Arthur's murder. The great feudal powers were sinking; and Flanders, Champagne, and Languedoc acknowledged the king's authority. He had got together a powerful party among the nobility, and had created, if I may use the term, a democracy in the aristocracy itself—I allude to the cadets or younger sons, with regard to whom he settled it as a principle, that they should henceforward be independent of their elder brothers.

Louis IX., the prince on whom this great inheritance devolved, attained his majority in 1236. He was, indeed, declared major; but, in reality, he long remained dependent on his mother, the haughty Spaniard who had for ten years directed affairs. The qualities of Louis were not of the kind which display themselves early. The leading feature of his character was an exquisite sense and sensitive love of duty; and his duty he long took to be obedience to his mother's will. A Spaniard by her side,\* by his grandmother, Isabella's, a Fleming, the young prince imbibed with his mother's milk an ardent piety which seems to have been foreign from most of his predecessors, and of which his successors seem to have been little more susceptible.

This man, who was born with a necessity for belief, as a vital part of himself, entered the world exactly in the midst of the great crisis when all beliefs were shaken. Where were the beautiful images of order—the reveries of

\* See the articles of the Treaty, inserted in the third volume of the *Procès de Philippe le Bel*, p. 329, seq., and in the nineteenth volume of the *Ser. R. Fr.* p. 219, seq.

† Guill. de Pod. Laur. ap. Ser. R. Fr. ix. 224.

‡ An old French word, meaning "banished men, exiles."

\* By his mother, he was related to Alfonso X., king of Castile, who had promised him aid in the crusade, but he died in 1252, and St. Louis "was much affected at his loss." Math. Paris, p. 565.—"On his return," says Villani, "he had come struck with the impress of hand-cuffs, in recollection of his captivity; others say, with the towers of Castile." The latter opinion is supported by the fact that Charles and Alfonso, brothers of St. Louis, introduced the towers of Castile into their arms. Michand, t. iv. p. 443.



skulls which they reared in the plain of Bagdad.\*

These barbarians were equally to be feared by all the sects and religious beliefs by which Asia was divided, and which had not a chance of arresting their progress. Sunnites and Shites, (the caliph of Bagdad and he of Cairo,) the Assassins and the Christians of the Holy Land—all feared the day of Judgment. All disputes, were on the eve of adjustment, all hatreds, of reconciliation: the Mongols had charged themselves with the task. From the East they would beyond doubt pass over into Europe, in order to effect an agreement between the pope and the emperor, between the king of England and the king of France. Then they would have no more to do than to shake out the oats for their horses on the altar of St. Peter's at Rome;† and the reign of Antichrist would begin.

They advanced with slow and irresistible pace, like the vengeance of God: already were they everywhere present by the terror they inspired. In the year 1238, the men of Frisia and Denmark durst not quit their affrighted wives to pursue the herring fishery, as was their wont, on the English coast.‡ In Syria,

\* After Tamerlane had made Damascus one ruin, he caused coin to be struck bearing an Arab word, signifying—*destruction*, which, by its numeral value, denoted the year of hegem. 803—the year in which Damascus was taken. Reinoud, *Description des Mon. Musulmans*, &c., t. i. p. 49. Chardin, t. vi. p. 252—Another chronogram of Tamerlane's, corresponding with the year of the hegem. 773, likewise signifies *destruction*. See D'Hérbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*.

\* The saying attributed, in the fifteenth century, to the Turkish sultan, Bayezet.

† "They had," says Matthew Paris, "ravaged and depopulated Great Hungary, and had sent ambassadors with threatening letters to all people. Their general gave out that he was sent by Almighty God to subdue the nations that had rebelled against him. The heads of these barbarians are large, and disproportioned to their bodies; they feed on raw and even on human flesh; they are incomparable archers, they carry with them leathern boats to cross rivers; in they are robust, impious, inexorable; their language is unknown to all people with whom we are acquainted; quies nostra attingit notitia. They are rich in flocks of sheep, oxen, and of horses so swift of foot as to make three days' march in one day. They wear good armor in front of their body, but none behind, in order never to be tempted to fly. Inhabiting the northern region, the Cypreses, and those that confine with them, they are named *Tartars* from the name of the river *Tor*. Their number is so great, as to seem to threaten mankind with destruction. Although there had been former invasions of the *Tartars*, there was greater dread of them this year from their seeming more furious than usual; thus the natives of Gothia and Thrace did not come this year, as they commonly did, to the English coast, to load their ships with herrings; consequently herrings were so abundant in England as to be sold almost for nothing; even in districts far distant from the coast, forty or fifty excellent ones would be sold for a small bit of money. A Saracen messenger, of powerful and fine intellect, who had come on a solemn embassy to the king of France, chiefly from the Old Man of the Mountain, to announce these events in the name of all the Easterns, and to entreat from the West aid to repress the fury of the *Tartars*. He sent one of his companions in the embassy to the king of England to set forth the same things to him, and to tell him that if the Muslims could not with them, and the Christians of the same name, nothing could hinder them from invading the West. The bishop of Winchester, who was present at this audience, he was Henry the Third's favorite, and who had already taken the cross, took up the word in a bantering tone, 'Let us leave,' he said, 'these dogs to devour one another, that they may

every moment was expected to bring the big yellow heads and small shaggy horses. The whole East was reconciled. The Mahometan princes, and among the rest, the Old Man of the Mountain, had sent a suppliant embassy to the king of France, and one of the ambassadors crossed over into England.

On the other hand, the Latin emperor of Constantinople had just laid before St. Louis his danger, destitution, and misery. The poor emperor had been forced to enter into alliance with the Comans, and to swear friendship to them, laying his hand on a dead dog. He was reduced to such extremity as to be compelled to burn the beams of the ceiling of his palace for fire-wood; and when the empress subsequently came once more to appeal to the king's pity, Joinville had to give her a gown to make her presentable. The emperor offered to make over to St. Louis an inestimable treasure, the true crown of thorns with which our Saviour had been crowned, a very great bargain. The sole embarrassment which the monarch felt in the matter was, that dealing in relics seemed to partake of simony; yet it was not forbidden to make a present to him who made such a gift to France. This present amounted to a hundred and sixty thousand livres, and St. Louis added into the bargain the proceeds of a confiscation levied upon the Jews, which he scrupled to touch himself. He went barefooted as far as Vincennes to receive the holy relics, and afterwards founded the Sainte Chapelle at Paris for their shrine.

The crusade of 1235 was not calculated to re-establish the affairs of the East. The Champenois\* king of Navarre, the duke of Burgundy, and the count de Montfort, suffered themselves to be defeated. The brother of the king of England gained no other glory than that of ransoming prisoners. Mauleverc was the only one who reaped any advantage. However, the young king of France could not yet quit his kingdom to repair these mischiefs. An extensive league had been formed against him. The count of Toulouse, whose daughter was the wife of the king's brother, Alphonse de Poitiers, wished to make one more effort to keep his state, though he had not been able to keep his children. He was allied to the sovereigns of England, Navarre, Castile, and Aragon; and desired to marry either Marguerite de la Marche, sister of Henry III., by the mother's side, or Beatrice of Provence. An alliance with the latter would have reunited Provence to Languedoc, and he would have disinherited his daughter in favor of the children Beatrice might have borne him, and so formed the whole South into one kingdom. This

perish the sooner. And then, when we shall fall upon those of Christ's enemies who survive, we shall make away with them more easily, and clear the earth of them. Then the whole world will be subject to the Catholic Church, and there will be but one shepherd and one fold." Math. Paris, p. 218.

\* Champenois—Born in Champagne.

great project miscarried through precipitation. At the beginning of the year 1212, the inquisitors were massacred at Avignon; and the lawful heir of Nîmes, Beziers, and Carcassonne, the young Trencavel, ventured to show himself again. But the confederates acted one after the other. Raymond was subdued by the time the English had taken up arms. Their campaign in France was pitiable. Henry III. had relied on his father-in-law, the count de la Marche, and the other lords who had invited him. No sooner did they meet and reckon with each other, than reproaches and altercations began. The French, meanwhile, were advancing; and they would have turned and taken the English army at the bridge of Taillebourg, which crosses the Charente, had not Henry obtained a truce by the mediation of his brother, Richard, in whose person Louis revered the hero of the last crusade, who had redeemed and restored so many Christians to Europe.\* Henry took advantage of this respite to decamp and fall back on Nantes. Louis pressed him closely; a furious engagement ensued in the vineyards,† and the English monarch took refuge in Nantes, and thence fled to Bordeaux. (A. D. 1212.)

An epidemic disorder, from which king and army suffered alike, hindered Louis from following up his success. Nevertheless, the battle of Taillebourg was a mortal blow to his enemies, and, in general, to feudalism. The count of Toulouse was only spared as being the cousin of St. Louis's mother. His vassal, the count de Foix, professed his desire to hold immediately of the king‡. The count de la Marche, and his wife, the haughty Isabella of Lusignan, the widow of John and the mother of Henry III., were constrained to submit. When this aged count did homage to the king's brother Alphonse, the new count of Poitiers, a knight appeared who declared that he had been mortally aggrieved by him, and challenged him to single combat in the presence of his sovereign. Alphonse, to have assisted on the morrow's meeting, the young appellant. The result was certain, and Isabella, fearing that she would be called to meet her doom after her husband's death, had already sought refuge in the convent of Fontevrault. St. Louis intervened, and would not permit the combat to take place. Such, however, was the state of feeling at the time, that the count de la Marche was so much enraged, that his enemy, who had chosen to suffer his hand to grow

until he had avenged his insult, had it solemnly put in presence of the assembled barons, and declared that he had had ample revenge.\*

On this, as on every other occasion, Louis displayed the moderation of a saint and of a politician. A baron having declined to surrender except authorized by his lord, the king of England, Louis approved his conduct, and restored him his castle with no other guarantee than his oath.† But, in order to spare those who held fiefs from both himself and Henry all temptation to perjury, he warned them, in the words of the gospel, that "no one can serve two masters," and allowed them to make their choice.‡ And, in order to remove all pretext for war, he sought from Henry the formal cession of Normandy, in return for which he would have given up Pontou.

Such were the prudence and moderation of this monarch. He even imposed on Raymond no other conditions than those of the treaty of Paris, which he had signed fourteen years before.§

Meanwhile, the so much dreaded catastrophe had taken place in the East. One wing of the prodigious army of the Mongols had passed on to Bagdad, (A. D. 1258) another swept down upon Russia, Poland, and Hungary. The Karismians, their precursors, had invaded the Holy Land, and, despite the junction of the Christians with the Mussulmans, had gained a bloody victory at Gaza, (A. D. 1211). Five hundred Templars held there, all the knights of the order at the time in the Holy Land. Next, the Mongols took possession of Jerusalem, which had been deserted by its inhabitants, but, lured back by the cunning device of these Germans, who displayed crosses on the walls, they were mercilessly massacred.¶

St. Louis was sick, in bed, and almost dying, when these melancholy tidings reached Europe. He was so ill that his life was despaired of; and one of the ladies waiting by the bedside was about to cover his face with the coverlet, thinking him dead. As she was a little better, to the great astonishment of all about him, he rose, threw the red cross upon his bed, and on his vestments. His next wish had been to utter a phrase to send him on his way—then, weak and dying as he was, to go to his father's tomb, and to kneel down and to touch his own hand, and that of his son, to the stone that

\* Math. Paris, p. 109. The king's army was so much afflicted by the plague, that it was necessary to burn the dead. Math. Paris, p. 109. "At the time of the battle of Taillebourg, the king's army was so much afflicted by the plague, that it was necessary to burn the dead. Math. Paris, p. 109. "At the time of the battle of Taillebourg, the king's army was so much afflicted by the plague, that it was necessary to burn the dead. Math. Paris, p. 109."

† Math. Paris, p. 109. "At the time of the battle of Taillebourg, the king's army was so much afflicted by the plague, that it was necessary to burn the dead. Math. Paris, p. 109. "At the time of the battle of Taillebourg, the king's army was so much afflicted by the plague, that it was necessary to burn the dead. Math. Paris, p. 109."

§ Math. Paris, p. 109. "At the time of the battle of Taillebourg, the king's army was so much afflicted by the plague, that it was necessary to burn the dead. Math. Paris, p. 109. "At the time of the battle of Taillebourg, the king's army was so much afflicted by the plague, that it was necessary to burn the dead. Math. Paris, p. 109."

useless war which had lasted above a century!—and both she and the very priests besought him to renounce his intention. He was inflexible. The idea which was supposed to be so fatal for him, apparently saved him. He hoped and wished to live, and did live. As soon as he was convalescent, he sent for his mother and the bishop of Paris, and addressed them as follows:—"Since you believe that I was not perfectly myself when I took my vows, I now pluck my cross from off my shoulders, and give it into your hands. . . . But now," he went on to say, "you cannot deny that I am in the full enjoyment of all my faculties; then give me back my cross, for He who knows all things, also knows that no food shall enter my mouth until I have again been marked with his sign." "Tis the finger of God," exclaimed all present, "let us no longer oppose his will." And from that day forward, no one gainsaid his project.

The only obstacle there remained to overcome—a sad and unnatural thing—was the pope. Innocent IV. filled all Europe with his hate to Frederick II. Expelled from Italy, he assembled against him a great council at Lyons,\* which city, though imperial, held nevertheless of France, on whose territory was her faubourg beyond the Rhône. St. Louis, who had vainly offered his mediation, felt some repugnance at receiving the pope; nor did he, until after all the monks of Cîteaux had thrown themselves at his feet, and he had made him wait fifteen days before declaring his will.† In his passion, Innocent did all that lay in his power to thwart the crusade to the East; seeking to turn the arms of the French king against the emperor, or against the king of England, who had momentarily forgotten his servility towards the holy see. As early as the year 1239, he had offered the imperial crown to St. Louis for his brother, Robert d'Artois; and, in 1245, he offered him that of England—a strange sight, to see a pope neglecting nothing that might hinder the deliverance of Jerusalem, and offering all and every thing to one who had taken the cross, to induce him to violate his vow.‡

Louis recked little of acquisitions. He thought much more of rendering those of his father's lawful. He vainly attempted to reconcile England by a partial restitution. He even put the question to the bishops of Normandy, how he might make his mind easy as to his right to the possession of that province.§ He indemnified the viscount Trencavel, to whom Nîmes and Beziers belonged by right of inheritance, with a sum of money, and took him

with him to the crusade with all the *sacids*, the exiles of the war of the Albigeois, all those whom the establishment of Montfort's companions had deprived of their patrimony.¶ Thus he made the holy war a means of expiation, and universal reconciliation.

#### THE TWO LAST CRUSADES.

It was not a mere war, an expedition, which St. Louis projected, but the foundation of a great colony in Egypt. The idea of that day was, and not unsupported by probability, that to conquer and keep possession of the Holy Land, it was essential to have Egypt to rest upon, (*pour point d'appui*.) Thus he carried with him a large quantity of agricultural implements, and tools of every kind.‡ In order to maintain a regular communication, he designated a port of his own on the Mediterranean—and, as the Provençal harbors belonged to his brother, Charles of Anjou, he formed that of Aigues-Mortes.

He first sailed to Cyprus, where he took in an immense stock of provisions,§ and where he made a long stay, either waiting for his brother Alphonse, who headed his reserve, or, perhaps, to train himself to an eastern clime in this new world. Here he was amused by watching the ambassadors of the Asiatic princes, who came to observe the great king of the Franks. First, came those of the Christians, from Constantinople, Armenia, and Syria; those of the Mussulmans, and, among others, the envoys of that Old Man of the Mountain, of whom there ran so many stories.¶ Even the Mongols sent their representatives;|| and St. Louis, who supposed them favorable to Christianity from their hate to the other Mahometans, entered into a league with them against the two popes of Islamism—the caliphs of Bagdad and of Cairo.

When the Asiatics had recovered from their first fears, they grew familiar with the idea of the great invasion of the Franks; who were

\* Hist. du Languedoc, l. xiv. p. 457.

† "Epées, pitchforks, drags, ploughshares, ploughs," &c. Math. Paris.

‡ Joinville, (ed. 1761, fol.) p. 29. . . . "And when they saw the stacks they took them for mountains, for rain had fallen so long that the corn had sprouted, so that it looked like grass."

§ He sent to ask the king for exemption from the tribute which he paid to the Hospitallers and Templars:—"Behind the admiral was a bachelor, (bachelor,) well equipped, who held in his hand three daggers, the one of which went to the handle of the other; and, had the admiral been refused, he would have presented them severally to the king in token of defiance. Behind him who held the three knives was another who held a *houqueras*, (a piece of cotton cloth twisted round his arm, which he would have presented to the king, to signify that it was his winding-sheet, and he refused the request of the Old Man of the Mountain." Joinville, p. 95.—"When the Old Man rode forth, he was preceded by a crier who bore a Danish axe with a long handle, all covered with silver, and stuck full of daggers, who proclaimed, 'Turn from before him who bears the death of kings in his hands.'" Id. p. 97.

|| M. de Remusat (Mémoire sur les Tartares) does not agree with de Guignes in thinking the ambassadors impostors.

\* Math. Paris, p. 443-447, sqq. "Let us first crush the dragon," he said, "and we will soon crush these young vipers." This he said with great anger, in a voice stifled by passion with distorted eyes, and contracted nostrils."

† Id. p. 432.

‡ "The English barons durst not proceed to the Holy Land, fear of the plots of the court of Rome." (Municipales Romane curie formidantes.) Math. Paris, ap. Michaud, t. iv. p. 261.

§ Math. Paris, p. 642.





Gauthier de Chatillon, had almost throughout the day the advantage over the enemy. The latter, at last, sounded the retreat; and Louis returned thanks to God, in the midst of the whole army, for the aid which He had vouchsafed him. It was, indeed, a miracle to have been enabled to defend with infantry, and they almost all wounded, a camp attacked by a formidable cavalry.\*

Louis must soon have seen that success was impossible, and have desired to retire on Damietta; but he could not resolve on the step. Indisputably, the large number of wounded in the camp rendered retreat difficult; but every day added to the numbers of the sick. Encamped on the slime of Egypt, and chiefly fed on the eelpouts of the Nile, which devoured so many corpses, strange and hideous maladies broke out in the army. Their gums swelled and grew rotten, and they could only swallow by having the proud flesh cut away; and the camp sounded with dolorous cries, as of women in labor. The deaths increased daily. One day during the epidemic, Joinville, sick and hearing mass in his bed, was obliged to rise and to support his almoner who was on the point of fainting: "so supported, he concluded the administration of the sacrament, said entire mass, and never sang more."

The dead inspired horror; each fearing to touch and to bury them. In vain did the king, full of respect for these martyrs, set the example, and assist in burying them with his own hands. The epidemic was daily increased by the number of bodies left without burial; and retreat was the only chance of saving the survivors—the sad and doubtful retreat of a diminished, weakened, and discouraged army. The king, who had at last fallen sick like the rest, might have secured his own safety; but he would not consent to abandon his people.† Dying as he was, he determined to retreat by land, while the sick were embarked on the Nile. To so extreme a state of weakness was he reduced, that his attendants were soon compelled to bear him into a small house and lay him on the knees of a female, a native of Paris, who happened to be there.

However, the march was soon stopped by the Saracens, who hung upon the Christians by land, and lay in wait for them on the river. A fearful massacre took place, notwithstanding their repeated cries of surrender, the Saracens fearing to make too many prisoners. At

length they drove the crusaders into an enclosed place, and summoned them to deny Christ: many consented: among others, all Joinville's seamen.

The king and the prisoners of note had been reserved for future consideration. Jerusalem was demanded by the sultan as the price of their liberty: they objected that it belonged to the emperor of Germany, and offered to surrender Damietta, and pay a ransom of four hundred thousand golden bezants. The sultan had consented to the terms, when the Mamelukes, to whom he owed his victory, revolted and slew him before the galleys in which the French were kept prisoners. Their situation was exceedingly critical; and, in fact, the murderers forced their way to the king. "The ruffian who had torn out the sultan's heart stalked up to him with his bloody hands, and said, 'What will you give me for having slain your enemy, who would have killed you?' And the king answered him not a word. There came as many as thirty with bared swords and their Danish axes in their hands into our galley." Joinville goes on to say, "and I inquired of my lord, Baudouin d'Belin, who was well acquainted with their tongue, what they said. He replied, that they said that they had come to cut our heads off. Numbers began to confess themselves to a brother of the Trinity who was with count William of Flanders; but, for my part, not one of my sins would come into my head. On the contrary, I thought that the more I should defend myself, or do any thing to provoke them, the worse it would be for me. Then I crossed myself, and knelt at the feet of one of them who had a carpenter's Danish axe in his hand, and said, 'So died St. Agnes.' Messire Gui d'Belin, constable of Cyprus, knelt by my side, and I said to him, 'I give you absolution with such power as God has given me.' But when I got up thence, I did not recollect a word of what he had said or related to me."‡

Three days after Margaret had heard of her husband's captivity she was confined of a son, named John, whom she surnamed Tristan. For security sake, she had an old knight, eighty years of age, to lie at the foot of her bed. Shortly before her labor came on, she knelt at his feet and begged a boon, which the knight swore to grant. Then she said, "I require you, by the faith which you have just now plighted, if the Saracens take this city, to strike off my head before they lay hands on me." The knight replied, "Be sure that I will do it willingly, for I had myself resolved on slaying

\* Sismondi, t. vi. p. 428.

† Joinville. An Arab historian also says, "The French king might have made his escape from the Egyptians either on horseback, or in boat, but this generous prince would not abandon his troops." Aboul-Mahassen, ap. Michaud, t. iv. p. 317. "On his departure from Cyprus, his vessel grazed a rock, and lost three or four length of her keel. He was counselled to quit the ship. To this the king replied, 'Lord, I see that if I leave this ship she will be considered lost, and there are eight hundred souls, and more, on board; as each loves his life as well as I do mine, none would remain, but would perish in Cyprus: wherefore, under God, I will not peril the lives of such a number, but prefer remaining to save my people.'" Joinville, p. 3.

‡ Id. p. 75.—The king was told that the admiral had deliberated on making him sultan of Babylon . . . . And he told me, that he would not have refused. And know that the scheme fell to the ground for no other reason than that they said the king was the truest Christian in the world; and it was mentioned in proof, that when they took their leave of him, he took up his cross and signed his whole body; and they said that whoever made him sultan, he would slay them all, or force them to turn Christians." Id. p. 78.

rather than that you should fall into their hands."<sup>6</sup>

The misfortunes and humiliation of St. Louis were complete. The Arabs celebrated his death in songs,<sup>7</sup> and more than one Christian kindled bonfires in their joy at it.<sup>8</sup> He therefore remained a year in the Holy Land in its defence, in case the Mamelukes should push their victory beyond Egypt. He fortified the walls of the towns, fortified Cesarea, Sidon, and St. Jean d'Acre, and did not his unfortunate country until the barons of Holy Land had themselves assured him his presence was no longer essential. At last, he had just heard news, which made duty to hasten his return to France—his son was dead,<sup>9</sup> an immeasurable misfortune such a son, who, for so many years, had hit only as she wished, and who had left contrary to her wishes, on this disastrous mission, which was to end in his leaving in the ground one of his brothers, so many followers, and the bones of so many martyrs.

The sight of France itself could not leave him. "Had I alone to endure the disaster and the misfortune," he exclaimed to a knight, "and had not my sins turned to the grief of the Church Universal, I should be glad. But, alas! all Christendom has been brought through me into disgrace and confusion."

The state in which he found Europe was not calculated to give him comfort. The reverse of his triumph was even the least of the troubles of the Church—the extraordinary success which every man was eager to glorify in his arms. Mysticism, the old superstitions, the spirit of the crusades, the religious fanaticism, the most fanatical faith, had taken fire in the wild enthusiasm of the crusades. The Pope, the king, the nobles, the clergy, the people, all were in arms. These crusades, which were now appearing in the *Deutscher* of the time, were the part of the revolt of the Sicilians in 1281, of the revolt of the Sicilians in 1282, and of the Albigensians in 1209, but they were the first of the *Pastoureaux*,<sup>10</sup> which were the

burst out during the absence of St. Louis.

They consisted of the most miserable rustics, and, mostly, of shepherds, who, hearing of the captivity of their king, flew to arms, banded together, formed a large army, and announced their intention of going to deliver him.<sup>11</sup> This may have been a mere pretext, or it may have been that the opinion which these poor people had already formed of Louis, had inspired them with a vast, vague hope of comfort and deliverance. What is certain is, that these shepherds showed themselves everywhere hostile to the priests, and massacred them, administering the sacraments to themselves. They acknowledged for their leader an unknown man, whom they called grand master of Hungary.<sup>12</sup> They traversed Paris, Orleans, and a considerable part of France with impunity. However, these bands were ultimately dispersed and destroyed.<sup>13</sup>

Long after his return, St. Louis seemed to reject every foreign thought and ambition. He confined himself, with uneasy scrupulosity, to his duty as a Christian, considering all the duties of royalty comprised in two practices of devotion, and imputing to himself, as a sin, every disorder of the commonwealth. Sacrifices cost him nothing for the satisfaction of his sensitive and restless conscience. To save his brothers, his children, his sons, and subjects, he restored to the king of England Poitou, the Limousin, Agenois, and his possessions in Quercy and Saintonge, on condition of Henry's renouncing his rights over Normandy, Flanders, Artois, Maine, and Pictou, (year 1259). The noble province never forgave him, and when he was again refused to return to his life.

France would have lost all external action through this exclusive attention to himself; but the conscience had she been altogether in the king's hand. The king shook and withdrew within himself. France was flower and bread.

On the one hand, England, severed by Poitiers, by Southern France, took herself from them by the aid of a Norman Frenchman, Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, second son of the famous leader of the crusade against the Albigensians. On the other hand, the Pope, aided by Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, supported the kingdom of the

<sup>6</sup> "The king of France, who was then in the Holy Land, was so grieved by the death of his wife, that he was unable to return to France, and he remained in the Holy Land for a year, in order to defend it against the attacks of the Mamelukes."

<sup>7</sup> "The Arabs celebrated the death of the king of France with songs and dances, and they kindled bonfires in his honor."

<sup>8</sup> "The Christians, on the other hand, were so grieved by the death of their king, that they kindled bonfires in his honor, and they mourned for him for a long time."

<sup>9</sup> "The king's son, Louis, died of a fever while he was in the Holy Land, and his death was a great misfortune to the king."

<sup>10</sup> "The *Pastoureaux* were a kind of crusade, which was started by a man called the Grand Master of Hungary, and they went to France to deliver the king."

<sup>11</sup> "The *Pastoureaux* were a kind of crusade, which was started by a man called the Grand Master of Hungary, and they went to France to deliver the king."

<sup>12</sup> "The *Pastoureaux* were a kind of crusade, which was started by a man called the Grand Master of Hungary, and they went to France to deliver the king."

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<sup>18</sup> "The *Pastoureaux* were a kind of crusade, which was started by a man called the Grand Master of Hungary, and they went to France to deliver the king."

<sup>19</sup> "The *Pastoureaux* were a kind of crusade, which was started by a man called the Grand Master of Hungary, and they went to France to deliver the king."

<sup>20</sup> "The *Pastoureaux* were a kind of crusade, which was started by a man called the Grand Master of Hungary, and they went to France to deliver the king."

Two Sicilies, and completed in Italy the ruin of the house of Swabia.

The king of England, Henry III., had borne the punishment of John's faults. His father had bequeathed him humiliation and ruin, and he had only been able to recover himself by throwing himself unreservedly into the hands of the Church; else the French would have taken England from him as they had Normandy. The pope used and abused his advantage; bestowing all English benefices, even those which the Norman barons had founded for Churchmen of their own family, on Italians. This tyranny of the Church was not patiently endured by the barons, and they blamed the king for it, accusing him of weakness. Hedged in between these two parties, and receiving their every blow, whom could the king trust to! to none other than to our French of the South, especially to the Poitevins, his mother's countrymen.

These Southerns, brought up in the maxims of the Roman law, were favorable to monarchical power, and naturally hostile to the barons. It was at this time St. Louis was collecting the traditions of the imperial law, and introducing with a strong hand the spirit of Justinian into the feudal law. In Germany, Frederick II. was endeavoring to bring the same doctrines into operation. These attempts had a very different fate. They contributed to the elevation of the monarchy in France, and ruined it in England and in Germany.

It would have required permanent armies, mercenary troops, and a well-stocked treasury to force the spirit of the South on England. Money, Henry III. knew not where to lay his hands on, and the little he contrived to get was soon pounced upon by the intriguers around him. Besides, there is an important element which must not be left out of the account—the disproportion which then necessarily existed between wants and resources, receipts and expenditure. Already the wants were great; administrative order was in process of settlement, and attempts were made to establish standing armies. The resources were trifling or none; manufacturing industry, which feeds the prodigious consumption of modern treasuries, was in its infancy. It was still the age of privilege: barons, clergy, every one, had to allege some right or other exempting them from payment; and particularly since the passing of Magna Charta had suppressed a number of lucrative abuses, the English government seemed to be a system devised for starving the monarch.\*

Magna Charta having established the principle of insurrection and constituted anarchy, a second crisis had become necessary to found a regular order of things, to introduce between king, pope, and nobles, a new element—the people, who gradually brought them to agree.

\* So Hallam thinks.

A revolution needs a man; and the one who met the present emergency was Simon de Montfort, son of the conqueror of Languedoc, who seemed destined to carry on against the Poitevin ministers of Henry III. his family's hereditary war on the Southerns. St. Louis' wife, Margaret of Provence, hated these Montforts,\* who had wrought so much ill to her country; so Simon perceived that he would gain nothing by remaining in the French court, and repaired to England. The Montforts, earls of Leicester, belonged to both countries. King Henry heaped his favors on Simon, gave him his sister in marriage, and sent him to repress the disturbances in Guyenne, where Simon acted with such severity as to necessitate his recall. On this, he turned against the king, who had never been more powerful in appearance, or weaker in reality. He had imagined that he could buy, bit by bit, the spoils of the house of Swabia. His brother, Richard of Cornwall, had just acquired, for ready money, the title of emperor, and the pope had granted his son that of king of Naples. Nevertheless, England was torn with troubles. No better remedy had been devised for opposing pontifical tyranny than the assassination of the pope's couriers and agents, and an association had been formed for this object.† In 1258, a *parliament* met at Oxford—the first time the title was taken by assemblies of the kind.‡ Here the king renewed his oath to observe Magna Charta, and placed himself in the hands of a council of four-and-twenty barons. After six years' war, both parties applied to St. Louis to arbitrate between them. The pious king, inspired alike by the Bible and by the Roman law, decided, that it was necessary to be obedient to the powers, and annulled the statutes of Oxford, which had previously been quashed by the pope; and king Henry was to resume all his power, save and excepting the charters and laudable customs of the people of England antecedent to those statutes, (A. D. 1264.)

The confederates received this as a signal for war; and Simon de Montfort had recourse to an extreme measure: he interested the towns in the war, by introducing their representatives into parliament. A strange destiny

\* Nangis, ad ann. 1239.

† An association was formed under the title of the commonalty of England; and was clandestinely encouraged by the principals of the barons and clergy. At its head was Sir Robert Thwinge, a knight of Yorkshire, who by a papal provision had been deprived of his nomination to a living in the gift of his family. His commandments were implicitly obeyed by his associates, who, though they were never more than eighty individuals, contrived by the secrecy and celerity of their motions, to impress the public with an idea that they amounted to a much greater number. They invaded the pope's couriers, wrote menacing letters to the foreign ecclesiastics, &c. &c. For eight months the *excommunication* continued without any interruption from the legal authorities, &c. &c. Thwinge proceeded to Rome to plead his cause before the pontiff. He was successful, and returned with a bull, by which Gregory authorized him to nominate to the living which he claimed," &c. Lingard, vol. III. p. 141, 142.

‡ Guizot, *Études sur l'Histoire de France*, p. 438. Collet, in our annals, the "mad Parliament."—TRANSLATION.



Christian army would decide the sultan of Tunis to conversion. Tunis entertained friendly relations with Castile and France; and not long before, St. Louis, on the occasion of the baptism of a converted Jew in the abbey of St. Denys, had desired the presence of the Tunisian ambassadors, and had said to them after the ceremony, "Say to your master, that so strong is my longing for the safety of his soul, that I would consent to enter a Saracen prison for the remainder of my life, and never again to see the light of day, if by so doing I could make your king and his people Christians, even as this man."<sup>\*</sup>

A peaceful expedition which should end in intimidating the king of Tunis, and frightening him into Christianity, was not the mark of the Genoese, in whose ships St. Louis had effected his passage. Most of the crusaders preferred violence. Tunis was reported to be a rich city, the plunder of which would indemnify them for undertaking so dangerous an expedition. So that without any regard to the views of the king, the Genoese commenced hostilities by seizing the vessels which lay before Carthage. The army disembarked without opposition: the Moors only showed themselves to provoke, draw after them, and fatigue the Christians. After languishing some days on the broiling shore, the crusaders advanced on the castle of Carthage. All that remained of Rome's great rival was a fort garrisoned by two hundred soldiers, which the Genoese seized. The Saracens, taking refuge in the vaults, were either put to the sword, or suffocated by fire; and the king found the ruins full of dead bodies, which he had removed to make room for himself and attendants.<sup>†</sup> He had to wait at Carthage for his brother Charles before marching upon Tunis, so that the greater part of the army had to remain under an African sun, half buried in the sand drifted by the winds, in the midst of dead bodies and of the stench of the dead. Around them prowled the Moors, ever carrying off stragglers. There were neither trees nor grass; and the only water they had was that of pestilential pools, or of cisterns full of loathsome insects. In eight days the plague broke out, and carried off the counts of Vendôme, of la Marche, of Viane—Gautier de Nemours, marshal of France—and the lords

of Montmorency, Piennes, Brissac, Saint Brice, and Apremont. The legate soon followed them. The survivors, not having strength to bury their dead, threw them into the canal, which was soon choked with corpses. The king and his sons fell sick; his youngest son died on board of his ship, and it was a week before St. Louis's confessor ventured to break the truth to him. He was the best-beloved of his children, and his death removed another of the ties, binding him to this world, of his dying

father: it was a summons from God, a temptation to die. Thus, without fear or regret, he went through the last duties of a Christian's life, repeating the appointed litanies and psalms, dictating a beautiful and touching Paper of instructions to his son and successor, and even receiving the ambassadors of the Greeks, who had come to beseech his intervention in their favor with his brother Charles. He spoke kindly to them, and promised his best offices, if he lived, to ensure them peace: the next day, he was himself taken to God's peace.<sup>\*</sup>

On this his last night, he ordered his attendants to lift him out of bed and lay him on ashes: and he died so, ever keeping his arms crossed. "And, on the Monday morn, the blessed king raised his clasped hands to heaven, and said, 'Gracious Lord God, (*Bien sur Dieux*) have mercy on this people sojourning here, and grant them a safe return, that they may not fall into their enemy's hands, or be forced to deny thy holy name.' . . .

"And the night before he died, as he was reposing, he sighed and said in a low voice, 'Oh, Jerusalem! oh, Jerusalem!'"<sup>†</sup>

This was the last of the crusades. The middle age had yielded its ideal—flower and fruit: its time was come. With Philippe-le-Bel, grandson of St. Louis, began modern times; when the middle-age is buffeted in the person of Boniface VIII., and the crusade burnt in that of the Templars.

A crusade will long be talked of—the word will be oft repeated; it is a well-sounding, effective word—for the raising of tenths and imposts. But the great of the earth and the popes well know what to think of it.<sup>‡</sup> Some time afterwards we shall see the Venetian Sanuto, proposing to the pope a commercial crusade:—"It was not enough," he said, "to invade Egypt, it behooved to ruin it." His proposition was to reopen the Persian route to the Indies, so that Alexandria and Damietta would no longer be the emporiums of its trade. Here is announced afar off the modern spirit.

<sup>\*</sup> Sismondi, t. viii. p. 189.

<sup>†</sup> Petri de Condesto, Epist. ap. Spicilegium, (fol.) t. ii. p. 667.

<sup>‡</sup> Petrarch (Basil, p. 421) relates that it was once deliberated at Rome who should be leader of a new crusade, and that Don Sanchez, son of Alphonso, king of Castile, was chosen. He came to Rome and was admitted to the co-sistory, where the election was to take place. Being unacquainted with Latin, he took one of his courtiers with him as an interpreter. He was then proclaimed king of Egypt, and all present applauded the choice. On hearing the applause, the prince asked the interpreter what it was about. "The pope," replied the interpreter, "has just made you king of Egypt." "We must not be ungrateful," was Don Sanchez's reply: "Get up, and proclaim the holy father, caliph of Baghdad." Machiav. t. v. p. 129.

<sup>§</sup> Marini Sanuti, Secreta fidelium crucis, (ed. Bonaventura, 1611). The first book is devoted to an explanation of his design: the second, to the consideration of the means requisite to the success of the crusade; the third, to a history of the settlements in, and expeditions to the East. Sanuto added maps of the Mediterranean, the Holy Land, and Egypt.—The pope was loud in praise of the project, and it was favorably received by all Christian princes, who, however, did not attend to it. Sanuto then applied to the emperor of Constantinople, and so spent his life in preaching a crusade.

<sup>\*</sup> Gaufrid. de Bell. loc. Vita S. Lud. ap. Duchesne, v. 462.  
<sup>†</sup> Joinville, p. 136.

commerce, and not religion, is about to be the  
over of distant expeditions.

CHARACTER OF ST. LOUIS.

That the Christian age of the world should  
have been last symbolized in a French monarch,  
was a great thing for the monarchy and for the  
dynasty. It is what emboldened the successors  
of St. Louis to oppose so bold a front to the  
clergy. Royalty assumed in the eyes of the  
people religious authority, and the idea of sanc-  
tity was attached to it. They had found the  
true king just and pious, and the impartial  
judge of his people. How far the conscien-  
tious determinations of this pure and spotless  
soul might have been influenced by the legists,  
the modest and crafty counsellors, who after-  
wards became so notorious, none of his own  
day could estimate. We shall not attempt it  
here. This great subject will be treated of in  
its connection with the preceding and subse-  
quent epochs of our legislation.

The interests of the crown being at the time  
identified with those of order, the pious king  
found himself constantly led to sacrifice to it  
feudal rights which he would have desired, in  
his conscientiousness and disinterestedness, to  
respect. Whatever his able counsellors sug-  
gested to him for the aggrandizement of the  
royal power, he carried into act for the good  
of justice. The subtle thoughts of legists  
were received and promulgated through the  
simplicity of a want. Their decisions passing  
through so pure a mouth, acquired the authority  
of a judgment of God.

"Many a time did it happen that in summer,  
he would go and sit in the forest of Vincennes  
after noon, and would rest against an oak, and  
make us sit around him, and all who had  
business came to speak to him without hinder-  
ance from usher or any other. And then he  
asked them with his own mouth, 'Is there any  
one who has a suit?' And they who had, rose  
up, and then he said, 'Silence all, and speak  
one after the other.' And then he would turn  
to him my lord Pierre de Fontaines and my  
lord Geoffrey de Villehardouin, and say to one of  
them, 'Hear me this cause.' And when he  
saw any thing to amend in the speech of those  
who pleaded for others, he himself proceeded  
with his own mouth. I have seen him some-  
times rise and come to hear his people, and sit  
in the garden of Paris, and hear them rest, and  
out of the time without sleeves, a keener of  
black sordid round his neck, his hair all  
arranged, and without beard, and with a  
white gown on his head, which he would sit  
carpeted down for us to sit on. And all  
who had suits to him stood around him, and  
then he took the causes to be tried before  
him, and told you before he did, and the best of Vin-  
cent's."\*

In the year 1256 or 1257, he issued a decree  
against the lord of Vesnon, condemning him to  
indemnify a merchant who had been robbed in  
open day in a road lying within his lordship.  
The lords of the manor were bound to have  
the roads watched from the rising to the set-  
ting sun.\*

Enguerrand de Coucy having hung three  
young men who were sporting in the woods,  
the king had him arrested and condemned. All  
the great vassals protested against this proceed-  
ing, and supported Enguerrand's demand of  
trial by battle. The king said, "That in regard  
to the poor, the churches, and persons on whom  
one ought to have pity, they ought not thus to  
be met with wagers of battle, since it would not  
be easy to find persons to undertake to encoun-  
ter the barons of the kingdom in the lists for  
such sort of people. . . ."

"When the barons," he said to John of  
Brittany, "who held altogether of you without  
other remedy, laid their complaint of you before  
us, and offered to prove their integrity by wager  
of battle against you, you replied that you could  
not meet them in the lists, but by inquiry into  
the matter, and said besides, *that battle is not  
the way of justice.*"† Jean Thourot, who had  
warmly undertaken the defence of Enguerrand  
de Coucy, cried out ironically, "Had I been  
the king I would have hung all my barons, for  
the first step taken, the second costs nothing."  
The king overheard him, and called him back,  
"How, John, do you say that I ought to hang  
my barons? Certainly, I will not hang them,  
but I will punish them if they do wrong."

Certain gentlemen, who had for cousin a  
wicked man who would not reform, brought  
Simon de Nolle, their lord, who had the right  
of pit and gallows on his fief, permission to  
put him to death, for fear he should fall into the  
hands of justice, and he hung to the disgrace  
of his family. Simon refused, referring them  
to the king, who would not suffer it, "for he  
wished justice to be executed on malefactors  
throughout his kingdom openly and before the  
people, and that none should be punished pri-  
vately."

A complaint having been laid before St.  
Louis by one whom his brother, Charles of  
Anjou, wished to force to sell him an estate  
which he had in his country, the king sum-  
moned Charles before his court. "And the  
poor king ordered his possession to be re-  
stored to the arm, and that then, if he would  
he should have no trouble on that score, since he  
desired neither to sell nor to buy."

Let us add two more curious facts which

\* Histoire de France, sous le règne de Louis IX. p. 241.  
† Histoire de France, sous le règne de Louis IX. p. 241.

† Histoire de France, sous le règne de Louis IX. p. 241.  
† Histoire de France, sous le règne de Louis IX. p. 241.

equally prove, that though voluntarily submitting to the advice of priests or of legists, this admirable man preserved an elevated sense of justice, which, in doubtful circumstances, led him to sacrifice the letter to the spirit.

Regnault de Trie brought one day to St. Louis a letter, by which the king had bestowed the countship of Dammartin on the heirs of the countess of Boulogne. The seal was broken, and all that remained of it were the limbs of the king's image. All his counsellors assured him that he was not bound to keep his promise. He replied, "Lords, you see this seal which I used before I crossed the sea: it is clear from this seal that the imprint of the broken is similar to that of the entire seal: wherefore I durst not in conscience retain the said countship."<sup>\*</sup>

One Good Friday, as St. Louis was reading the Psalter, the relatives of a gentleman, a prisoner in the Châtelet, came to beseech his release, reminding the king that the day was one of forgiveness.

The king laid his finger on the verse at which he then was—"Happy are they who observe justice, and who execute it at all times." He then sent for the provost of Paris, and continued his reading. The provost informed him that the prisoner had been guilty of enormous crimes: on which St. Louis ordered him to be at once led to the gibbet.<sup>†</sup>

There can be little doubt that St. Louis owed this elevation of mind which placed equity above law, in a great degree to the Franciscans and Dominicans, by whom he was surrounded. On thorny questions, he was wont to consult St. Thomas.<sup>‡</sup> He sent Mendicant friars to inspect the provinces, in imitation of the *missi dominici* (the royal commissioners) of Charlemagne.<sup>§</sup> This mystic Church strengthened him against the episcopal and pontifical

Church, giving him courage to resist the pope in favor of the bishops, and the bishops themselves.

The Gallican bishops being one day assembled, the bishop of Auxerre addressed St. Louis in their name as follows:—"Sire, the lords here present, archbishops and bishops, have commissioned me to tell you that Christendom is perishing in your hands." The king, upon this, crossed himself, and said, "Now, tell me how this is." "Sire," said he, "it is because excommunications are so little cared for at this time, that the excommunicated suffer themselves to die before they seek for absolution, and will not render satisfaction to the Church. So, we require you, sire, for God and your duty's sake, to give order to your provosts and bailiffs to compel all who shall endure excommunication for a year and a day, to seek absolution by the seizure of their goods." To this the king replied, that he would willingly so command as regarded those who were proved to him to have done wrong. . . . And the king said that he would abide by his determination, for that it would be contrary to God and common sense to compel people to seek absolution, when the priests had done them wrong."<sup>\*</sup>

France, so long the servant of ecclesiastical power, assumed a freer spirit in the thirteenth century. Though allied with pope and Guelph against the emperors, it became Ghibeline in spirit. Nevertheless, there was this great difference; it carried on its opposition by legal forms, and, therefore, the more formidably. From the commencement of the thirteenth century, the barons had lent a cheerful support to Philippe-Auguste against the pope and the bishops; and, in 1225, they declared that they would either quit their lands or take up arms, if the king did not put a stop to the encroachments of the ecclesiastical power. In fact, the Church, ever acquiring and never letting go, would in the long run have absorbed all. And, in 1246, the famous Pierre Mauclerc entered into a league to this end with the counts of Angoulême and St. Pol, and numerous barons. The terms in which the act of association is drawn up, are of extraordinary energy. The hand of the legists is visible: one would fancy one's self already reading the language of Guillaume de Nogaret.<sup>†</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> Joinville, p. 15.

<sup>†</sup> *Éclaircissement de M. de M. Chron. ap. Art de Vérifier les Dates*, vi. 1.

<sup>‡</sup> Guili. de Thoro, Vlt. 8. Thom. Aquin. De rege Francie dicitur quod semper in rebus arduis dicti Doctoris requiebat consilium, quod frequenter expertus fuerat esse certum. . . . "When he desired," says the writer, "to be guided in certain arduous and necessary matters on the following morning, he would send to the aforesaid doctor to consider during the night the dubious point of the case, so as to give him the fitting answer on the next day."

<sup>§</sup> M. de Paris, éd. ann. 1247, p. 493. By his will, (A. D. 1258), he left them his books and large sums of money, and appointed a council, to consist of the bishop of Paris, the chancellor, the prior of the Dominicans, and the guardian of the Franciscans, to appoint to vacant benefices. . . . Bulans, iii. 129. After the first crusade, he always had two confessors, one a Dominican, the other a Franciscan. Guili. de Thoro, ap. Du Rousne, x. 434. (Queen Marg. re's confessor relates that he had entertained the idea of turning Dominican, and that his wife had much difficulty in dissuading him from it. He took care to bore all to the pope Guillelme de St. Anst's book. The pope turned him thanks, and prayed him to continue his protection to the monks. Bulans, iii. 313. From a letter addressed to the pope by professors of the university, in which they request to admit Mendicant friars among their number, we find that St. Louis had given them grounds. "Sire, by allowance of our lord the king they have an armed multitude ever at their beck, whence they have recently begun to celebrate the solemnities of their offices without us, with many armed men . . ." Id. 290.

<sup>\*</sup> Joinville, p. 14.

<sup>†</sup> "Seeing that the superstition of the priests (superstition of the fact that it was by war and bloodshed, under Charlemagne and others, that the kingdom of France was converted from the error of the Gentiles to the Catholic faith) has so absorbed the jurisdiction of secular princes, that these sons of serfs judge after their law free-men and the sons of free-men, albeit, according to the law of the first conquerors, it is we who should rather judge them. . . . We, all nobles of the kingdom, considering that it was not by the written law, nor by clerical arrogances, but by the sweat and toil of war that the kingdom was conquered . . . resolve that no one, priest or layman, shall in future summon any before the ordinary judge or de-legate, (spiritual judge?) except in cases of heresy, marriage, and tithes, under pain for the violator of notice of the loss of all his





solemn days, he would himself produce it from the shrine, and show it to the people. Thus he unconsciously accustomed them to see the king dispense with the priest. In like manner, David took the shew-bread from off the table. There is still pointed out, on the south side of the little church, a narrow cell, supposed to have been St. Louis's oratory.

Even during his life, his contemporaries, in their simplicity, had suspected that *he was already a saint*, and more holy than the priests. "While he lived, it might be said of him, as is written of St. Hilary, 'Oh, how exceeding perfect a layman, whose life priests themselves desire to imitate!' For many priests and prelates would desire to be like the blessed king in his virtues and in his manners; for he was even supposed to be a saint while he lived."<sup>\*</sup>

When St. Louis interred the dead, "there were present, in their robes, the archbishop of Sur and the bishop of Damietta, and their clergy, who repeated the burial service, but they stopped their noses for the stench; though not once was the good king Louis seen to stop his, such were his earnestness and devotion."<sup>†</sup>

Joinville relates that a large company of Armenians, who were going on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, came and asked him to show them *the saint king*.—"I went to the king, who was sitting in a tent, leaning against the pole of the tent, and sitting on the sand without carpet orught else under him. I said to him, 'Sire, there is without a large company from the Great Herminia, who are going to Jerusalem, and who pray me, sire, to show them the *saint king*; but I do not wish to kiss your relics yet.' And he laughed a clear loud laugh, and told me to tell them to come in; and I did so. And when they had seen the king, they commended him to God, and the king them."<sup>‡</sup>

This sanctity is touchingly apparent in the last words he wrote to his daughter: "Dear daughter, the measure according to which we ought to love God, is to love him beyond measure."<sup>§</sup>

And so in the instructions he left to his son, Philippe:—"If it happen that any suit between rich and poor come before thee, support the stranger's cause, but show not too much heat therein until thou know the truth, for those of thy counsel might be fearful to speak against thee, and thus thou oughtest not to desire.

And if thou art given to understand that thou holdest any thing wrongfully, either in thy own time or in that of thy ancestors, quickly restore it, no matter how great the thing may be, either in land, or money, or otherwise."<sup>||</sup> "The love which he bore his people appeared by what he said to his eldest son during a severe illness he had at Fontainebleau. 'Dear son,' he said, 'I pray thee to gain the love of the people of thy kingdom; for, truly, I should prefer a Scot's coming from Scotland to govern the people of the kingdom well and loyally, to thy governing them ill in the face of the world.'"<sup>¶</sup>

Beautiful and touching words! it is difficult to read them without emotion. But at the same time the emotion comes mingled with self-reflection and sadness. This purity and gentleness of soul, this marvellous elevation to which Christianity raised its hero, who will restore to us? . . . Indisputably we now enjoy a more enlightened morality: is it a firmer one? This is a question well calculated to trouble every sincere friend of progress. None more warmly than the writer of these lines identifies himself with the immense steps made by mankind in modern times, and with its glorious hopes. The living dust which the powerful trampled under foot, has acquired a human voice, has risen to property, intelligence, and participation in political rights. Who does not bound with joy in seeing the victory of equality? I only fear that while acquiring so just a feeling of his rights, man has lost some part of his feeling of his duties. One's heart stagnates to find that in the universal progress, morality has not gained power. The idea of freewill and of moral responsibility becomes daily fainter. Strange! in proportion as the old fatalism of climates and of races which weighed upon antique man lessens and fades away, there succeeds and grows up as if a fatalism of ideas. Be passion, fatalist; let it seek to kill liberty, well and good: 'tis its part, its office. But that science, but that art. . . . And thou, too, my son!" . . . You cannot look out at a window without beholding this larva of fatalism. Vainly do the symbolism of Vico and of Herder, the natural pantheism of Schelling, the historic pantheism of Hegel, the history of races and the history of ideas which have done so much honor to France, differ in every thing else against liberty, they are all agreed. The artist even, the poet, who is bound to no system, but who reflects the idea of his age, has, with his pen of bronze, inscribed on the old cathedral this sinister word, *'Necessity.'*<sup>‡</sup>

So wavers the poor, small light of moral liberty. And yet the tempest of opinions, the wind of passion, blow from the four quarters of the world. . . . The light burns, widowed and solitary; each day, each hour, it sheds a

<sup>\*</sup> Ibid. p. 371.—"He had the Church service performed so solemnly and deliberately, as to frighten himself and all with him." Ibid. p. 312.

<sup>†</sup> Guizot de Nangis, *Annales*, p. 225.

<sup>‡</sup> Joinville, p. 118. "The passage is mutilated in Petitot's edition, t. i., p. 32. It cannot refrain from supplying an admirable passage from queen Marguerite's confessor:—"The time of life fitted to endure labor, practice one's self in arts, and exercise the heart in works: the early prime so favorable to its poor mortals—did not pass by the blessed St. Louis in vain, so that he died most boldly, as knowing that the best things fade away and the worst remain. Just as in the full pitcher—the first, which is purest, runs out, and the troubled water settles down; so in the life of man, the best part is its beginning and time of youth." P. 221.

<sup>§</sup> *Le Confesseur*, &c., p. 327.

<sup>\*</sup> Ibid. p. 331.

<sup>†</sup> Joinville, p. 4, ed. 1761.

<sup>‡</sup> (The allusion is to Victor Hugo's *Nôtre-Dame*).—TRANSLATOR.



These doctrines, common to members of the Franciscans, were likewise received by many of the Dominicans. On this, the university burst forth. The most distinguished of its doctors was a native of Franche-Comté, of the Jura, Guillaume de St. Amour, a man of hard and penetrating intellect. The portrait of this intrepid champion of the university was long to be seen on a window at the Sorbonne.\* He published a series of eloquent and witty pamphlets against the Mendicants, in which he tried to identify them with the Beghards and other heretics, whose preachers were, like them, wanderers and mendicants, and entitled, *Discourse on the Publican and the Pharisee; Questions on the rule of Almsgiving, and the healthy Mendicant; Treatise on the Dangers predicted to the Church in the last Days, &c.*† His strength lies in his intimacy with Scripture, and the admirable use he makes of it; seasoned, too, with a piquant satire, which is couched in half a word. Unfortunately, it is too clear that the author has other motives than the interests of the Church. There was a literary rivalry and professional jealousy between the university professors and the Mendicants. The latter had obtained a chair at Paris in 1230—the time that the university, offended at the regent's severity, had withdrawn to Orleans and Angers.‡ This chair they had kept, and the university did not shine in the presence of two orders, whose *savant* was Albertus Magnus, and whose logician was St. Thomas.

This great controversy was argued before the pope at Anagni. The Dominican, Albertus Magnus, Archbishop of Mentz, and St. Bonaventura, general of the Franciscans, were Guillaume de St. Amour's opponents.§ St. Thomas

noted down in his memory the whole disputation, and wrote an account of it. Guillaume de St. Amour lost the day; but though condemning him, the pope at the same time censured John of Parma's book, thus animadverting equally on logicians and on mystics, on the partisans of the letter and those of the spirit.\*

It was St. Thomas who laid down this middle course, so hard of attainment, by which the Church essayed to fix and stay herself, without swerving to the right or to the left; and it is his chiefest glory. Coming at the end of the middle age, as Aristotle did at the end of the Greek world, he was the Aristotle of Christianity, whose legislation he drew up, endeavoring to reconcile logic with faith for the suppression of all heresy. The colossal monument which he reared ravished his age with admiration. Albertus Magnus declared that St. Thomas had established the rule which would endure to the consummation of time.† His overpowering task utterly absorbed this extraordinary man, and occupied his whole life in the exclusion of all else; a life that was entirely one of abstraction, and whose events are ideas. From five years of age he took the Scriptures in his hand, and henceforward never ceased from meditation.‡ He was from the country of idealism, the country where had flourished the school of Pythagoras and the school of Elea, from the country of Bruno and of Vico. In the schools, he was called by his companions the large mute ox of Sicily.§ He only broke this silence to dictate; and when sleep closed the eyes of his body, those of his soul remained open, and he went on still dictating. One day, at sea, he was not conscious of a fearful tempest; another, so deep was his abstraction, he did not let fall a lighted candle which was burning his fingers.¶ Fall of the dangers of the Church, he was ever dreaming of it, and even at the table of St. Louis. Giving the table a triumphant thump, he one day exclaimed, "The Manicheans never

is spiritual, Christ's Gospel, literal.—That the third state of the world, which is peculiarly the Holy Ghost's, will be without parade or figures, and the true meaning of the two statements will appear without a veil.—That as in the beginning of the first state . . . Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob . . . and as in the beginning of the new . . . Zacharias, John the Baptist, and the new Christ Jesus . . . so in the beginning of the third there will be three like them, namely, the man clad in linen, Joachim, and an angel holding a sharp scythe, Dominic, and another angel having the mark of the living God, Francis. And in like manner he shall have twelve angels . . . as Jacob in the first, Christ in the second.—That the everlasting Gospel will be intruded to that order which is perfected and equally composed of the order of laymen and of priests, which he calls the order of Independents.—That the virtue of the New Testament shall only last for the next six years, that is, to the year 1236.—That the Roman Church is literal, and not spiritual.—That the Greek pope walks more according to the Gospel than the Latin."

\* This portrait has been engraved and prefixed to his work. . . . Constantine, 1632, 4to.

† *Corrado de Pulchro et Phisano. De Quantitate Electionis. De Valde Mendicanti quatuor. Tractatus de periculis Novissimorum Temporum ex Scripturis sumptus, &c.* His last work "was immediately translated into French verse by the pudent youth of the University in order to make it known to the common people." Bulaus, iii. 349.—It was reprinted at Rouen in Louis the Thirtieth's time, but its sale was stopped by a decree of the privy council, dated July 2, 1633.

‡ Bulaus, iii. 139.

§ The Mendicant orders were greatly alarmed. "When the above-mentioned doctor, Thomas, was appointed to answer the above-mentioned volume, not without tears and sobs of those who doubted of the ability of the order to withstand

such powerful adversaries, brother Thomas, taking the volume, and commending himself to the prayers of the brothers," &c. . . . Guill. de Thoco, Vit. St. Thomæ. ap. Acta SS. Martii, i.

\* He pronounced sentence of condemnation on Guillaume de St. Amour publicly, and on John of Parma with less parade and circumstance. Bulaus, iii. 329.

† *Processus de St. Thom. Aquin. ap. Acta SS. Martii, p. 714. Concludit quod Fr. Thomas in scripturis non inposit finem omnibus laborantibus usque ad finem salutis, et quod omnes deinceps frustra laborant.*—The Dominicans decided in two chapters held, one at Paris in 1294, the other at Carcassonne in 1342, "that the brethren were faithfully to follow the doctrine of St. Thomas, and that if any master, bachelor, or brother departed from it, it should be reason sufficient to suspend him from his function." Mortene, Thes. Anecd. iv. 1817.—Holscher, Cod. Regal. v. Brockle, iv. 114.

‡ Acta SS. p. 160.

§ An epithet full of meaning to all who have noticed the dreamy and monumental appearance of the ox of Southern Italy. "St. Thomas was large-bodied and upright . . . of a whiten complexion (*coloris tristici*, brown as rip corn?) . . . with a large head . . . somewhat bald." Acta SS. p. 672.—"He was fat." (*Grossus fuit*). *Processus de St. Thom. ibid.*

¶ Acta SS. p. 673, 674.

Below this sublime region, be it the wind and the storm. Below the angel was a more mortality beneath metaphysics, below St. Thomas, St. Louis. In the latter, the thirteenth century has its Passion—a Passion of another, profound, penetrating character, hardly dreamed of by previous ages. I allude to the first agony with which no one doubts convulsed souls, when the whole harmony of the middle age was troubled, when the great order in which men were settled began to shake, when sects clamored against sects, right setting itself against right, the most deadly conflicts found themselves compelled to submit to a common and examination. The pious king of France, who only asked to submit and be saved, was only compelled to struggle, debate, and choose. Humble as he was, and modest of his rank, he was forced first of all to oppose his mother, next, to become arbiter between the pope and the emperor, to judge the spiritual judge of Christendom, to recall to the path of moderation

St. Louis told Jemville, that at the moment of death, the devil strives to shake the faith of the dying man. " And therefore, one ought to be on one's guard, and defend one's self against the devil, by saying to the enemy, when he sends such temptation, ' Go thou gone, and one ought to say to the enemy, 'Thou shalt

... p. 12. In the contest one which he left to his son King Ptolemy, there was a clause to the effect, "In your attempt to drive Palestinians and all other evil people out of your kingdom so that the land may be thoroughly purged of them." — *Le Confesseur*, p. 285.

not tempt me from my firm belief in all the articles of faith, &c."\*

"He said, that faith and belief consisted in giving our steadfast credence, although only on the assurance of hearsay."†

He told Joinville that a doctor of theology one day applied to bishop William of Paris, and set forth to him, with tears, that he could not "force his heart to believe in the sacrament of the altar," (transubstantiation.) The bishop asked whether, when the devil pressed this temptation on his thoughts, he took delight in it ! The doctor replied that, on the contrary, it gave him exceeding grief, and that he would be hewed to pieces rather than renounce the Eucharist. The bishop then comforted him with the assurance, that he had more merit than he who had no doubts.‡

Trivial as these signs appear, they are grave, and deserve attention. When St. Louis himself was troubled, how many souls must have doubted, and suffered in silence. But the bitterness of this first falling off in faith was, that men shrank from avowing it. At this day we are inured and hardened to the torments of doubt : the points are blunted. But let us carry ourselves back to the first moment in which the soul, still living, and warm with faith and love, felt the cold iron enter. The pain was harrowing ; but it was exceeded by the horror and surprise. Would you know what the candid and believing soul suffered ! Recall the moment that faith first failed you in love, that you first doubted the loved object.

To anchor your life on an idea, to rest it on a boundless love, and see it failing you ! To love, to doubt, to hate one's self for this doubt, to feel the ground receding from under one's feet, and the abyss engulfing us in our impiety, in that hell of ice where divine love never shines, . . . and yet to clutch at, and hang by, the branches overhanging the gulf, to strive to believe that we still believe, to fear to be afraid, to doubt of one's own doubt. . . . But if the doubt be uncertain, if the thought be not sure of the thought, is not this to open a new region to doubt, a hell under hell ! . . . This is the temptation of temptations ; all others are nothing in comparison. Yet did this temptation shrink from the light of day and burn of shame within itself, until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Luther is a great master hereupon ; no one had a more horrible experience of these tortures of the soul :—" Ah ! were St. Paul now living, how would I wish to hear from himself what kind of temptation it was which he went through. It was not the sting of the flesh, it was not the good Thekla, as the papists dream.

. . . Jerome and the other fathers did not

know extreme temptations : they suffered but puerile ones, those of the flesh, which indeed have their own pangs as well. Augustine and Ambrose had theirs ; *they trembled before the sword*. . . . There is something beyond despair caused by one's sins, . . . as when it is said, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me !' 'Tis as if the speaker said, 'Thou art my enemy without cause.' Or the cry of Job, 'I am just and innocent.' "

Christ himself, of whom Job was the type, experienced this anguish of doubt, this night of the soul, when not a star appears above the horizon. 'Tis the last pang of the Passion : the summit of the cross. But all which has preceded this term of agony, all that must be understood by the word—Passion—in its different senses, popular and mystic, we must here essay to describe. In this abyss lies the mind of the middle age ; which age is wholly contained in Christianity, as Christianity is in the Passion. Literature, art, and the different developments of the human mind from the third to the fifteenth century, all depend on this mystery.

Eternal mystery, which, though idealized on Calvary, does not the less continue to be. Yes, Christ is still on the cross ; nor will he descend. The Passion endures, and will endure. The world has its Passion likewise ; as has humanity in its long historic life, and each man's heart during the few moments it beats. To each his cross, and his wounds. Mine date from the day that my soul fell into this miserable body ; which I finish wearing out in writing this. My Passion began with my Incarnation. Poor soul ; what hadst thou done to be burdened with this flesh ! Virgin, thou wast thrown—as was Eve into the garden of seductions—ignorant, impassioned, avid, and timid, prepared both for temptation and fall. Life is already a step in the Passion.

Then this soul, condemned to a Hymen with matter, voluntarily materializes herself. She relishes her punishment, embraces it, loses herself in it. She has set out on a journey through the mud of the highways, eating, drinking, enjoying herself at every gate, like those incarnate gods of India, who, the better to personate humanity, sully themselves with human pleasures ; or, if you will, like the prophet condemned to represent, by symbols of shame, the adultery of Jerusalem, faithless to her divine spouse.

This is the eastern Passion, the immolation of the soul to nature, the suicide of liberty. But liberty is vivacious ; she will not die. She rises indignantly against nature, and at first repels its threats. She stiffens her arms against Nemean lions and hydras of Lerna. All the labors imposed upon her by her stepmother, she accomplishes. She tames, and gives peace to the world. This is the heroic Passion ;—strength, the beginning of virtue.

Still, if all were ended with this external

\* Joinville, p. 10.

† Id. ibid.—G. Villani, viii. 200. Word was one day brought to him that Christ had appeared in the host—"Let those who doubt," he said, "go and see ; for my part I see him in my heart."

‡ Joinville, p. 10, 11.

life! But, what if the enemy remain within  
uselves, if the soul be subdued by love, if the  
king find his own conqueror within himself,  
Hercules clothe himself in the burning tunic,  
he sage Merlin, in obedience to his Vyvyan,  
down in his own tomb? This delirium men  
I call Passion. 'Tis the antique, I think;  
tell me, when will it end?

Against this new enemy Hercules could find  
no shelter—the funeral pile. 'Tis by this  
trial, by the purifying flame of solitary pri-  
sons in which the heroes of the life within,  
athletes of morality, the solitary Christians,  
Richis of India steeped in penitence, con-  
quer a long life, that the soul acquired such  
power that at the wrinkling of their brow the  
seven worlds would have been turned to pow-  
der.

Still there is something higher than the  
power of dashing seven globes to pieces: 'tis  
live pure in the midst of the impurity of the  
world, yet to love, and die for it.

Nature roars with rage at this mild, calm  
strength, this victorious serenity. The mate-  
rial infinite, in presence of the moral infinite,  
appears itself to it, and is troubled and stung  
to spite. What can it do with its brutal  
force, its massive bulk? Strike, only strike.  
Ray, then, on one side, in arms, all kings and  
people, and, if this do not suffice, let all the  
forces of creation shiver in place against all, the  
ruling deed. A strange combat, and such as  
alone were worthy to assist at, were God  
himself not the combatant.

The mass strikes, shatters, crushes. . . .  
But the outward form she has crushed,  
is destroyed, the spirit soars on its wings  
with blessings on its cruel liberator, whom it  
immes and sanctifies: such is the deed of  
the Passion, of the divine Passion. The mir-  
acle is, that this Passion is not alien to the pas-  
sion. Passion is action by free consent, by the  
freer's will, it is even action pre-eminently  
*driven*, to use the Greek word. The Passion,  
whatever may be said to the contrary, is of all  
beats the *dramatic* subject.

Although the Passion is active and voluntary,  
as much as this will as in a body, this soul in  
sorrow, this God in a man, there is a mo-  
ment of fear and doubt. In this consists the  
tragic part, the terror of the drama: it is this  
which reveals in twain the veil of the temple,  
which sheds the earth in darkness, which re-  
veals me as I read the Gospel, and when I see  
in day wings tears from me. "That God  
could have doubted God," that the sinner says  
a shadow I have said, "Father, Father, have  
you then forsaken me?"

All heroic souls who have dared great things  
for mankind have known this trial: all have  
more or less approached this ideal of suffering.  
It was in such a moment that Brutus exclaimed,  
"Virtus, thou art but a name." It was in  
such a moment that Gregory the Seventh said,  
I have followed justice and shunned iniquity,  
and therefore I die in exile."

But to be forsaken of God, to be left to one's  
self, to one's own strength, to the sense of duty  
to resist the world in arms,—there is in all this  
a colossal greatness. It is to learn the true  
key to man, to taste the divine bitterness of  
the fruit of knowledge, of which it was said at  
the beginning of the world, "Ye shall know  
that ye are gods, ye shall become gods."

Here you have the whole mystery of the  
middle age, the secret of its ever-flowing tears,  
and the key to its profound genius—precious  
tears, which have flowed into limpid legends,  
into marvellous poems, and which, heaping  
themselves up towards the sky, have become  
crystallized into gigantic cathedrals, that have  
wished to rise to the Lord!

Seated on the bank of this great poetic river  
of the middle age, I can distinguish in it by the  
color of their waters, two different sources.  
The epic torrent, which erst gushed out of the  
depths of pagan nature to traverse the Greek  
and Roman heroism, rolls mingled and troubled  
with the confused waters of the world. By  
its side flows in purer current the Christian  
stream, which springs from the foot of the  
cross.

#### THE EPOPEE OF THE MIDDLE AGE.

Two poetries, two literatures—the one chiv-  
alrous, warlike, and heroic, and from an early  
period, aristocratic; the other, ever religious  
and popular.

The first, too, is popular at its birth. It be-  
gins with the war against the infidels, with  
Charlemagne and Roland. I can readily be-  
lieve that there existed among us from this  
time, and even before, the poems of Celtic origin  
in which the heroic struggles of the West  
with the Romans and Germans, were illustrated  
by the names of Fingal or of Arthur. But  
the importance of the indigenous principle, of  
the Celtic element, must not be exaggerated.

What is proper to France is to have little  
proper to it, to receive all, to appropriate all,  
to be France, and not to be the world. Our nation-  
ality has an irresistible power of attraction: all  
comes to it, willingly or not. It is the least  
exclusively national, and most liberal, of all  
nationalities. The indigenous basis has been  
often submerged and inundated by foreign al-  
lusions. All the poetries of the world have  
flowed into ours in rivulets, in torrents. While  
Celtic traditions were still living from the moun-  
tains of Wales, and of Brittany, like the rain  
trickling among the green oaks of my Ardennes,  
the catenat of the Carolingian romances was  
coming down from the Pyrenees. I was as far  
as from the mountains of Astar and of Swabia,  
there have been poured into us, through the  
channel of Austria, a flood of the Nibelungen.  
The creative power of Alexander and of Troy,  
despite the Alps, overflowed from the Asiatic  
world, and still from the distant East, thrown  
open by the crusade, there flowed to us, in fa-

bles, tales, and parables, the recovered rivers of Paradise.\*

Europe knew herself to be Europe, by combating with Africa and Asia: hence, Homer and Herodotus; hence our Carlovingian poems, with the holy wars of Spain, the victory of Charles Martel, and the death of Roland. Literature is the awakening consciousness of a nationality. The people are unified in one man. Roland dies in the solemn passes of the mountains which separate Europe from African Spain. Like the Philæas, immortalized at Carthage, he consecrates with his tomb the boundary of his country. Grand as the struggle, lofty as heroism, is the tomb of the hero; his gigantic *tumulus* is the Pyrenees themselves. But the hero who dies for Christendom is a Christian hero, a warrior, barbarian Christ; like Christ, he is sold with his twelve companions; like Christ, he sees himself forsaken, deserted. From his Pyrenean Calvary he cries out, he winds the horn which is heard from Toulouse to Saragossa. He winds it; but the traitor, Ganelon of Mentz, and the careless Charlemagne, will not hear the sound. He winds it, and Christendom, for which he dies, still makes no reply. Then he shivers his sword in pieces: he longs to die. But he will die neither by the Saracen sword, nor by his own arms. He swells the accusing sound, the veins of his neck start out, they burst, his noble blood wells forth: he dies of indignation at his unjust desertion by the world.

The sonorous voice of this grand poetry was soon to grow fainter, just like the sound of Roland's horn, in proportion as the crusade, seceding from the Pyrenees, was transferred

from the mountains to the centre of the Peninsula, and as the feudal dismemberment of the world caused the Christian and imperial unity, still prevailing throughout the Carlovingian poems, to be forgotten. The chivalrous poetry, smitten with personal prowess and heroic pride, which was the soul of the feudal world, took a hate to royalty, law, unity. The dissolution of the empire, and the resistance of the barons to the central power in the time of Charles the Bald and the later Carlovingians, were celebrated in the persons of Gérard of Roussillon and of the four sons of Aymon, (les quatre-fils-Aymon,) all four galloping on the same course a significant plurality. But the ideal is not expressed by many, but by one alone, by Renaud, Renaud de Montauban,\* the hero on his mountain, on his tower,—in the plain, the besieger, king and people, innumerable, but hardly confident against their solitary opponent. The king—that man-people—strong in numbers, and representing the idea of number, is incomprehensible to this feudal poetry: he seems to be a coward.† Charlemagne has already made a sorry figure in the previous cycle; he has suffered Roland to perish. In the present he pursues Renaud and Gérard of Roussillon by cowardly means, and prevails over them by stratagem. He plays the part of the legitimate and unworthy Eurystheus, persecuting Hercules, and subjecting him to rude labors.

This apparent contradiction between authority and equity, which, after all, is but hatred of law—the revolt of individual against general man—is ill-supported by Renaud, by Gérard,

\* Besides former laborers in this field, as Faucher, Tresson, St. Pierre, Le grand d'Aussy, Barbissan, Meon, &c., we must mention B. Chet, Goerres, Fauriol, Monin, Guinet, and the last editor of Warton.—See also, M. P. Paris, Introduction au Roman de *Berte*, dedicated to M. de Montmerqué.

† Following the publication of the Roman du *Renaud*, there have appeared, under your auspices, both our first comic opera, *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*, and our first drama, *Le Jeu d'Adam*, &c. &c. M. Boquillon, too, has contributed to us, by offering the poems of *Marie de France*, and M. Goupil, the graceful romance of *Le Châtelain de Coucy*. M. F. M. Chet, not content with having published the romance of the *Comte de Puttier*, and that of *La Faidette*, is about to bring out, with the assistance of an able orientalist, a poem on *Alchamir*, from which we may expect to learn the opinion entertained in the West, in the thirteenth century, of the religion and person of the Arab legislator. M. Boudinon is joined with an edition of the *Chant de Roncevaux*, and M. Robert, whose labors on *La Fontaine* are well known, will shortly publish the beautiful romance of *Pierres et de Blans*. Meanwhile, M. Raynaud is on the eve of completing his *Glossaire des Langues Vulgaires*, and the *Art de l'Imprimerie* is seeing through the press a great work on *Les Bordes, les Jougues, et les Trouvères*.

—How many romances of the Round Table have we not still in Latin? Are not Nennius, the *Fasti* of Geoffrey, Brutus of England, the *Life of Merlin*, his *Prophecies*, the romance of the Knight of the Lion, that of Joseph of Arimathea, &c., in all large libraries? Do we not also find in Latin Turpin's Romance of Charlemagne, and that of Charlemagne's Voyage to Jerusalem, the romance of Oger the Dane, that of Amas and Amichon, of Atlas and Porphyrias, *alias* of the Siege of Athens, those of Alexander Polopon, &c. &c. Finally, have we not a large number of our fabrications in the *Encyclopédie* of Pierre-Alphonse, and in the *Gesta Romanorum*? Delarue, *Bardes Armoricains*, p. 64.

\* A pleonasm: in Celtic, *Alban, Alp*, signify mountain—so *Mont-auban* is equivalent to "mountain-mountain."

† The following is a passage from *Guillaume au Court Nez*, (Paris, Introd. de *Berte aux Grands Pieds*), quoted in *Gérard de Nevers*:—

"Grant fu la cort en la sale a Leon,  
Moult ot as tables oïseax et venouse.  
Qui que manjast la char et le poisson,  
Onques Guillaume n'en praso le moult:  
Ains menja tourte, et bat signe a folon.  
Quant mengier orent li chevalier baron,  
Les napes oient esculer et garcon.  
Li quens Guillaume mist le roi a raison:  
—'Qu'uns en pense,' dit-il, li sés Charlen?  
'Secours moi vers la geste Mahon.'  
Dist Loers: 'Nons en consillierons,  
Et le matin savoir le vous ferons.  
Ma volente, se je irai o non.'  
Guillaume l'ot, si tint come charbon;  
Il s'abissa, si a pris un baston.  
Puis dit au roi: 'Vostre flex vous rendes,  
N'en tendez mes vaillant une espere,  
Ne vostre ami ne sera ne vostre hom,  
Et si venez, o vos voillez o non.'"

MS. de *Gérard de Nevers*, No. 7494, thirteenth century, corrected from the oldest of the MS. of *Guillaume au Court Nez*, No. 6995.

"Great was the throng in the hall at Leon, the table spread with fowl and venison: let who would eat flesh and fish, not a bit passed William's chin, but he sat placid, and drank plenty of water. When the knights and barons had done; squire and page removed the cloths. Count William took the king to book: "What have you determined about your son Charles? Will you and me against the Turks?" Louis replied, "We will take counsel, and in the morning, will let you know my will, whether I go or not." William heard, and reddened like a coal. He stooped down, picked up a stick, and said to the king, "Stand just so, or I will not value you a stick, nor be your friend nor your man; and you shall go, whether you will or not."

[illegible][illegible]

M. used a charge of Engraver's blue ink - "M. 708"

[illegible]



The guardians of the cup and of the temple, the Templists, must remain pure. Neither Arthur nor Perceval is worthy to touch it. For merely approaching it, the amorous Lancelot remains all but lifeless for thirty-four days. The new chivalry of the Graal is the work of priestly hands: it is a bishop who dubs Titivel a knight. This sacerdotal poetry places its ideal so high, that it is sterile and powerless therefore. Vainly does it exalt the virtues of the Graal: the Graal remains unattainable, the children of Perceval, Lancelot, and Gawain alone can approach it. And when the true knight, the fitting guardian of the Graal, is at last to be produced, it is obliged to take one Sir Galahad, perfect at all points, a saint in his lifetime, but much unknown. This obscure hero, brought into the world on purpose, has no great influence.

Such was the powerlessness of chivalrous poetry. Daily more sophisticated and more subtle, it became the sister of scholasticism, a scholasticism of love as of devotion. In the South, where the *jongleurs* hawked it about in lays and ballads through court and castle, it was overlaid and extinguished by the refinements of form, and the fetters of the most artificial and labored system of versification ever devised. In the North it sank from the epopee to the romance, from symbol to allegory; that is, into the void. In its decrepitude, it still anticked on throughout the fourteenth century, in the sorry imitations of the sorry "Romance of the Rose;" while above its notes there rose by degrees the shrill voice of popular derision in the tales and *fabliaux*.

The poetry of chivalry, then, had to resign itself to death. What had it done for humanity during all these ages! Man, whom it had been pleased in its confidence to take simple, still ignorant, mute as Perceval, brutal as Roland or Renaud, and had promised to conduct through the different steps of chivalrous initiation up to the dignity of Christian hero—it left weak, discouraged, miserable. From the cycle of Roland to that of the Graal, his sadness has gone on increasing. He has been led wandering through forests, in pursuit of giants and monsters, and with woman ever in view. His have been the labors of the ancient Hercules, and his weaknesses as well. The poetry of chivalry has scarcely developed its hero, and has retained him in a state of infancy; like the thoughtless mother of Perceval, who prolongs the imbecility of her son's early age. And therefore he quits this mother of his, just as Gérard of Roussillon throws up chivalry, and turns charcoal-burner; and Renaud of Montauban turns mason, and carries stones on his back to help to build Cologne cathedral.\*

\* After treating of chivalrous, I ought to proceed to consider Christian poetry, as exemplified in legends, &c. But I hope to discuss this great subject thoroughly, elsewhere. Here, I shall only treat of the poetry of worship, and of Christian art. See note, p. 171.

The knight turns man, turns one of the people, devotes himself to the Church; for in the Church, alone, resides at this time manly intellect, his true life, his repose. While this silly virgin of the chivalrous epopee hastes over mountains and valleys, mounted on the crupper behind Lancelot and Tristan, the wise virgin of the Church keeps her lamp lighted, waiting for the great awakening. Seated near the mysterious manger, she watches over the infant people who grow up between the ox and the ass during her Christmas night: presently, kings will come to worship her. The Church is herself—people. Together they play in the great drama of the world the combat of the soul and of matter, of man and of nature, the sacrifice, the incarnation, the Passion. The chivalrous and aristocratic epopee was the poetry of love, of the human Passion, of the pretended happy of this world. The ecclesiastical drama, otherwise called worship, is the poetry of the people, the poetry of those who suffer, of the suffering—the divine Passion.

The church was at this time the real domicile of the people. A man's house, the wretched masonry to which he returned in the evening, was only a temporary shelter. To say truth, there was but one house, the house of God. Not in vain had the Church her right of asylum; she was now the universal asylum: social life altogether sought refuge with her. Man prayed there; there the commune held its deliberations. The bell was the voice of the city: she summoned to the labors of the field,† to civil affairs, sometimes to the battles of liberty. In Italy, it was in the churches that the sovereign people assembled. It was at St. Mark's that the deputies of Europe sought from the Venetians a fleet for the fourth crusade. Trade was carried on around the church: the places of pilgrimage were fairs. The articles of merchandise received the priestly blessing. Even cattle, as still continues to be the custom at Naples, were brought to receive benediction. The Church did not refuse it: she suffered *these little ones to draw near*. Heretofore, in Paris, Easter hams were sold in the parvis Notre-Dame, and as the buyers took them away, they had them blessed. Formerly they did better: they ate in the church, and after the feast came the dance. The Church encouraged these infantine joys.

At this period, the people and the Church, which was recruited from among the people, were one and the same thing, like child and

\* As at Paris, the churches of St. Jacques-la-Boucherie, St. Genevieve, &c. The abbé Lebrun noticed on the facade of the latter church an enormous iron ring, through which those who sought asylum passed their arms.—It was in churches, too, that the sick were laid; especially those attacked by the *mal des ordres*, (burning or sweating sickness.)

† The silver bell at Reims was rung on the 1st of March to announce the resumption of agricultural labor. Another bell used to be rung from the year 1466, every morning and evening, at the hour of opening and shutting the gates and the manufactories of the town.

From the east come the sun, the wind and sturdy, fitted for  
burden. He, at once, gives your fine mouth to sing, you  
shall have his strength and strength of mind.

The middle age, juster than we, discerned in the ass sobriety, patience, resignation, and I know not how many Christian virtues. Wherefore be ashamed of the ass! The Saviour had felt no such shame.\* . . . At a later time these simple manifestations turned into mockery; and the Church was obliged to impose silence on the people, remove them, keep them at a distance. But in the first centuries of the middle age, what harm was there in all this! Is not all permitted to the child! So little alarm did the Church feel at these popular dramas, that she borrowed their boldest features for the decoration of her walls. In Rouen cathedral† we see a pig playing on a fiddle; in that of Chartres, an ass holds a sort of harp;‡ at Essone, a bishop holds a fool's bauble.§ Elsewhere, we see the images of vices and of sins sculptured with all the liberty of pious cynicism.|| The courageous artist does not shrink from representing the incest of Lot or the infamies of Sodom.¶

The Church exhibited at this period a marvellous dramatic genius, full of boldness and of easy good-fellowship, and often stamped with touching puerility. No one laughed in Germany when the new curé, in the midst of the mass of installation, walked up to his mother, and led her out to dance. If she were dead, there was no difficulty in saving her; he *put his mother's soul under the candlestick*. The love of mother and of son, of Mary and of Jesus, was a rich source of the pathetic to the

He was slow of foot, unless the stick, or the goad, should prick him in the buttocks. Ha, sir ass, &c.

He on the hills of Sichem, reared by Reuben, crossed the Jordan, bounded into Bethlechem. Ha, sir ass, &c.

Lo with his great ears, the son of the yoke, the excellent ass, the lord of asses. Ha, sir ass, &c.

In frisking he excels fawns, deer, and killings, swift beyond the dream-dances of the Madrilones. Ha, sir ass, &c.

Gaily from Arabia, frankincense and myrrh from Saba, assaron worth has brought into the church. Ha, sir ass, &c.

While he drags wagons, with many a little load, with his jawbones he crushes hard food. Ha, sir ass, &c.

Barley with its beard, and thistles he eats; wheat from the chaff he winnows on the thrashing-floor. Ha, sir ass, &c.

Say Amen, O Ass, *here all knelt*, having now thy fill of grass. Amen. Amen repeat, spurn your former way of life.

. . . Fine sir ass for going, fine mouth for singing.)

Nostri nec paritet illas,  
Nec te paritet pueris, divine poets.

Virgil. Eclog. 10.

† On the north porch of the cathedral, (the Booksellers' porch.)

‡ On a counterfort of the old tower.

§ In the church of St. Guenault, rats are represented gnawing the globe of the world. Millin, Voyage, t. i. p. 20, et plate 15.—Aristotle does not escape this universal jeer. He is figured at Rouen bending down with his hands on the ground, and crying a woman on his back.

¶ See the stalls of Notre-Dame de Rouen, Notre-Dame d'Amiens, of St. Guenault d'Essone, &c. In the church of l'Épône, a small village near Châlons, are some very remarkable, but also very of coarse sculptures. St. Bernard writes about 1125 to Guichard de St. Thierry—"What is the good of all those grotesque monsters in painting or in relief, which are placed in clusters in sight of those who are bewailing their sins? What is the use of this beautiful deformity, or this deformed beauty? What is the meaning of those mule in asses, those raging lions, those monstrous centaurs?" E. L. Millon, p. 339.

\* This formed the subject of one of the external bas-reliefs of Reims cathedral. It has been effaced.

Church. Even to this day, at Messina, the Virgin, carried through all the city, seeks her son, as the Ceres of ancient Sicily sought Proserpine; and at last, just as she is entering the grand square, she is shown our Saviour's image, when she starts back with surprise, and twelve doves flying out of her bosom, bear to God the outpouring of maternal transport.\*

At Pentecost, white pigeons used to be let loose in the church amidst tongues of fire. flowers were rained down, and the inner galleries were illuminated.† At other festivals the illumination was outside.‡ Let us picture to ourselves the effect of the lights on these prodigious edifices, when the priests, winding through the aerial staircases, animated by their fantastic processions the darksome masses, passing and repassing along the balustrades, under the denticulated buttresses, with their rich costumes, wax tapers, and chants; when light and voice revolved from circle to circle, and below, in dark shadow, answered the ocean of people. Here was the true drama, the true mystery, the representation of the pilgrimage of humanity through the three worlds—the sublime intuition which Dante caught from the transient reality to fix and eternize in the *Divina Commedia*.

After its long carnival of the middle age, this colossal theatre of the sacred drama has sunk into silence and into shade. The priest's weak voice is powerless to fill vaults, whose ample span was reared to embrace and contain the thunder of a people's voice. Widowed and empty are the churches. Their profound symbolism, which then spoke with so clear a voice, is mute. They are now objects of scientific curiosity, of philosophical explanations, of Alexandrian interpretations—Gothic museums, visited by the learned, who walk round, gaze irreverently, and praise instead of pray. Yet do they clearly know what they praise! That which finds favor in their sight is not the church itself, but the delicate workmanship of its ornaments, the fringe of its cloak, its face of stone, some laborious and subtle piece of workmanship of the later Gothic, (*du Gothique en décroissance*.)

Gross-minded men, who look upon these

\* J. Blunt, *Vestiges of Ancient Manners and Customs* discoverable in Modern Italy and Sicily, London, 1831, p. 154.—How comes it that Mr. Blunt could only see in this a ridiculous mummery?

† In the Sainte-Chapelle, the figure of an angel used to be let down from the roof, holding a silver jar, from which he poured water on the hands of the officiating priest. Monard, *Hist. de la Sainte-Chapelle*, p. 140.—At Reims, on the day of the Dedication, a lighted taper was placed between each arcade.

‡ Over the gallery of the Virgin in the church of Notre-Dame, at Paris, was the figure of a virgin, with two angels bearing candlesticks in their hands; and in those days or treasurer used to place tapers after lands on *Scumpulus* Sunday. Gilbert, *Description de Notre-Dame de Paris*.—In some churches, the priest represented our Lord's Assumption on the portil.—Sometimes even the clergy were obliged to perform the ceremony on the loftiest parts of the church: for instance, when relics were sealed up under the tower or steeple; as was done in the church of Notre-Dame in Paris.

It is the duty of the State to protect the rights of the citizen, and to see that the laws are enforced. The State is the guardian of the public interest, and it is its duty to see that the laws are enforced. The State is the guardian of the public interest, and it is its duty to see that the laws are enforced.

external classification of Tournefort, science has discovered the system of Linneus and Jussieu. The organic law, then, of Gothic architecture, I have felt impelled to seek, on the one hand, in the genius of Christianity, in its principal mystery, the Passion; and, on the other, in the history of art and in its fruitful metempsychosis.

*Ars*, in Latin, is the contrary of *in-ers*: it is the contrary of inaction, it is action. In Greek, action is named *drama*. The drama is pre-eminently the action or the art, being the principle and the end of art.

Art, action, drama, are strangers to matter. For inert matter to become spirit, action, art, for it to become human and put on flesh, it must be subdued, it must suffer. It must allow itself to be divided, torn, beaten, sculptured, changed. It must endure the hammer, the chisel, the anvil; must cry, hiss, groan. This is its Passion. Read in the English ballad of the *Death of John Barleycorn*, what he suffers under the flail, the kiln, and the vat. Just so the grape in the wine-press. The wine press is often the shape of the cross of the Son of man.\* Man, grape, barleycorn, all acquire under torture their highest form: heretofore gross and material, they become spirit. The stone also breathes and gains a soul under the artist's hand; who calls life out of it. Well is the sculptor named in the middle age *Magister de vivis lapidibus*, ("the master of living stones.")†

This dramatic struggle betwixt man and nature is to the latter at once Passion and Incarnation, destruction and generation. Together, they engender a common fruit, a mixture of the father and the mother—Humanized nature, spiritualized matter, art. But, just as the fruit of generation more or less resembles father or mother, and yields in turn both sexes, so, in the mixed product of art, man or nature is more or less predominant. Here we have the virile; there, the feminine stamp. We must discriminate between sexual characters in architecture, as we do in botany and zoology.

This characteristic is strikingly marked in Indian architecture; which presents, alternately, male and female monuments. The latter, vast caverns, profound wombs of nature in the heart of mountains, have been fecundated in their darkness by art: they pant for man, and seek to absorb him in their bosom. Other monuments represent man's impulse towards nature, the vehement aspiration of love, and start up, luxurious pyramids, seeking to impregnate the sky. Aspiration, respiration, mortal life and fecund death, light and darkness, male and female, man and nature, activity, passivity,—the whole, combined, is the drama of

the world, of which art is the serious parody.

Yes, in face of the all-powerful nature which laughs at us in the deceiving phantasmagoria of her works, we erect a nature fashioned by ourselves. To this solemn irony, this eternal comedy, with which the world, while among man, makes him its sport and mock, we oppose our Melpomene. We take so little umbrage at the homicidal and charming nature which smiles upon as she crushes us, that we make it the delight of our lives to track and imitate her. Spectators and victims of the drama, we take our parts in it with a good grace, and dignify the catastrophe by embracing, accepting, idealizing it.

The fecundity of this double drama seems to have been seized by the Indians. The Indian fig-tree, the bôdhi, the tree-forest, (the mango-tree,) each branch of which strikes root in the earth, another tree,—this arcade of arcades, this pyramid of pyramids, is the shelter under which God reached, they say, the perfect state of contemplation, the state of *bôdhi*, buddhist, of absolute sage. As the God, so the tree—their name becomes identical; it is natural fecundity and intellectual fecundity. This tree, in which there are so many trees, this thought, in which there are so many thoughts, rise both together, and aspire to being: here is the ideal of fecundity, of creation. Aspiration, aggregation—these are the male and female principles, the paternal and maternal, the two principles of the world, and of the little world of art as well. Rather, we should say, the one only principle—aspiration after aggregation, of all in one, of all to one, as all the lines of the pyramid tend to the point.

The pyramidal form, the abstract pyramid, reduced to its three lines, is the triangle. Is the ogival triangle, in the ogive, two lines are curves; that is, composed of an infinity of right lines. This common aspiration of innumerable lines, which is the mystery of the ogive, first appears in India and Persia,\* and in the middle age it prevails throughout our West. At the two ends of the world we see the efforts of the infinite towards the infinite; in other words, the universal, Catholic tendency. It is the endless repetition of the same within the same:‡

\* John Crawford, *Journal of an Embassy to the court of Ava*, in the year 1827, p. 64. "The Gothic arch is characteristic in all the ancient temples: a characteristic which does not mark modern building."—M. Lenormant conceives the ogive to be originally from Persia: the palace of Sapor and the other monuments of the Sassanides present many examples of it. It would, indeed, be strictly logical for the mystic form to have been invented by the mystic nation. (See Chardin.) M. Lenormant has seen in Egypt copies of the ninth century. Sicily and Naples must have been the ring, connecting oriental with western architecture.

† Report by M. Eug. Burnouf on Daniel's collection of Indian views, Nov. 5th, 1827. (*Journal Asiatique*, t. ix, p. 316.) "The religious monuments drawn by this artist belong to all parts of the peninsula, but especially to the vicinity of Benares, Bahar, and Madras, whither the Mussulman conquest did not extend, and to the southern extremity of the peninsula. Considered in a general point of view, these vast constructions are marked by one common

\* On one of the windows of St. Etienne-du Mont, Jesus Christ is figured in the wine press; the wine running from his body into vats.

† The surname of one of the architects whom Ludovic Sforza sent for from Germany, to close the arches of the roof of Milan cathedral. Giact. Franchetti, *Storia e descrizione del duomo di Milano*, 1821.



obelisk, but raised on a temple. The figures of angels and of prophets, standing on the counterforts, seem to cry out to the four quarters of heaven the summons to prayer, like the imamu on the minarets: while the arched buttresses, which rise to the roofing of the nave,\* with their lighted balustrades, their radiant wheels, their denticulated bridges, seem Jacob's ladders, or that sharp bridge of the Persians, over which the souls of the departed are obliged to cross the abyss, at the risk of losing their balance under the weight of their sins.

Behold this prodigious pile, this work of Encecladus. To rear these rocks, four, five hundred feet in the air,† giants must have sweated,—Ossa on Pelion, Olympus on Ossa,—but no, it is no work of giants, no confused mass of enormous materials, no inorganic aggregation,—something stronger has been at work than the arm of the Titans.—What? The breath of the Spirit; that light breath which passed before the face of Daniel, carrying away kingdoms and dashing empires to pieces, is what has swelled these roofs and wafted these towers to the sky. It has animated all the parts of this vast body with a powerful and harmonious existence, and has drawn out of a grain of mustard-seed the vegetation of this marvellous tree. The Spirit is the builder of its own dwelling. See, how it labors out the human figure in which it is enclosed, how it stamps its physiognomy, how it forms and deforms its features; how it sinks the eye with meditation, worldly trials, and griefs; how it ploughs the forehead with wrinkles and with thoughts; how it bends and curves the very bones, the powerful framework of the body, to the motions of the life within. In like manner, the Spirit was the architect of its own stony covering, and fashioned it to its own use, traced on it, without and within, the diversity of its own thoughts, told its history upon it, took care not to leave unchronicled one hour of the long life which it had lived, and engraved upon it all its remembrances, all its hopes, all its regrets, all its loves. To this cold stone it transferred the dreams and cherished thoughts of its existence. After it had once escaped from the catacombs, from the sacred crypt in which the pagan world had detained it,‡ it reared this crypt to the sky.

\* It was in the twelfth century the first period of the primitive ogival style that buttresses were first projected from the walls. In the eleventh century, they used to be hidden under the roofing of the wings.—Next, the counterforts were raised like towers above the roofing of the wings, and were crowned with small steeples. Niches were hollowed in the right foot of the counterforts; the arcades were denticulated, and were pierced with trefoils and roses. Caumont, t. ii. p. 238. See also, the magnificent plates in Bousquet's work, *Description de la Cathédrale de Cologne*.

† This height would seem to be the ideal to which German architecture aspired. Thus, according to the plans, which are still extant, the towers of Cologne cathedral were designed to be five hundred German feet high; the spire of Strasburg is five hundred Strasburg feet high. Florin, *Geschichte der Zeichnenden Kunst in Deutschland*, t. i. p. 411.

‡ There is hardly an instance of a crypt after the twelfth century. Caumont, *Antiquités Monumentales*, t. ii. p. 123.

The more deeply it had sunk, the higher did it rise. The glittering spire escaped like the deep sigh of a chest oppressed for a thousand years. And so powerful was the respiration, so strongly did the heart of the human race beat, that it revealed itself in every part of its stony covering, which shone with love to meet God's looks. Regard the contracted but deep orbit of the Gothic window, of that *ogival eye* when it endeavors to open itself in the twelfth century,—this eye of the Gothic window is the distinguishing sign of the new architecture.‡ Ancient art, worshipping of matter, was distinguished by the material support of the temple, by the column—whether Tuscan, Doric, or Ionic. The principle of modern art, child of the soul and of the spirit, is not form, but the physiognomy, the eye; not the column, but the window; not the full, but the void. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the window, buried in the depth of walls, like the solitary of the Thebaid in his granite cell, is wholly to itself; it meditates and dreams. By degrees, it advances from within to without, till it reaches the external superficies of the wall. It radiates in beautiful mystic roses, all triumphant with celestial glory. But hardly is the fourteenth century past, than the roses alter, and change into burning shapes,—are they flames, hearts, or tears? Perhaps all three at once.

A similar progress is observable in the progressive enlargement of the Church. The spirit, whatever it does, is ever ill at ease in its dwelling, which it vainly seeks to extend;‡ vary, and adorn. It cannot rest there: it is stifled. No, beautiful as you are, marvellous cathedral, with your towers, your saints, your flowers of stone, your forests of marble, your great Christs, with their glories of gold, you cannot contain me. Round the Church must be built little churches: it must be radiant with chapels.¶ Beyond the altar must be reared

It was in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that the great impulse was given to ogival architecture.—The largest crypt in France is that of the cathedral of Chartres. See Gilbert, *Notice Historique et Descriptive sur Notre-Dame de Chartres*, p. 76.

\* The root of the word *ogive* is the German *aug*, "eye." Its curvilinear angles are like the corners of the eye. Gilbert, *Description de Notre-Dame de Paris*, p. 56.—In the primitive ogival architecture, the windows were long and narrow: they are styled by the English antiquaries, *lancet*. Two lancet windows are often joined and framed in one principal arch. Between the tops of these double lancet windows, and that of the principal arch, remains a space in which a trefoil, quatre-foil, or small rose is usually inserted. Caumont, p. 251.

† It is, at least, the chief element of classification which our Norman antiquaries have conceived that they have established, after a comparison of more than twelve hundred churches of different ages. The glory of having given a scientific principle to the history of Gothic art, belongs to the province which contains the greatest number of monuments of the kind. At the head of our Norman antiquaries I must mention MM. Auguste Prevost and de Caumont.

‡ In the thirteenth century, the choir became longer than before, in comparison with the nave. The collateral nave was prolonged round the sanctuary, and were always bordered with chapels. Caumont, p. 26.

¶ This was the mode of construction in general use in the eleventh century. Ibid. p. 123.





long, (396 : 6=66, which, divided by 2=33=3 × 11.) The naves of St. Ouen at Rouen, and of the cathedrals of Strasbourg and of Chartres, are all three of equal length, (244 feet.) The Sainte-Chapelle at Paris is 110 feet high, (110 : 10=11,) 110 feet long, and 27 feet (the third power of 3) wide.

To whom belonged this science of numbers, this divine mathematics!—To no mortal man did it belong, but to the Church of God. Under the shadow of the Church, in chapters and in monasteries, the secret was transmitted together with instruction in the mysteries of Christianity.\* The Church alone could accomplish these miracles of architecture. She would often summon a whole people to complete a monument. A hundred thousand men labored at once on that of Strasbourg;† and such was their zeal, that they did not suffer night to interrupt their work, but continued it by torchlight. Often, too, the Church would lavish centuries on the slow accomplishment of a perfect work. Renaud de Montauban bore stones for the building of Cologne cathedral, and to this day it is in process of erection.‡ Such patient strength was all-triumphant.

\* There is a tradition that the most illustrious bishops of the middle age were architects and builders. It was Lanfranc who built the magnificent church of St. Eusebio de Caen.—According to a tradition that we have noticed above, Thomas Becket built a church during his exile. &c. (See p. 243).—Each of the ten abbots, successors of Marcdargent, was master of the works of St. Ouen. An archdeacon of Paris constructed all Simon de Montfort's machines of war. In the fourteenth century, William of Wickham, bishop of Winchester, built Windsor for Edward III. See Bylle, at the word, Wickham.—In 1497, a comet of Verona rebuilt the bridge Notre-Dame at Paris, after it had fallen in. Corrozet, *Antiquités de Paris*, 1586, p. 156. &c. &c.—Under the first and second races, up to the time of Philip-Augustus, there was not a single artist but belonged to the priesthood.—No one has better drawn the line of demarcation between the sacerdotal and the following epochs than M. Magnin, in an article, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, July, 1832, on the statue of queen Nôtre-Dame, and in another article on the origin of theatrical representations, (D. c. 1834.)

† See Girardot, *Essai sur la Cathédrale de Strasbourg*. Histoire de la Cathédrale de Strasbourg; and Fiorillo, *Gesch. der Zeich. Kunst in Deutschland*, t. i. p. 350, sqq.

‡ The vaulting of the choir alone is finished: it is two hundred feet high. M. Bossert has submitted his description of this cathedral a project for its restoration and completion, based on the original plans of the designers, which were discovered thirty years since by a lucky accident. See, also, Fior. loc. cit. p. 389-423.

(The completion of this cathedral is going on rapidly under the auspices of the present king of Prussia.—The following is from the *Album of Feb. 15th* of the present year, 1845.—The model of the project intended for the cathedral of Cologne is exhibiting at Berlin, and astonishing the public by its beauty and magnificence. The pedestal is a bundle of columns about two feet in height, imitating in their clustering the huge pillars which sustain the building. These are terminated by a capital of acanthus leaves and scrolls artfully disposed, out of which spring a system of ribs that radiate from the pulpit, developing themselves in exact resemblance to those which embellish the key-stones of the vault. It is relieved, and niches containing the figures of the ten fathers of the cathedral, or events more especially revered by the church, constitute the principal decoration of the monument. At its base is the archbishop Conrad of Hochstaden, and below him, surrounding the pulpit, the twelve Apostles, and our Saviour bearing the banner of the redemption, and blessing his disciples. The canopy beneath which the figures stand form so many little steeples of florid workmanship, in whose upper portions are sculptured the arms of the principal German cities. The pulpit is covered by a sounding board, on which sit the four Evangelists, with their recognised attributes. Over them, in a

No doubt, affinities with Gothic art may be traced at Byzantium, in Persia, or in Spain. But what does this matter? It belongs to that spot in which it has struck deepest root, and has most closely approached its ideal. Our Norman cathedrals are singularly numerous, beautiful, and varied; their daughters of England are marvellously rich, and delicately and subtly wrought. But the mystic genius seems more strongly stamped on the German churches. The land there was well prepared; the soil expressly fitted to bear the flowers of Christ. Nowhere have man and nature—that brother and sister—disported under the Father's eye with a purer and more infantile love. The German mind has attached itself with simple faith to the flowers, trees, and beautiful mountains of God, and has reared out of them, in its simplicity, miracles of art, just as on the anniversary of the Nativity they arrange the beautiful Christmas-tree, hung all over with garlands, ribands, and little lamps, to delight the hearts of their children. Here the middle age brought forth golden souls, who have passed away unknown and unnoticed, fair souls, at once puerile and profound, who have hardly entertained the idea that they belonged to time, who have never quitted the bosom of eternity, and have suffered the world to flow on before them without seeing in its stormy waves any other color than heaven's own azure. What were their names! Who can tell them! . . . All that is known is, that they were of that obscure and vast association which has spread in every direction. They had their lodges at Cologne and Strasbourg.\* Their sign, as ancient as Germany herself, was the hammer of Thor. With the pagan hammer, sanctified in their Christian hands, they continued through the world the great work of the new temple, a renewal of the temple of Solomon. With what care they worked, obscure as they were, and lost in the general body, can only be learned

carved niche, is the Holy Virgin; and the cupola is closed in by a crown of flowers, on which sculpture has lavished its resources. The pulpit is adorned by a spiral staircase, winding round the pillar before mentioned.)—TRANSLATOR.

\* ("During the crusades, another circumstance took place, which also contributed much to the perfection of the ecclesiastical buildings. Some Greek refugees, Italians, French, German, and Flemings, united into a fraternity of builders, and procured papal bulls and particular privileges. They assumed the name of free-masons, and travelled from one nation to another, where their services were required. Their government was regular. Adjacent to the building which was to be erected, they constructed a camp of habit; a surveyor governed in chief, and every tenth man, called a warden, overlooked nine. (Wren's *Parenthesis*.) This establishment, similar to the Dionysiacs of India, upon whose model it was probably formed by the Greek refugees, was the means of creating great dexterity in the workmen, and of making the surveyors become perfectly well acquainted with every circumstance which related to the plans and decorations. From the different national styles which were formed and closely adhered to, it is probable that the ecclesiastical furnished the designs; because, if the surveyors had done so, the same plans would have been repeated in the several countries where they were employed. It is one of the first importance, to have men who understood plans, and workmen who were familiar with all the minutiae of execution." *Civil Architecture*, in the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*.)—TRANSLATOR.

Offspring of the free impulse of mysticism, the Gothic, as has been said without any knowledge of the reason, is the free style. I say free, and not arbitrary. If it had adhered to the beautiful type of Cologne, if it had remained bound by the laws of geometric harmony, it would have perished of languor. In other parts of Germany, and in France and England, being less governed by rule, and by religious idealism, it has been more susceptible of the varied impulse of history. In the same manner as the German law, transported into France, loses its symbolical character, and acquires other

How reckon our beautiful churches of the thirteenth century ! I would at least speak of Notre-Dame de Paris ; but there is one who has laid such a lion's paw on this monument, as to deter all others from touching it ; henceforward, it is his, his fiend, the entailed estate of Quiesmodo—by the side of the ancient cathedral has reared another cathedral of poetry as firm as its foundations, as lofty as its towers . . . Were I to turn to the consideration of this church, it would be as to a history, as to the great register of the destinies of the

\* On a stone in the church at St. John is the following inscription: Here lies the body of John, the son of Robert, who died on the 10th day of the month of June, in the 10th year of the reign of King Henry the Third, in the 10th year of the reign of King Henry the Third, in the 10th year of the reign of King Henry the Third. Here lies the body of John, the son of Robert, who died on the 10th day of the month of June, in the 10th year of the reign of King Henry the Third, in the 10th year of the reign of King Henry the Third, in the 10th year of the reign of King Henry the Third.

[illegible]

At the beginning of the 1980s, the American, Canadian and British governments, and the 1979 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) summit in Washington, D.C., agreed that the United States and the Soviet Union should reduce their nuclear arsenals. In the last 10 years, however, the United States has increased its nuclear arsenal, while the Soviet Union has reduced its.

As a result of the investigation, the following information was obtained:

## The Influence of the Value of the Insurance of Sole Insurance Insurance

[illegible]

\* This is the legend of Mount Macbride.

monarchy. Its front, formerly covered with the images of all the kings of France, is the work of Philippe-Auguste; the south-east front, that of St. Louis;\* the northern, that of Philippe-le-Bel;† the latter was built out of the spoil of the Templars, no doubt to ward off the curse of Jacques Molay.‡ On the red door of this funereal front is the monument of Jean-sans-Peur, (John the Fearless,)§ the assassin of the duke of Orleans. The great and heavy church, covered with fleurs-de-lis, appertains rather to history than religion. There is in it little of the soaring, little of that ascending movement, so striking in the churches of Strasbourg and Cologne. The longitudinal bands, intersecting Nôtre-Dame de Paris, arrest the upward flight: they are as the lines of a book, and narrate instead of praying.

Nôtre-Dame de Paris is the church of the monarchy: Nôtre-Dame de Reims that of the coronation. Contrary to what is the case with most cathedrals, the latter is finished—rich, transparent, bridding up in its colossal coquetry, it seems to be expecting a fête: it is but the sadder for it; the fête returns not. Charged and surcharged with sculpture, and covered more than any other church with the emblems of the priesthood, it symbolizes the union of the king with the priest. Devils gambol on the external balustrades of the cross-aisle, slide down the rapid descents, and make mouths at the town, while the people are pilloried at the foot of the Cocher-à-l'Ange, (the Angel's Tower.)

St. Denys is the church of tombs; not a sombre and saddening pagan necropolis, but glorious and triumphant,—resplendent with faith and hope, large and without shade, like the soul of St. Louis who built it; simple without, beautiful within: soaring and light, as if to weigh less on the dead. The nave rises to the choir by a staircase, which seems to expect the procession of generations which have to mount and descend with the spoil of kings.

At the epoch at which we have now arrived, Gothic architecture had attained the fulness of its growth; it was in the severe beauty of virginity—a brief adorable moment, which can last with nothing here below. To the moment of pure beauty, succeeds another which we also know full well. It is that second youth, when we have felt the weight of life, when the knowledge of good and evil displays itself in a sad smile; when a penetrating look escapes from the long eyelids,—one cannot then plunge too deeply into pleasures to cheat the troubles of the heart. It is the time for indulging in

dress and in rich ornaments. Such was the second age of the Gothic church. She was charmingly coquettish in her apparel—displaying rich windows, capped with imposing triangles,\* beautiful tabernacles appended to the door and the towers, like sets of brilliant, a fine and transparent lace of stone-work, spun by fairies' distaffs: thus she went on more and more ornate and triumphant, in proportion as the evil gained ground within. Vain are your efforts, suffering beauty, the bracelet hangs loosely on a fading arm. You know but too well that your own thoughts burn you up, and that you sicken through the impotence of your love.

Art sunk daily deeper into this emaciation warred furiously upon the stone, waxed wroth at it, as if it had dried up her source of life, hollowed, dug into, thinned, refined upon it. Architecture became the handmaid of logic: she divided and subdivided. Her process was Aristotelic; her method, that of St. Thomas. She raised as it were a series of syllogisms of stones, which were never concluded. A feeling of coldness has been observed in these refinements of Gothic art, in the subtleties of scholastic philosophy, and in the scholastic of love of the troubadours and of Petrarch. It is to betray ignorance of what passionate devotion means, of its ingenuity and obstinacy, of the subtlety and acuteness with which it madly pursues its ends. Thirsting for the infinite, of whose fugitive light it has had a glimpse, it gifts the senses with an extraordinary distinctness, and becomes a magnifying-glass that distinguishes and exaggerates the smallest details. It pursues the infinite in the imperceptible air-bubble in which floats a ray of heaven, seeks it in the thickness of a fine fair hair, in the last fibre of a quivering heart. Divide, divide, sharp scalpel,—thou mayst pierce, tear, split the hair and cut the atom, thou wilt not find thy God there.

Pushing on further each day this ardent pursuit, that which man found was man himself. The human and natural part of Christianity was more and more developed, and invaded the church. Gothic vegetation, wearied of climbing in vain, laid itself down upon the ground, and gave out its flowers. What flowers? images of man, painted and sculptured representations of Christianity, saints, and apostles. Painting and sculpture, the material arts which call the finite into a second existence, gradually stifled architecture;† the latter, an abstract

\* Begun in 1257.

† Begun in 1312 or in 1313.

‡ He was burnt in the *Parvis Nôtre-Dame*. The bishop's galle was in the *Parvis*: it was destroyed at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and was replaced, in 1767, by an iron collar, fixed by a post. All the itinerant distaffs of France (as the English would say, *mobile stones*) were calculated from this post. It was pulled down in 1790. Gilbert, *Description de Nôtre-Dame de Paris*.

§ 1404-1410.

\* These triangles are the favorite ornament of the fourteenth century, when they were added to many doors and casements of the thirteenth; for instance, those of *Nôtre-Dame* at Paris.

† Painting on glass begins with the eleventh century, (from Nero's time the Romans made use of colored glass, the blue by choice.) A fine red is the commonest in old casements; so that "Wine, the color of the windows of the *Sainte-Chapelle*," became a proverb. The windows of this church belong to the first age; those of St. Gervais to the second and third: they are from the hands of *Wanloot* and of *Jean Cousin*. In the second age, the figures, becoming



them, contracted an alliance with her old enemy—feudalism, and then with monarchy on its triumph over feudalism. She took an interest in the lamentable victories of the monarchy over the communes, which, in their infancy, she had aided. At the foot of one of the bell-fries of the cathedral at Reims are representations of citizens of the fifteenth century, punished for having resisted the imposition of a tax\*—representations which are a stigma on the Church herself. The voice of these unfortunates rose to heaven with the hymns. Did God receive such homage willingly? I know not; but, methinks, churches built by forced labor, raised out of the tithes of a famished people, all blazoned with the pride of bishops and of lords, all filled with their insolent tombs, must have daily pleased Him less. These stones had cost too many tears.

The middle-age could not suffice the wants of mankind. It could not support its proud pretensions to be the last expression of the world—the *consummation*. The temple was to be enlarged. The divine embrace which the extended arms of Christ promised to mankind, was to be realized; and this embrace was to work the marvel of love—the identification of the object loving with the object loved. Humanity had to recognise Christ in itself; to feel in itself the perpetuation of the Incarnation and the Passion, which it had remarked in Job and Joseph, and rediscovered in the martyrs. This mystic intuition of an everlasting Christ, unceasingly renewed in human kind, may be everywhere detected in the middle age,—confused, it is true, and obscure, but daily acquiring a new degree of clearness, and spontaneous and popular, foreign from, and often contrary to, the influence of the Church. The people, while all-obedient to the priest, clearly distinguish apart from the priest, the Holy One, the Christ of God; and from age to age, cultivate, raise, and purify this ideal into an historical reality. This Christ of meekness and of patience is made manifest in Louis-le-Débonnaire, spat upon by the bishops; in the good king Robert, excommunicated by the pope; in Godfrey of Bouillon, a man of war and a Ghibeline, but who dies in the odor of chastity at Jerusa-

lem, a simple *baron* of the Holy Sepulchre. This ideal grows greater still in St. Thomas of Canterbury, deserted by the Church, and dying for her; and attains a new degree of purity in St. Louis, king-priest and king-man. Presently the ideal, generalized, will reach the people, and in the fifteenth century it will be realized not only in the man of the people, but in the woman—in the pure woman, in the Virgin; let us call her by her popular name, the Pucelle, (the maid who has not known man.) She, in whom the people dies for the people, will be the last visible representation of Christ to the middle age.

This transfiguration of the human race—who recognised the image of God in themselves, who generalized that which had been individual, who chained to an everlasting present that which had been supposed temporary and past, who made a heaven upon earth—was the redemption of the modern world; but it seemed to be the death of Christianity and of Christian art. Satan let loose on the unfinished Church a burst of loud and witheringly derisive laughter—and the laugh is still visible in the grotesque figures of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. He thought that he had conquered. Never has the insensate learned that his apparent triumph is ever but a means towards a greater end. He does not see that God is not the less God for having made himself mankind; that the temple is not destroyed because it has become as large as the world. He does not see that through having become immovable, divine art is not dead, but only gathers breath: that before rising to God, humanity needed once more to retreat within itself, try, examine, and complete itself by founding a juster, a more equal, and a diviner state of society.

Before this arrives, the old world must pass away, all trace of the middle age must be effaced, we must see all that we love die—even that which suckled us in our infancy, which was both father and mother to us, and which sang so sweetly to us in our cradle. Vainly does the old Gothic church ever raise towards heaven her supplicatory towers; vainly do her casements weep; vainly do her saints do penance in their niches of stone. . . . "Though the fountains of the great deep should break up, their waters will never reach the Lord." This condemned world will pass away, as have done the worlds of Greece, of Rome, of the East. He will lay its spoils by the side of their spoils. At the most, God will grant to it, as to Hezekiah—a revolution of the dial.

Is it then over, alas! will there be no pity! Must the tower be stayed in its flight towards heaven! Must the spire fall down, the dome crumble upon the sanctuary! must this heaven of stone sink in and crush those who have adored it! . . . The form ended, is all ended! Does nothing remain to religions after death! When the dear and precious relics, torn from our trembling hands, sink into the coffin, is

\* These are eight figures, of colossal size, serving as Caryatides. One of them holds a purse, from which he is drawing out money; another bears marks of branding; others, pierced with wounds, hold out tax-papers torn in pieces. Some are of opinion that these figures are in allusion to a revolt which took place on account of the Gabelle, in 1461, known by the name of *misgarnage*. Louis XI. hung up two hundred of the rebels. Others think, that the citizens having risen against their archbishop, Gervais, in the eleventh century, were condemned to build the towers at their own expense. Four similar statues were placed on silver columns, which stood round the grand altar. Pavillon-Pierard, *Descript. de Notre Dame de Reims*.—New lights on the history and antiquities of this important city are looked for from M. Varn, one of the most distinguished professors of history belonging to the university.—A dealer in corn at Rouen having been hung for making use of a false measure, his property was confiscated, and part given to the poor, part devoted to building one of the fronts of the cathedral, on which his life is portrayed from his childhood to his death. Talliepiot, *Antiquités de Rouen*, p. 77.

Lord, Christianity has believed, has  
has comprehended,—in it have met

God and man. It may change its vestment, but perish, never! It will transform itself to perpetuate its life. One morning it will show itself to those who think they are watching its tomb, and will rise again the third day.

BOOK THE FIFTH.

## CHAPTER I.

**THE SICILIAN VESPER.**

have seen the advantage he took of the simplicity of his brother to divert the case from its designation, in order to gain a foothold.

The pope had reason to repent of their melancholy victory over the house of Soubise. The avenger, their dear son, was settled among them, and on them; and the question with them was, the means of escaping from this terrible friendship. They talk with dread the irresistible force the malignant attraction which France exerted over them; and, rather late in the day, they sought to win the affection of

Moreover, therefore, "Parche never will fall after the war."  
"And certainly," adds Villani, "God's anger  
remains him." G. Villani, c. 130, p. 300.

\* Only one of them was spared who was sent to the King of Naples and who died in prison, in the tower of Capua in c. 1500 and 1510.

Italy. Gregory X. essayed to quiet the factions which his predecessors had so carefully kept up, and desired the suppression of the epithets Guelph and Ghibeline. The popes had ever been the antagonists of the emperors of Germany and of Constantinople: Gregory declared himself the friend of both empires. He proclaimed the reconciliation of the Greek Church, and succeeded in ending the long interregnum which had prevailed in Germany, by inducing, at least, the election of such an emperor—a simple knight, spare, meager, and out at elbows\*—as might reassure the prince-electors with regard to a title but recently so formidable. This poor emperor was, however, Rodolph of Hapsburg, founder of the house of Austria, which was thus raised up by the popes to oppose that of France.

Gregory the Tenth's idea was to lead himself all Europe to the crusade with his new emperor, and so to elevate both empire and papacy. A different project was entertained by Nicholas III., a Roman, and of the house of Orsini; who sought to found a central kingdom in Italy, in favor of his own family. He seized the opportunity of Rodolph's great victory over the king of Bohemia, and used him as a check upon Charles. The latter, all whose thoughts were directed to Constantinople, resigned the titles of senator of Rome and imperial vicar; and in the interim Nicholas signed a secret treaty with Aragon and the Greeks to compass his ruin.

Conspiracy abroad, conspiracy at home: the Italians reckon themselves masters of the art. They have always conspired, rarely succeeded; yet enterprises of the kind have had to this artistic people the captivation of a work of art, of a drama unalloyed by fiction, of a real tragedy, in which they desiderated all the effects of the drama, requiring numerous spectators and some solemn occasion, as that of a great festival for instance: their theatre would often be a temple; the hour, that of the elevation of the host.†

The conspiracy of which we are about to speak, was of a far different character from those of the Pazzi or of the Orsini. The work in hand was not a dagger's blow—the killing a man at the sacrifice of your own life, and which after all leads to nothing,—but the rousing of Sicily and of the world; conspiring, negotiating, encouraging conspiracy by insurrection, and insurrection by conspiracy: the raising up of a whole people, and yet holding them in; the organizing of war, yet simulating peace. This design, so difficult of accomplishment, was of all others the most just—for it was undertaken to expel the foreigner.

The strong head which conceived this great thing, and which accomplished it—a head coldly

ardent, hardly obstinate and astute, such as are found in the South—was Calabrian. He was a physician,\* one of the barons of the court of Frederick II., lord of the island of Prochyta, and, as their physician, he had been the friend and confidant both of Frederick and of Manfred. To please these freethinkers of the thirteenth century, it behooved to be a physician, either Arab or Jew; and admission was gained into their houses rather through the channel of the school of Salerno than of the Church. Probably this school taught its adepts something more than the innocent prescriptions which it has left us in its Leonine verses.‡

After the downfall of Manfred, Procida took refuge in Spain. Let us look at the situation of the different Spanish kingdoms, and see what the house of France had to fear from them.

And firstly, Navarre, the narrow and venerable cradle of Christian Spain, was in the power of Philippe III. Its last national king had invited, first, the Moors, then the French, against the Castilians. His nephew, Henri, count of Champagne, having no other family than one daughter, intrusted her, at his death, to the care of the king of France, who, as we have just mentioned, married her to his son. By inheriting Toulouse, Philippe III. found himself here, too, close to Spain; and, apparently, he had only to descend from the *ports* of the Pyrenees into his city of Pampeluna, and take the road to Burgos.

But experience has proved that Spain is not to be thus laid hold of. She guards her gate badly, but so much the worse for him who enters. The aged king of Castile, Alphonso X., father-in-law and brother-in-law of the king of France, in vain desired to leave his kingdom to his eldest son's sons, who, by their mother's side, were descended from St. Louis. Alphonso was not in good repute with his people, either as a Spaniard or a Christian. A great clerk, devoted to the evil sciences of alchemy and astrology, he was ever closeted with his Jews,‡ to make spurious money§ or spurious laws—adulterating the Gothic law by a mixture of the Roman||

\* Procida enjoyed such celebrity as a physician, that a noble Neapolitan sought permission of Charles II. to repair to Sicily to have the benefit of his advice. *Siam. Rep. h. t. iii. p. 457.*

† For instance—

"Cur moritur homo, cui salvia crescit in horto!

Contra vim mortis, non est medicamen in hortu."

c. 67, ed. 1667.

(Why should a man die who has sage growing in his garden? Gardens have no remedies against the power of death.)

‡ They were employed preferentially in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by the Spanish kings. The Aragonese, likewise, complained at the same period, with regard to the treasurers and receivers, "*que eran Judios*," (that they were Jews.) *Curia, Anales de la Corona d'Aragon*, p. 254.

§ *Perreras*, ann. 1291, t. iv. p. 323. The reference is to the French translation.

|| I do not intend by this to undervalue the code of the *Siete Partidas*; with which I hope my friend, M. Roussin-Hilgier, will bring us acquainted in the second volume of his *History of Spain*, the publication of which is so eagerly

\* Schmidt, *Geschichte der Teutonen*, vi. b. 1, cap. 3, th. (ed. 1750).

† The monument chosen by the Pazzi for the assassination of the Medici, and by the Orsini to put to death John Calvo Strozzi.





observes. The signs of approaching eruption were visible—concentrated rage, a stifled sound of effervescence, murmurs, and silence. Charles was exhausting his unhappy people in order to subject another; and the isle was full of preparations and menaces against the Greeks. Prociida passes on to Constantinople, warns Palæologus, and gives him exact information of his enemy's movements. Charles had already dispatched three thousand men to Durazzo, and was about to follow with a hundred galleys and five hundred transports. His success was assured: for Venice did not hesitate to embark in the enterprise, and contributed forty galleys and her doge, who was still a Dandolo. The fourth crusade was about to be repeated; and Palæologus, in despair, knew not what to do. "What to do! Give me money. I will find you a defender, who has no money, but who has arms."\*

Prociida returned to Sicily with one of Palæologus's secretaries, introduced him to the Sicilian barons, and then to the pope, with whom he had a secret interview in the castle of Soriano. The Greek emperor desired, above all, the signature of the pope, to whom he had been but recently reconciled; but Nicholas hesitated to embark in so vast an undertaking. Prociida gave him money. According to other accounts, he had only to remind the pontiff, who was a Roman and an Orsini, of a saying of Charles of Anjou's. When the pope proposed a marriage between his niece Orsini and Charles of Anjou's son, Charles had said, "Does he fancy, because he wears red stockings, that the blood of his Orsini can mingle with the blood of France!"†

Nicholas signed the treaty, but died shortly after. The whole work seemed broken up and destroyed. Charles became more powerful than ever. He succeeded in having a pope of his own. He drove from the conclave the Ghibeline cardinals, and compelled the nomination of a Frenchman, an old monk of Tours, a servile and trembling creature of his house. This was to make himself pope. He became once more senator of Rome, and placed garrisons in all the holds of the Church. This time, the pope could not escape him. He kept him with him at Viterbo, and would not let him out of his sight. When the unhappy Sicilians came to implore the pope's mediation with their king, they saw their enemy by their judge, the king sitting by the side of the pope. The only answer the deputies received was to be thrown into a dungeon—yet were they a bishop and a monk.

Sicily had no pity to expect from Charles of Anjou. Half-Arab, it had held out obstinately for the friends of the Arabs, for Manfred and his house. All the insults with which the conquerors could load the Sicilian people, seemed

to them but so many reprisals. The petulance of the Provençals, and their brutal joviality, are well known; but had national antipathy and the insolence of conquest been the only subjects of complaint, there might have been hopes of the evil's mitigating. What, however, threatened to increase and to weigh each day more heavily, was a first and unskilful attempt at taxation—the invasion of treasury agents and of finance in the world of the Odyssey and the *Æneid*. This nation of husbandmen and of shepherds had, under every change of master, preserved something of its ancient independence. Till now, they had found solitude in the mountain, and liberty in the desert. But now, the tax-gatherer explored the whole island. Inquisitive traveller, he measures the valley, scales the rock, values the inaccessible peak. He rears his office under the mountain chestnut, or hunts out and registers the goat wandering on the ledges of the rocks, in the midst of lava and of snow.

Let us essay to disentangle the complaints of Sicily from that wilderness of solecisms and of barbarisms, through which the torrent-like eloquence of Bartolomeo de Nèocastro forces and tears its way:—"How tell of their unheard-of inventions! of their decrees respecting forests! of the absurd interdiction of the shore of the inconceivable exaggeration of the produce of the flocks! Though all was drying up under the heavy autumnal heats, no matter, the year must be good, the harvest abundant. . . . He, all of a sudden, had a pure silver coin minted, and only returned in the proportion of one Sicilian denier for thirty. . . . We had thought to receive a king from the Father of Fathers, we have received Anti-Christ."\*

"It was required," says another chronicler, "to make returns of every flock at the year's end, and to return more young than the flock could have yielded. The poor husbandmen wept. There was a universal terror among the cow-herds, the goat-herds, and all the shepherds. They were held accountable even for their bees, even for the swarm which the wind bears away. They were prohibited the chase; and then skins of stags or deer would be secretly introduced into their huts to serve as a pretext for fining them. Whenever it pleased the king to coin new money, a trumpet was sounded in all the streets; and they had to give up their money to be recoined from door to door."† . . .

Such has been the fate of Sicily for ages: ever the milch-cow, drained both of milk and blood by a foreign master. Her only hours of independence and of healthy existence have been under her tyrants, the Dionysiauses and the Gelons. They alone rendered her formidable.

\* *Fructus Vicentinus*, ap. Muratori, ix. 952.  
† G. Villani, p. 270.

\* Regni Siculi antichristum. Bart. & Nèocastro, ap. Muratori, xiii. 1023. Neither Bartholomew nor Rancos Nèocastro makes any mention of Prociida. The one wishes to give all the glory to the Sicilians, the other to the king of Aragon, Don Pedro.

† Nic. Speciale, ap. Muratori.

ble abroad. Since then, she has been a constant slave. Firstly, it is in her bosom, that all the great quarrels of the ancient world have been decided—Athens and Syracuse, Greece and Carthage, Carthage and Rome, have made her their battle-field; and, lastly, there the servile wars were fought out. All these solemn battles of mankind have been contested within sight of Etna—like the “Judgment of God” before the altar. Then come the Barbarians, Arabs, Normans, Germans. Each time that Sicily hopes and desires, each time she suffers; she turns, and then back to the same side, like Enceladus under the volcano. Such are the weakness and incurable irreconcilableness of a people composed of twenty races, and so heavily oppressed by the double fatality of history and climate.

All this is but too clearly visible in the beautiful and soft lament with which Falcando begins his history. “I was anxious, my friend, now that rugged winter has been smoothed by a softer breath, I was anxious to write and to address thee some grateful strain, as the first-fruits of the spring. But the mournful news prefaces to me new storms; my songs sink into tears. In vain do the heavens smile, in vain do the gardens and groves inspire me with unreasonable joy, and the returning concert of the birds tempt me to resume my own. I cannot behold with dry eyes the approaching desolation of my kind nurse, Sicily. . . . Which of the two should they choose, the yoke or honor? I ruminate in silence, and know not how to decide. . . . I see that in the confusion of a moment like this, our Saracens are oppressed. Will they not second the enemy? . . . O that all Christians and Saracens, would agree to elect a king! . . . That on the eastern coast of the island, our Sicilian brigands should combat the barbarians, amidst the fires and lava of Etna, well and good; they are a race of fire and fire! But for the interior of Sicily, for the country honored by our beautiful Palermo, to be soiled with the sight of the barbarians, it were unpropitious, monstrous. . . . I have no hopes from the Apulians, who love novelty alone. But thou, Messina, powerful and noble city, art the backbone of thy defence, of driving the stranger from the strand! Woe to thee, Catania! Never have thy citizens been able to eat dry and salted tortoise. Woe to thee, the holy towers of Etna, earthquake and ruins! thou wouldest be so visible to help thy measure! Rouse thee, Syracuse, shake off peace, if thou wilt devote the discipline in which thou exardest thyself, to give the courage of thy citizens. What avails it to have freed thyself from thy Dionysuses? Ah! who will restore us our tyrants? I now

come to thee, O Palermo, head of Sicily! How pass thee over in silence, and how laud thee filly? . . .” But no sooner has Falcando named the beautiful Palermo, than he thinks of nothing else, and forgets the barbarians and all his fears. He plunges insatiably into a description of the voluptuous city, its fantastic palaces, its port, its marvellous gardens, silk mulberry trees, orange, lemon trees, and sugar cane. He is lost in fruits and flowers. Nature absorbs him: he dreams, and has forgotten all. I fancy that I hear in his prose the echo of the lazy, sensual, and melancholy poetry of the Greek idyll—“I will sing, sheltered by the cave, holding thee in my arms, and gazing at the flocks as they graze on the shores of the Sicilian sea.”

It was Monday, the 30th of March, 1282, Easter Monday. In Sicily, it is dreadfully summer—just as it would be with us on St. John’s day, when the heat has begun to be intense, and the ground, moist and warm, is lost beneath the grass, and the grass beneath the flowers. Easter is a voluptuous moment in these countries. With the closing of Lent, abstinence disappears, and sensuality awakens, fierce and ardent, and sharpened by devotion—God has had his share, the senses claim theirs. The change is a sudden one—every flower starts at once from the ground, every beauty is in fulness of bloom. ‘Tis a triumphant outburst of life, sensuality’s revenge, an insurrection of nature.

This day, then, it is Easter Monday, all, both men and women, went up the beautiful hill, according to custom, from Palermo to Monreale, to hear vespers. The foreigners were there to trouble the festival, so great an assemblage of people was not without giving them uneasiness. The viceroy had forbidden the wearing of arms, or exercising with them, as was the custom on that day. Perhaps he had not told the concourse of nobles, for Prochy had had the address to assemble them at Palermo. The opportunity, however, was wanting, and it was represented by a Frenchman beyond Prochy’s hopes. This man, named Dromet, stopped a beautiful girl, of noble birth, whom her husband and the whole family were conducting to church. Having secured the bridegroom and forced no arms to be produced to seek the murderer, and then about ten, and passed his hand under her gown. She faints. The Frenchman recovers and armed, and then with his own sword. A cry is raised, “Death, death to the French!” The allusions they are cut down. But, however, it is such had been marked with a red cross, a lasting mark beforehand. When we could not pro-

\* Here I have copied from Muratori, v. 242. The history of this great battle is the two centuries of struggle pure and simple, with that of Barbarossa, who however won a hundred years later.

\* See the original in the *Annali di Muratori*, v. 242.

\* See the original in the *Annali di Muratori*, v. 242.

the *Annali* v. 242.

\* See the original in the *Annali di Muratori*, v. 242.

\* See the original in the *Annali di Muratori*, v. 242.

\* See the original in the *Annali di Muratori*, v. 242.

nounce the Italian *c* or *ch* (*ceci, ciceri*) was immediately put to death.\* They disembowelled Sicilian women, to tear from their bosom a French offspring.

It was a whole month before the other towns, gaining assurance from the impunity of Palermo, followed its example. The oppression had been felt unequally, unequal, too, was the vengeance; and sometimes the people displayed a capricious magnanimity.† Even at Palermo, the viceroy, surprised in his house, had been insulted, but not slain: it was wished to send him back to Aigues-Mortes. At Calatafimi, the inhabitants spared their governor, the honest Porcelet,‡ and suffered him to depart with his family. Perhaps in this there might be some fear of the vengeance of Charles of Anjou. The people—such is the mobility of the southern—had already cooled, and felt discouraged. The inhabitants of Palermo sent two priests to intercede with the pope, and these deputies durst venture no other entreaty than the words of the Litany, "Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis," (Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us,) which they repeated three times. The pope replied with the verse, "Ave, rex Judæorum, et dabant ei alapam,"§ (Hail, king of the Jews, and they smote him,) which, in like manner, he repeated thrice. Messina succeeded no better with Charles of Anjou. His answer to its envoys was, that they were all traitors to the Church and to the crown, and he advised them to defend themselves as they best might.||

The people of Messina lost no time in profiting by his advice, and prepared for a desperate resistance. Men, women, and children, all set to work to carry stones, and in three days had raised a wall, under cover of which they bravely repulsed the first attacks. A fragment of a song remains, commemorating this—"Ah! how pitiful it is to see the dames of Messina, with dishevelled hair, bearing stones and mortar! . . . God confound him, who seeks to lay waste Messina!"¶

se vint au point du jour qu'ils purent voir entour eux, si occirent tous ceulx qu'ils purent trouver, et ne furent épargnez ne vieulx ne jeunes que tous ne fussent occis." *Chroniques de St. Denis*, Ann. 1282.

\* *Tradit. sicil.*

† *Fazio* asserts that Sperlinga was the only town where the French were not massacred; and hence the Sicilian saying—"Quod Siculis placuit, sola Sperlinga negavit." (*Sperlinga alone refused what the Sicilians desired.*) *Fazio* lib. p. 210, ed. 1573.

‡ "Propter multarum prebitarum suarum cumulum." On account of his innumerable good qualities." *Barth.* n. 1029.

§ *G. Villani*, l. 7. c. 62, p. 279.

|| *Villani* adds the thoroughly Machiavelian sentiment—"Which was, and ever will be, a striking example to all now, and hereafter, to take what conditions they can make with the enemy, so long as they can manage to get the land in their power." *Vill.* c. 63, l. vii. pp. 281, 282.—The legate endeavored to persuade Charles to accede to the terms of the inhabitants. "Since, do they get obstinate, they would be for proposing a rider to them, every day, but when he had got possession of the land, he might be able every day to free himself from them with the consent of the citizens themselves; which was sound and good advice." *Id.* *ibid.*

¶ "E una canzonetta che dice: 'Deh! come gli e gran

It was full time for the Aragonese to arrive. The crafty prince had from the first kept on the watch, leaving all risk to the Sicilians. The massacre had irrevocably compromised them: still Don Pedro waited to see how they would follow up this inconsiderate deed. He kept aloof, but at hand, in Africa, leisurely employing his army against the infidels. His preparations had given some uneasiness to the king of France and the pope; but he reassured the first by pretending that they were directed against the Moors, and the better to deceive him, borrowed money of him: he even borrowed from Charles of Anjou.\* His barons could only open the sealed orders which he had given them at sea; and they contained instructions for the African war alone.† It was not till after a delay of several months, and after he had received two deputations from the Sicilians, that he took his resolution, and landed in the island.‡

He at once sent his defiance to Charles of Anjou, who lay before Messina; but he made no haste to attack his formidable enemy. Like a skilful taureador, he goaded, and then slipped

pietate delle donne di Messina, veggendole scapigliate portare pietre et calcina! Iddio li dia briga et travaglia a chi Messina vuole guastare." *Id.* l. vii. c. 67, p. 283.

\* *Id.* c. 59, p. 277.

† See Munimer's fine narrative, t. l. c. 49, p. 133, seq.

‡ Nothing can be more nanantle, and yet more probable than the picture drawn by the Sicilian chronicler, when the cold Aragonese ventured to descend on this burning land, where all was passion and danger. He was entering the territory of Messina, and had already come to a church dedicated to Our Lady—an ancient temple, situated on a promontory, whence was descried the sea and the distant smoke of the Lipari Isles. He could not refrain from admiring this view, and encamped in the adjoining valley. It was the evening, and already all the world was at rest. An aged mendicant arrives, and humbly asks to speak to the king of matters that concern the honour of the kingdom—"Excellent prince," he said, "disdain not to listen to one covered with the skins of the goats of Etna. I loved your brother-in-law, king Manfred, of everlasting memory. He is dead and despoiled of my possessions on his account. I visited Christian and barbarian kingdoms. But I longed to see Sicily once more, and can run every risk to return here where I have lived with the shepherds, shifting my place of concealment in the gorges of the hills and in the woods. You know not the Sicilians, over whom you are about to reign: you are ignorant of their duplicity. How trust your self, for instance, to the Leonine, Alayme, and to his wife Machalda, who governs him? Know you not that he was banished by Manfred, and brought back and enriched by Charles of Anjou? His wife will find the means to turn him against yourself.—Who art thou, my friend, who seekest to inspire us with distrust of our new subjects?—I am Vitalis de Vituli. I am from Messina." . . . At that moment arrives Machalda, attired as an Amazon: she comes boldly to take possession of the young king.—"Lord," said she, with Sicilian vivacity, "I have arrived late. All the lodgings are taken; I come to ask your hospitality for a night." The king gave up to her the spot which he had chosen for himself. But this was not what she wanted, and she did not stir. In vain he observed to his majordomo, "It is time to retire." She remains immovable. Then the king takes his resolution. "Well," he said, "let us talk till day. Madam, what do you fear the most?—The death of my husband.—What do you love the most?—What I love, is not mine."—The king then assuming a graver tone, relates the strange phenomena which he stated to have accompanied his birth. He was ushered into the world by an earthquake; so marked out by Providence, he only waits to fulfil the holy duty of avenging Manfred. Machalda, thus trifled with, became the king's implacable enemy. "Would to heaven," he remarks the patriotic historian, "she had seduced the king! She would not have troubled the kingdom." *Barthol. & Nov. op. Munimer*, lib. 1060-1063.

aside from the bull. Only he dispatched to the succor of that city some of his Almogavarian brigands, active and sober footmen, who performed in three days the six days' journey between Palermo and Messina.\* The Catalan fleet, commanded by the Calabrian, Roger di Loria, was a more efficacious succor still. It was to secure possession of the straits, and so starve out Charles of Anjou, and at the same time bar his return. The king of Naples distrusted his own naval forces, and with reason he therefore crossed to the mainland under cover of the night, leaving his tents and his provisions behind. The Messenians were struck with surprise when they saw no enemy, and had only to plunder his camp.

If we may credit Mantuaner, the Catalans could only oppose twenty-two allies to Charles of Anjou's ninety, of which, ten which were from Pisa were the first to fly, and were followed by fifteen which belonged to Genoa. Twenty others, belonging to the Provençals, Charles's subjects, behaved no better. The remaining forty-five, which were from Naples and Calabria, thinking that all was over, ran themselves ashore, but did not escape the Catalans, who slew six thousand men. The conquerors, scattered by a storm, found themselves at day-break before the Pharos of Messina.

"When day came they appeared before the little tower. The catzons, seeing so great a number of sails, cried out, 'Oh, Lord, oh, my God! what is this?' See, king Charles's fleet is coming upon us, after having taken the king of Aragon's galleys."

"The king was up, for he constantly rose at daybreak, both winter and summer. He heard the noose, and asked the reason. 'What return these cries throughout the city?' Lord, his king Charles's fleet which has come back, largely increased by the taking of our galleys."

"The king called for a horse and left the palace, attended by thirty persons. He has tened along the shore, where he met a great number of men, women, and children, who were cheering him. He encouraged the men, saying, 'Good people, fear nothing; it is our revels which are beginning in King Charles's fleet.' He repeated these words as he rode along the shore, and in these proper exclamations, 'God grant that I may see you all! Now, what shall I say?' and the men were so loud and loud, that Messian heard them, and that he was followed by the Messianians, as well. When he had reached the shore, he turned the king, seeing such a number of soldiers, and with the most unbecoming reference to himself, and murmured to himself, 'God, who has turned and

me here, will not abandon me, any more than the unhappy people; all thanks to them"

"While he was busied with these thoughts, an armed vessel, bearing the flag and arms of the lord king of Aragon, and commanded by En Cortada, bore towards the king, who was seen above the golden fountain, banners displayed, at the head of the cavalry. That all those who were there with the king were transported with joy, may be imagined. The vessel touched the shore, En Cortada landed, and said to the king, 'Lord, behold your galleys, they bring you those of your enemies. Nieofera is taken, burned and destroyed, and more than two hundred French knights are slain.' At these words, the king dismounted and knelt down. All present followed his example. They raised all together the psalm, *Niræ regina*. They lauded God, and returned thanks to him for this victory; for they did not ascribe it to themselves, but to God alone. At last, the king answered En Cortada, 'You are welcome.' He then told him to go back, and to tell all those who were before the custom-house to approach, praising God. He obeyed, and the twenty-two galleys entered the first, towing after them more than fifteen galleys, barks, or ships, each, and so made their entry into Messina, decked with their scutcheons and flags, and dragging the enemy's flags in the sea. Never did any one witness such joy. One would have said that heaven and earth had come together; and in the midst of all these cries, one heard the praises of God, of Madame our Lady St. Mary, and of all the celestial court. . . . When they had reached the custom-house, and were in front of the king's palace, they vociferated shouts of joy, and the women and the landsmen responded to them, but with such power that you may believe me—they were heard as far as Calania."

Charles of Anjou witnessed from the shore the disaster of his fleet. He saw, without the power of saving them, those vessels burned which had been but lately built for the conquest of Constantinople. He is said to have put in his rage the sceptre which he had in his hand, and to have repeated the sentiment that he had given utterance to on hearing of the massacre.

"Ah, Lord God, you have given me much to be thankful for. Since 'tis your pleasure to send me back to you, may it be your will to let my desires be as small stones and pebbles."<sup>17</sup>

But he was soon hurried from out of his resignation. Already in years, and full into flesh, he proposed to the young king of Aragon to be present to the wedding of the Infants, each at the head of half of his knights. The Aragonese accepted a proposition so favorable to the weaker party, and which gave him time. The

\* When there were no other persons present at the time of the above mentioned conversation, I was alone with the said person.

[illegible]

...to make ... ..

He did this, inspired by his great knowledge of war, and naval armor, since he was situated in means, and no.

two kings covenanted to be present at Bordeaux on the 25th of May, 1283, and that the combat should take place there under the protection of the king of England. As the time drew nigh, Don Pedro, who had travelled by night, well mounted, and guided by a dealer in horses, well acquainted with all the roads and *ports* of the Pyrenees, repaired with only one more companion to Bordeaux. He arrived there on the day fixed for the battle, and entered a protest with a notary to the effect, that as the king of France was close to Bordeaux with his troops, there could be no security for him. While the notary was drawing up the document, the king rode round the lists, then set spurs to his horse, and hardly drew bridle till he was nearly a hundred miles on his way to Aragon.

Charles of Anjou, thus played with, levied a new army in Provence. But before he could return to Naples, he sustained at the hands of the admiral, Roger de Loria, the bitterest blow he had yet received. Having come with forty-five galleys to parade boastfully before the port of Naples and to brave Charles-le-Boiteux, (the Lame,) Charles of Anjou's son, the young prince and his knights could not brook such an insult, but sailing out to meet him with thirty-five galleys, all that were in the port, they were defeated and taken at the first shock. Charles of Anjou arrived the day after—"Why is he not dead!"\* he exclaimed on hearing that his son was a prisoner. By way of consolation, he handed a hundred and fifty Neapolitans.

This proved an overwhelming stroke to Charles. He lost his wonted activity, and wasted the summer in endeavoring to effect through the pope's mediation an arrangement with the Sicilians. In the winter he made new preparations; of which he was not destined to avail himself. Life slipped from him, as well as the hopes of vengeance. He died with the piety and sense of security of a saint—bearing witness to himself that he had only conquered the kingdom of Sicily in order to promote the glory of the Church. (Jan. 7th. 1285.)

Meanwhile the pope, a Frenchman both by birth and heart, had declared Don Pedro to have forfeited his kingdom of Aragon, (A. D. 1283,) and promised all the indulgences of a crusade to whoever would fall upon him. The following year he awarded the kingdom to the young Charles of Valois, second son of Philippe-le-Hardi, and brother of Philippe-le-Bel, (the Fair.) It was in fact a real crusade. France

had not made war for a long time: and all desired to witness it, even the queen herself and many noble ladies. The army was the strongest that had left France since Godfrey of Bouillon's day. The Italians estimate it at twenty thousand knights and four thousand foot soldiers. The fleets of Genoa, Marseille, Aigues-Mortes, and Narbonne, were to coast along Catalonia, and second the troops. All augured an easy triumph. Don Pedro was deserted by his ally, the king of Castile, and even by his own brother, the king of Majorca. His subjects, too, had just formed a *hermandad* against him. He found himself reduced to a few Almogavars, with whom he occupied unassailable positions, watching and harassing the enemy. Elna offered some resistance, and all in it were cruelly massacred. Gerona held out longer. The French monarch, who had made a vow that he would take it, persisted, and wasted precious time there. By degrees the maleficent influence of the climate began to be felt. Fevers broke out in the army. The defeat of the fleet increased the general discouragement: the victorious admiral, Roger de Loria, had exercised fearful cruelties on the prisoners. It became necessary to think of retreat; but all were ill. The soldiers fancied themselves pursued by the saints, whose tombs they had violated. All the passes were occupied. The numbers of the Almogavars, attracted by booty, perceptibly increased. The king was carried back dying on a litter in the midst of his fainting knights. The rain fell in torrents on this army of invalids, and most sank by the way. The king reached Perpignan—to die there. Not an inch of Spanish ground remained his.

The new king, Philippe-le-Bel, managed to arm the king of Castile against his ally of Aragon. Charles of Anjou's son obtained his liberty by a perjury. Sicily and its new kings, younger sons of the house of Aragon, saw themselves abandoned by the elder branch, which even took up arms against them. Meanwhile Charles of Anjou's grandson, the son of Charles-le-Boiteux, had been made prisoner by the Sicilians, as his father had been. A treaty followed. (A. D. 1299,) by which King Frederick was to retain possession of the island for the term of his life. His descendants, however, kept it above a century.

The monarchy of Naples, so badly acquired, was not wholly overthrown; but it was, at least, mutilated and humbled. The dead, too, had some reparation made them. "The pious Charles, our present king, (Charles of Anjou's son,)" says a chronicler who died about the year 1300, "has built a Carmelite church over the tombs of Conradin, and of those who perished with him."\*

\* Ricobald. Ferrar. sub finem, ap. Muratori, &c.

able to proceed to the succor and defence of the Sicilians. . . . Whence he learned . . . that they might surrender . . . perceiving that they were neither constant nor firm . . . and his wise foresight was tested by experience." Id. c. 53, p. 286.

\* "L'ore Carlo . . . come intese la novella . . . della presa del re . . . fu molto crucioso e disse con irato animo: *De fo' el mort per qu'el a fali nostri mandement*." Would that he were dead, since he has disobeyed our command! Id. c. 93, p. 302.

## CHAPTER II.

PHILIP THE FAIR—ROSEFAIR VIII. (A. D.  
1285–1304.)

"I WAS the root of the evil plant which  
covers all Christendom with its shade. From  
bad plant, bad fruit. . . .

"I was named Hugh Capet. Of me were  
born those Louises, those Philips, who have  
lately reigned in France.

"I was son of a butcher of Paris;\* but when  
the stock of the ancient kings had failed, one  
except, who took the gray robe, I found the  
reins in my hand, and I had such friends,  
such strength, that the widowed crown fell to  
my son.† From him springs that race, whose  
dead constitute robes ‡

"As long as the great Provençal dowry did  
not deprive them of all sense of shame, their  
power was small; at least they wrought little  
evil.

"But from that time they pushed on through  
force and through lying, and then, through  
penitence,§ they took Normandy and Gascony.

"Charles crosses into Italy, and then, through  
penitence, murders Conradin. || Through peni-  
tence, too, he sends St. Thomas to heaven.

"Another Charles will soon go out of France.  
Without arms goes he out, save with the lance  
of the perjured, the lance of Judas. With this  
he strikes Florence in the belly.

"The others, taken prisoner at sea, trades  
and trades in his daughter—the corsair, at  
least, only sells the stranger.

"But here is one who changes the evil done,  
and to do . . . I see him enter Anagni, the  
crown with flowers doyle.¶ I see Christ  
captain in the person of his vicar, I see him  
mocked a second time, once more is he given  
gold and vinegar to drink. He is put to death  
between the axes."

\* This passage is not in the original text, but is a  
translation of the original text. It is a translation  
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original text. It is a translation of the original  
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This furious Ghibeline invective, filled both  
with truths and libels, is the complaint of the  
old dying world against the ugly young world  
that succeeds it. The latter begins about the  
year 1300; it is opened by France, by the hate-  
ful figure of Philippe-le-Bel.

At least, when the French monarchy, found-  
ed by Philippe-Auguste and Philippe-le-Bel,  
closed with Louis XVI., it had one consolation  
in its death. It perished in the midst of the  
vast glory of a young republic which, as its first  
trial of strength, conquered Europe and gave it  
new life. But the poor middle age—but papacy,  
chivalry, feudalism, by whose hands do they  
perish? By those of the attorney, the bank-  
rupt, the false-corner.

The complaint is excusable; this new world  
is ugly. If more legitimate than that which it  
replaces, yet what eye, were it even Dante's,  
could discover it at this period? It is born with  
the wrinkles of the old Roman law, of the old  
imperial system of finance. It is born lawyer,  
usurer, Gascon, Lombard, and Jew.

What most provokes against this modern sys-  
tem, against France, its first representative, is  
its perpetual contradictions, its doubleness of  
nature, the naive hypocrisy, if I may so speak,  
with which it goes on adorning by turns its two  
principles—Roman and feudal, and shifting from  
one to the other. France is at this period a leg-  
alist in crassness, a lawyer buried in iron, and has  
recourse to feudal force to carry into execution  
the sentence of the Roman and canonical law.

One last daughter of the Church, she takes  
possession both of Italy and the Church itself.  
If she beat the Church, it is as a daughter,  
offended in conscience to correct her mother.

Philip le Bel, King of France and Navarre.

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On the 10th of June, 1304, Philip le Bel was sent to  
the Pope, with a large sum of money, to marry his  
daughter to King of Aragon. . . .

On the 10th of June, 1304, Philip le Bel was sent to  
the Pope, with a large sum of money, to marry his  
daughter to King of Aragon. . . .

The first act of the grandson of St. Louis was to exclude priests from the administration of justice, and to prohibit their sitting in any court, not only in the king's parliament and in his domains, but in those of the barons, (A. D. 1287.) "It is ordered by the council of our lord the king, that dukes, counts, barons, archbishops and bishops, abbots, chapters, colleges, gentlemen, (*milites*.) and, in general, all who have temporal jurisdiction in France, shall choose laymen for bailiffs, provosts, and officers of justice; and that they shall by no means appoint priests to these offices, so that if they commit any fault (*delinquant*) their superiors may straightway punish them. Whatever priests may fill the aforesaid offices must be removed.—Also, it is ordered, that all who after the present parliament have or shall have any suit in the court of our lord the king, and before the regular judges of the kingdom, shall choose laymen for their solicitors.—Registered in parliament, this All-Saints' day, in the year of our Lord 1287."<sup>\*</sup>

Philippe-le-Bel composed his parliament altogether of laymen. This is the first express separation of the civil ecclesiastical orders; rather, 'tis the foundation of civil order.

The priests were far from humbly submitting. They seem to have endeavored to resume their seats in the parliament forcibly. In 1289, the king forbids "Philippe and Jean, door-keepers of the parliament, to allow any prelate to enter the chamber without the permission of the masters, (presidents.)"

Placed on its proper basis by the exclusion of the foreign element, the parliament proceeded to organize itself, by a division of labor, and the distribution of its different functions. Some were to receive and expedite petitions; others formed themselves into committees of inquiry. Regular days were appointed for sitting, lists of challenge made out, and the functions of the king's officers determined. A great step was made towards judicial centralization. The parliament of Toulouse was suppressed, and the Languedocian appeals henceforward referred to Paris: it business of importance must have been more calmly transacted at a distance from this impassioned land, which bore the trace of so many revolutions.

The parliament has rejected the priests. It is not long before it proceeds to overt acts against them. In 1288, the king forbids the arresting of a Jew on the suit of a priest or monk, previous to information laid before the seneschal or the bailiff of the grounds of the arrest, and without sending him in a copy of the writ. The religious tyranny under which the South groaned was moderated; and the seneschal of Carcassonne forbidden to imprison any one on the requisition of the inquisitors alone.<sup>†</sup> No doubt

these concessions were interested. The Jew was the king's thing, his property: the heretic his subject, his *taxable*, would not have remained for him to plunder, had he been resigned to the extortions of the Inquisition. But let us not search too narrowly into the motive. The ordinance seems honorable to him who signed it; and we discern in it with pleasure the first light of tolerance and of religious equity.

In the same year, 1291, the king struck a bolder blow at the Church. He limited and loosened that fearfully absorbing power, which would by degrees have swallowed up all the lands of the kingdom\*—gifts in mortmain. (*main morte*, "dead-hand.") Dead, indeed, either to sell or give, the priest's and monk's hand was open and living to receive and take. The king raised the payment to be made by the clerical heir in compensation of the reliefs upon succession and fines upon alienation lost to him by an estate's devolving on the undying corporations of the Church, to treble, quadruple, and even sextuple its yearly value; and thus every donation of the kind made to the Church turned henceforward to the king's profit. The king, this new god of the civil world, came in for his share of pious gifts with Jesus Christ, with our Lady, and the saints.

So much for the Church. Feudalism, all armed and warlike as it is, is not the less attacked. It gives out from itself the principle which is to be its ruin—the principle of the feudal suzerainty of the crown. St. Louis expressly says in his Establishments (*Etablissements*.)<sup>‡</sup>—"If any one bring an action against his lord in the king's court for debt due to him, or on account of promises or covenants entered into with him, his lord shall not hold the court, for no lord ought to be judge, or to administer law in his own cause, according to the law inscribed in the code, 'Ne quis in sua causa iudicet,' in the only law which begins with *Generali*, in red and black," &c. The Establishments of Louis were drawn up for the king's own domains. Beaumanoir, in the *Coutume de Beauvoisis*—laws drawn up for the domains of one of St. Louis's sons, Robert of Clermont, progenitor of the house of Bourbon—writes (this is in the time of Philippe-le-Bel) that the king has a right to draw up Establishments not for his own domains only, but for the whole kingdom. The original should be consulted, to see with what skill he advances this scandalous and paradoxical opinion.<sup>§</sup>

\* "It was said (in parliament) that neither prelates nor their officials can inflict money fines on the Jews, or compel them by ecclesiastical censures, but that they can only punish them as laid down in the canon, namely, by cutting them off from the communion of the faithful." *Libres de l'Eglise Gallicane*, ii. 148.—One is tempted to take this for a bitter irony on excommunication.

† L. ii. c. 27.

‡ Beaumanoir, c. 49, pp. 268, 267.—See, also, c. 48, and c. 34.

§ Beaumanoir lays it down, though in very moderate and doubtful terms, that "when the king makes any ordinance specially for his own domains, the houses do not come to

\* Ordonnances, i. 316.

† D. Vaissette, *Hist. du Languedoc*, l. xviii. c. 21, p. 72.

‡ Ordonnances, pp. 307, 322.





er of the seals. Philippe-le-Long revoked the grants which had been made him by Philippe-le-Bel; but he was not included in the proscription of the Marignis—an exemption no doubt due to a fear of throwing discredit on his judicial acts, which were of the last importance to the crown.

These legists, who from the twelfth century had governed the English kings, and who in the thirteenth directed St. Louis, Alphonso X., and Frederick II., were under St. Louis's grandson the tyrants of France. These *knights-at-law*, these souls of lead and iron, these Placians, Nogarets, and Marignis, proceeded with frightful coldness in their servile imitation of the Roman law and of imperial fiscality. The Pandects were their Bible, their Gospel. They stopped at nothing as soon as they could say, whether wrongly or rightly, *Scriptum est*. . . . With texts, quotations, and falsifications, they battered down the middle age—popedom, feudalism, and chivalry. They went boldly to *make bodily seizure* on Pope Boniface VIII.; they burnt the crusade itself in the person of the Templars.

Painful though it be to avow it, these cruel demolishers of the middle ages are the founders of civil order in modern times. It is they who organize the centralization of the monarchy; and who scatter over the provinces bailiffs, seneschals, provosts, auditors, notaries, royal attorneys, masters, and weighers of coin. The forests are invaded by royal verderers and *gruirs*.\* All these functionaries set about confusing, discouraging, and destroying the feudal jurisdictions. In the centre of this vast spider's web, sits the council of legists under the name of Parlement, (fixed at Paris in 1302.) There, all will gradually be absorbed and swallowed up by the kingly power. This lay law is especially the enemy of the ecclesiastical. At need, the legists will enrol the citizens with themselves: in fact, they are nothing better, although, while persecuting the nobility, they solicit ennoblement.

Creating government on this fashion was certainly a costly process. We are without sufficient details to arrive at exactitude; but we know that the provost's sergeants, that is, the executors and agents of this administration, so tyrannical at its birth, had at first—the horse-sergeant three sous (Paris) daily, which was subsequently doubled, and the foot-sergeant eighteen deniers, &c. Here is a complete judicial and administrative army. Presently, mercenary troops will arrive. Philippe de Valois will have at once several thousand Genoese cross-bowmen. Whence draw the enormous sums which all this is to cost? Manufactures are not yet created. This new social

system is already attacked by the complaint of which the ancient died. It consumes, but does not produce. In process of time, manufactures, commerce, and wealth, will issue out of the bosom of order and security. But so vast is the price of the establishment of this order, that it may be long doubted whether it does not increase the miseries it was designed to cure.

These evils are aggravated to excess by one circumstance. The baron of the middle age paid his servitors in lands, and in the produce of the land; great and small, they had seats at his table. Their pay was their daily food. To the immense machine of royal government, which substituted its complicated movement for the thousand natural and simple movements of feudal government, money alone can give the requisite impulse. If the new-born monarchy fail to possess itself of this vital element, it will perish, it will dissolve, and all its parts will crumble back into the isolation and barbarism of feudal government.

'Tis not the fault of this new system of government if it be greedy and hungry. Hunger is its nature, its necessity, the very basis of its constitution; to satisfy which, it must alternately employ craft and force. We have here in the king's individual person, as in the old romance, master Renard and master leegrin—fox and wolf.

It is but right to observe, that naturally the king does not love war; but prefers all other means of getting—purchase and usury. At first, he traffics, exchanges, buys; the strong can thus strip his weak friends honestly. For instance, as soon as the French monarch despairs of taking Spain by means of papal bulls, he at least buys the patrimony of the younger branch of Aragon, the good city of Montpellier, the only one which remained to King Jayme.<sup>9</sup> Our prince, well-advised and knowing in the law, had no scruples to acquire in this manner the last garment of his prodigal friend, a poor younger son, who sold his patrimony but by bit; and the management of which he no doubt thought ought to be taken away from him in virtue of the Roman law, "*Prodigus et furiosus*."<sup>†</sup>

On the north he acquired Valenciennes, which placed itself in his hands, (A. D. 1293:) undoubtedly money had something to do with the transaction. Valenciennes brought him near to wealthy Flanders, so desirable to lay hold of, both for its wealth, and as being the ally of England. On the side of English France, he had purchased from the necessitous Edward I. the Quercy, a dry, mountainous country, of little value, but affording an entrance into Guyenne. Edward was at the time entangled

\* Hist. de Languedoc, l. xxviii. c. 30, p. 78.

\* (Wood rangers. According to Borel, the word comes from druud—gru for dru, &c. "ask." In the Latin of the 11th age, we find *gruarius*, *gruarius*. See Roquefort, *Salaire de la Langue Romaine*.)—TRANSLATOR.

† Montpellier was at the same time a fief of the bishops of Maguelone. The bishop, worn out by the opposition of the burghesses, and the support given them by the king of France, sold the latter all his rights; which, though previously judged invalid, seemed on this point good enough to serve as a pretext for despoiling the aged Jayme. Raymond, l. viii. p. 464.

in his Welsh and Scotch wars, in which he gained glory only. Indisputably, it would have been much to have established Britannie unity, and to have united in himself the sovereignty of the whole island ; an object for the effecting of which Edward made heroic efforts, and at the same time committed atrocious barbarities. But in vain did he break the harps of Wales, slay its bards ; in vain did he reduce King David to a traitor's doom, and transfer to Westminster the famous stone, the Scottish palladium, from Scone ; he could bring nothing to a conclusion, either in the island or on the continent. Whenever he looked towards France with eager desire to cross over, some bad news would be sure to be brought him from the Scotch border, or from the marches of Wales, some new attempt of Llewellyn's or of Wallace's. The latter, the heroic chief of the clans,\* was encouraged by Philippe-le-Bel, by this royal attorney, who took care not to stir : his end was secured by rousing Edward with his Scotch blood-hounds. He willingly allowed him to immortalize himself in the deserts of Wales and of Northumberland, proceeded against him at his ease, and let judgment go against him by default.

Thus, when he saw him occupied with repressing Scotland, in arms under Bâthol, he summoned him to answer for the perjuries of his Gascons upon our Normans. He summoned this king, this conqueror, to appear and clear himself before what he called the tribunal of peers. He first threatened, then beguiled him, offering him in marriage a princess of France, as the price of a fictitious submission, a simple *seigneurie*, which would arrange every thing. The arrangement ended in the Englishman's throwing open his strongholds, and in Philippe's keeping them, and withdrawing his offers, so that this great provisor of the kingdom of Guyenne, engaged most completely of hand

By a cold letter to a famous poet this proceeding. He sought aid against Philip, the son-in-law of the King of the Romans. A cold letter to several of the dukes of Brittany, and of Bavaria, the counts of Flanders, Burgundy and Guelders. He wrote humbly to his brother of Geneva, asking him pardon for having conspired to the seizure of

But, too busied with Scotland, he did not repair to Guyenne in person, and his party only experienced reverses. The pope (Boniface VIII.) sided with Philip, to whom he owed his tiara : and, to give him an ally, he released the Scottish king from his oaths to the king of England. Finally, Philip managed so well, that the Flemings, discontented with their count, summoned him to their assistance.\* Both kings relied on Flanders for supporting the war. This fat land was a natural temptation to these voracious governments. To that whole world of barons and of knights, whom the French kings weaned from private wars, Flanders was their dream, their poetry, their Jerusalem. All were ready to make a joyous pilgrimage to the magazines of Flanders, the spices of Bruges, the fine cloths of Ypres, the tapestries of Arras.

It would seem as if God had made this good Flanders, and placed it between all, to be eaten of one or other. Before England was the Colossus we now see, Flanders was an England; but how inferior and incomplete in comparison. Drapers without wool, soldiers without cavalry, merchants without a navy, were the Flemings, and it is these three things, cattle, horses, and ships, which now constitute the marrow of England—the material, vehicle, and defence of her industry.

This is not all. The name of Flanders does not express a people, but a union of several very different countries, a collection of tribes and of cities. Nothing can be less homogeneous. Not to speak of differences of race and tongue, there has ever been hatred between city and city, hatred between the towns and the country, hatred between classes, hatred between trades, hatred between the sovereign and the people. In a land where women inherited and transferred the sovereignty, the sovereign was often a foreign husband. Flemish sensuality, the materialism of this people of flesh, is manifested in the precocious indulgence of the Countess de Flandre to women and bastards. The Flemish women brought in by marriage masters from all countries—a Dane, an Asiatic, then, Frenchmen of different families, the Dampierre, the Bourbons, Louis de Malesherbes, Capotauro, Philippe le Hardi, the Valois, the Hapsburgs, Austria, Spain, then, Austria again. And now, Flanders is under the sway of a Saxon, Coburg.

Henry's complaint of the French count, Guy Dampierre. Philippe offered the Flemings his protection. Guy applied to the King.

6. The Commission has been very busy in the past few months. It has been working on a number of projects, including the development of a new curriculum for the National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST) and the National Science Foundation (NSF). It has also been working on a number of other projects, including the development of a new curriculum for the National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST) and the National Science Foundation (NSF). We have been very busy in the past few months, and we are looking forward to continuing our work in the future.

\* \* \* \* \*

... We ...  
... Meyer

[illegible]

lish, and sought to marry his daughter, Philippa, to Edward's son. According to the feudal law, this marriage, directed against the king of France, could not take place without his consent, as suzerain of Guy Dampierre. However, Philippe entered no protest; but hypocritically declared, that being the maiden's god-father, he could not allow her to cross the strait without embracing her.\* To refuse, was to declare war; and before the time had come. To go to Paris, was to run the risk of remaining there. Guy went; and did remain. Both father and daughter were detained in the tower of the Louvre. Thus Philippe deprived Edward of his ally and of his wife, just as he had of Guyenne. Subsequently, it is true, the count made his escape: but the maiden died, to Philippe's great damnification, who was interested in keeping such a hostage, and yet was accused of her death.

Edward thought he had roused the whole world against his disloyal enemy. The emperor Adolphus of Nassau, a poor petty prince despite of his title, would willingly have made war in Edward's pay, as Otho of Brunswick had formerly done in John's, and as, subsequently, Maximilian battled for Henry VIII. on a subsidy of a hundred crowns a day. The counts of Savoy, Auxerre, Montbelliard, Neufchâtel, Hainault, and Gueldres, the duke of Brabant, the bishops of Liege and of Utrecht, and the archbishop of Cologne, all promised to attack Philippe, all took English money, and, with the exception of the count of Bar, they to a man remained quiet. Edward paid them to act; Philippe, to do nothing.

The war was thus waged without tumult or battle. It was a struggle of corruption, a contest of money—to see which would first ruin the other. They had to give to their friends, they had to give to their enemies. Poor and wretched were the resources of kings of those days to meet such expenses. True, Edward and Philippe banished the Jews, and kept their property;† but the Jew is slippery, and glided out of France, managing to take much of his means with him. The French king, whose ministers were at the time Italian bankers, bethought himself, no doubt by their advice, of levying contributions on the Italians, the Lombards, who were then turning France to profit, and who were a variety of the Jewish species. Then, in order to reach more surely still the whole race of money-makers, of those who bought and sold, the king, for the first time, had recourse to that evil expedient so often employed in the fourteenth century—the debasement of the coin.‡ It was an easy and silent tax, a secret bankruptcy: at least, at the outset. But soon all profited by it, each paid his debts in debased money. The king gained less by the transac-

tion than the crowd of faithless debtors. At last, he had recourse to a directer means—the universal imposition of the *malôte*.\*

This repulsive name, invented by the people, was boldly accepted by the king himself. It was a last means—an invention from which, if there still remained any substance, if there was still any thing left to be sucked out of the marrow of the people, that remainder was to be expected. But in vain did they press and screw. The patient was so dry that the new machine could express nothing out of him. Nor could the king of England any more draw any thing from his people. His distress reduced him to despair; and in one of his parliaments he was even seen to weep.

Between this famished king and consumptive people there was, however, some one who was rich: that some one was the Church. Archbishops and bishops, canons and monks, ancient monks of St. Benedict, new monks called mendicants, all were rich and gorged with wealth. The whole of this tansured world throve on the blessings of heaven, and on the fat of the earth. They were a small, happy people, round, fat, and oily, in the heart of the vast, hungered people, who then began to eye them with side-long looks.

The German bishops were princes, and led armies. The Anglican Church was said to possess half the lands of the island. Its revenue in 1337 amounted to seven hundred and thirty thousand marks. At present, it is true, the archbishop of Canterbury receives only twelve hundred thousand francs a year, and the archbishop of York eight hundred thousand. When the Restoration (la Restauration) was making preparations for the Spanish expedition, in 1822, among other items of information it was ascertained, that the archbishop of Toledo distributed daily before his farms and palaces ten thousand basins of soup, and the archbishop of Seville six thousand.†

Confiscation of the Church was the dominant idea of kings from the thirteenth century, and the chief instigation of their contests with the popes: all the difference is, that the Protestants took, and the Catholics compelled her to give. Henry VIII. employed schism, François I. the concordat.

Which then of the two, in the fourteenth century, the king or the Church, was henceforward to make the most of France? This was the question. Already, when Philippe laid on his people the terrible tax of the *malôte*, when he debased the coin, when he stripped the Lon-

\* Guiz. Nangiac, ann. 1296, p. 51.

† *M. l. l.*, meaning *malôte*, "wrongfully taken." The tax amounted to the fifteenth penny on every article deemed taxable, and was arbitrarily and violently raised, with a total disregard to justice.—TRANSLATOR.

‡ I should hardly have believed this, had it not been confirmed in my presence by the very minister by whose order information had been collected.—One of the *monasteries* recently suppressed at Madrid (that of St. Salvador) had two millions of revenue, and but one monk.

\* Id. *ibid.* c. 130, §. 213.— Sismondi, t. vii. p. 496.

† Edward, in 1299; Philippe, in 1290.

‡ Leblanc, *Traité des Monnaies*, p. 302.



liberty, and alienated estates to their original possessors: it was, if I may so speak, to annul history and undo time in the name of the only Eternal. Ancient Rome, in quite a different point of view, borrowed from the Etrusci the doctrine of Ages;\* but it was not to recognise in it the fluctuations of this world, the mortality of empires. Rome believed herself God; judged herself immortal as well as invincible; and on the return of each century, solemnized her eternity.

In the year 1300 faith was still great. Prodigious was the crowd which flocked to Rome.† The pilgrims were counted by the hundred thousand, and counting soon became impossible. Neither the houses nor the churches could contain them; and they encamped in the streets and squares, under places of shelter hastily run up, under stretched cloths, tents, and the arch of heaven. One would have thought that the end of time had come, and that the human race had assembled before its Judge in the valley of Jehoshaphat.

To have an idea of the effect of this prodigious spectacle, one must have seen Rome, fallen as she is, during Passion Week, and on the glorious festival of Easter: on these great days, one almost forgets that sorrowing Rome is before one, the widow of two antique worlds.

Whatever may have been Boniface's motive, whether fiscal or political, I owe him no grudge for this beautiful invention of the jubilee. Thousands of men, I feel assured, have thanked him for it in their hearts. Who but would wish thus to be able to lay a stone in the path of time, to find a resting-place in his life between the regrets of the past, and the hopes of a better, a less to be regretted future! Who but would wish to pause while scaling the rude steep, to breathe a little at mid-day, *Nel mezzo cammin di nostra vita*?‡ Great is our need of a resting-place midway, of a station,§ of a jubilee.

And wherefore deride those fair souls who believed that evil could be fled by change of place, that one could travel from sin to sanctity, that the devil could be laid aside with the dress which we replace by the pilgrim's? Is it not something to escape from the influence of places and habits: to quit one's accustomed shores and sail to a new life? Is there not an evil power, strong to blind and infatuate, in those spots to which the heart roots itself—whether it be the Charmettes of Jean Jacques,

or the Pinada of Byron, or that Lake of Aigla-Chapelle, with which, according to tradition, Charlemagne was bewitched.

Let us not marvel at our ancestors' love of pilgrimages, and their attributing a regenerative virtue to visiting distant sanctuaries. "The aged man, all white and hoary, tears himself from the spots where he has pursued his career, and from his alarmed family who see themselves deprived of a cherished father.—Old, weak, and panting, he drags himself forward as he can, helped on by his good-will, overcome as he is by years, and by the fatigue of the journey.—He comes to Rome to see the image of Him whom, dwelling on high, he hopes soon to behold again in heaven."¶

But there are who arrive not, who sink by the way. . . . Most of our readers will recollect that little painting of Robert's,† where the Roman pilgrim is seated in the arid campagna; she heeds neither her bleeding feet nor her nursing on her knees, panting with thirst, provided she reach the blessed hill which breaks the far distant horizon, *Monte di jova*!

And when the end of the journey is Rome! when at the birth of a new century, at the solemn moment that an hour of the world's life has struck, we reach the great city, and see and touch those antique memorials and tombs, before only heard of and famed in our minds—and then, finding ourselves contemporary with all ages, both with consuls and with martyrs, and having, from station to station, from the Coliseum to the Capitol, and from the Pantheon to St. Peter, lived all history over again, having seen all death and all ruin—we depart, and retrace our steps towards our country, towards the natal tomb, but with less regret, and reconciled beforehand to die!

The Church, like those thousands of men who came on pilgrimage to her, found in this Jubilee of the year 1300, the sublime and culminating point of its historic life. From that hour its descent began. In the very multitude there collected, mingled the formidable men who were about to open a new world: some, cold and implacable politicians, like the historian, John Villani; others, disappointed and haughty, like Dante, who was about to have his own Jubilee. The pope had summoned all the living to Rome; Dante, in his *Commedia*, convened all the dead—revised the world that had closed, classified it, judged it. The middle age, as well as antiquity, appeared before him. Nothing was hidden from him. The secret of the sanctuary was told and profaned; the seals were taken off and broken, nor have they since been found. The middle age had lived; life is a mystery, which perishes the moment it has revealed itself. The revelation of the middle age was the *Divina Commedia*, the cathedral of

\* See my *Histoire Romaine*, l. i. p. 73.

† The concurrence was so great as to produce a famine. See the work of cardinal St. George, Boniface's nephew, entitled *De Jubileo*, in Bibl. Max. Patrum, xxy. p. 936.

‡ "In the middle path of our life."—The opening line of Dante's *Inferno*.—TRANSLATOR.

§ A "station" is one of the churches or chapels, where the pilgrim is bound to repeat certain prayers, or perform certain acts of devotion. The twelve *Stations* of Rome, being twelve of the earliest Christian churches in Rome, and so called from having been the Halls, so called, used by the ancients, or else built on their model—were the stations appointed to be visited during the jubilee.—TRANSLATOR.

\* Petrarcha, sonn. 14.

† (A French artist of high talent, whose untimely death has been a serious loss to art.)—TRANSLATOR.









"Philippe, by the grace of God, king of the French, to Boniface, who gives himself out for pope, little or no greeting. Let thy very great silliness know that we are subject to no one in temporal matters; that collation to vacant churches and prebends belongs to us of royal right; that the fruits are ours; that the collations made and to be made by us, are valid both for past and future; that we will maintain those in possession with all our power, and that we hold all who think differently, fools and madmen."

These strange words, which, a century before, would have armed the whole kingdom against the king, were well received by the nobility, and by the towns. A step further was then taken; and the nobility directly compromised with the pope. On the 11th of February, 1302, the *petite bulle* was burnt, in presence of the king and of a crowd of barons and knights, in the midst of the Parisians, and the act was then proclaimed by sound of trumpet throughout the capital.\* Yet two hundred years—and a German monk will do of his own private authority, what Pierre Flotte and Nogaret are now doing in the name of the king of France.

But it was requisite to engage the whole kingdom in the quarrel; and an unusual measure was resorted to. The pope had convoked the prelates to Rome for the 1st of November; the king convoked the states for the 10th of April—no more the states of the clergy and nobility, no more the states of the South, as assembled by St. Louis, but the states both of South and North, the states of the three orders, of the clergy, the nobility, and the burgesses of the towns. This assembling of the States-General by Philippe-le-Bel constitutes the national era of France, its baptismal register; and the place of its baptism was the basilica of Notre-Dame, for there the states first met. In like manner as the Holy See, in the time of Gregory VII., and of Alexander III., had relied on the people; so did the enemy of that see now summon the people to his aid. These burgesses, mayors, sheriffs, consuls of towns, under whatever humble and servile form they now assemble to speak as directed by king and nobles, were, nevertheless, the first visible manifestation of the people.

Pierre Flotte opened the states (April 10th, 1302) in bold and able style. He attacked the first words of the bull, *Ausculta fili*:—"God has set us over kings and kingdoms."... Then he asked whether the French could without cowardice allow their kingdom, always free and independent, to be thus placed in vassalage to the pope? This was adroitly confounding

moral and religious, with political dependence, touching the feudal string, rousing the warrior's contempt of the priest. The fiery count of Artois, who had already snatched from the legs and torn in pieces the bull *Ausculta*, took up the word, and said, that if the king chose to endure or to overlook the pope's designs, the barons would not.† This coarse flattery, wearing the guise of freedom and boldness, was applauded by the nobles. At the same time, they were induced to sign and seal a letter, written in the vulgar tongue, not to the pope, but the cardinals. This letter was probably written beforehand by the care of the chancellor, for it is dated the 10th of April, the very day on which the states met. In this lengthy epistle, the barons, after wishing the cardinals "constant increase of charity, love, and all the good they can wish themselves," declare, that as to the evils which "he who at present is in the seat of the government of the Church," alleges to have been committed by the king, they have no wish, "neither they, nor the universality, nor the people of the kingdom, to have them corrected or amended by any other than by our said lord the king." They accuse "him who at present sits in the seat of the government of the Church," of drawing large sums from the collation of archbishops, bishops, and other beneficiaries, "so that the people, who are subjected to them, are oppressed and distressed; nor can the prelates confer the benefices in their gift on the noble clerks, and other well-born and well-learned men of their dioceses, by whose predecessors churches were founded."‡ Indignantly, the barons subscribed with all their heart to this last sentence, in which the able framer of the epistle insinuated, that benefices, mostly founded by their ancestors, should be given to their younger brothers, or their creatures, as has been the practice in England, more particularly since the Reformation. By this stroke of policy the discomfiture of the pope was identified with the restoration of the vast estates of which the barons had stripped themselves to bestow on the Church in the ages of religious fervor.‡

\* Dupuy, Hist. de l'Égl. p. 12.

† Id. Preuves, pp. 69-70.

‡ The letter went on to say, in the name of the nobles, "And were it the case that we, or that any of us, should choose to suffer it, neither our said lord the king, nor the common people of the said kingdom would allow of it; and to our great grief and sorrow, we will you to know by the holder of these letters, that these are not things pleasing to God, or which we ought to please any right-principled person, nor ever did such things enter man's heart, nor would we; they be looked for, except by Antichrist. . . . Wherefore we pray and entreat you with all earnestness and affection . . . that all the evils which have been evoked be altogether done away with, and that for the excesses which he has been in the habit of committing, he be so punished that the state of Christendom be restored to and may remain in peace, and on these matters give us to know by the bearer of these letters except otherwise and instantly; for it is for this we are . . . to you, and we will not for death we will desert, or who to debase . . . and that we do not according to the plan . . . and because it would be . . ."

\* Id. p. 50.—Euerunt littere ejus (pape) in regno Francie coram pluribus concionatoribus, et sine honore remissi. Chron. Rothomagensis, ann. 1302; and Appendix Annalium. II. Siemonis Althensis. The manuscript quoted by Dupuy, (Preuv. du Hist. p. 50.) and which he alone has . . . is not, therefore, as M. Siemond says, the only authority for the fact. Hist. des Franç. t. ix. p. 63.

The city streets are a virgin within a modern railing, in whose lap sits a lion with the standard of Flanders. . . . *Standard, Gandev. Rev. 1. 1. p. 31.*

Roland's bell sounded oftener for tumult than for fire—*Roland! Roland! tingle, 'tis a fire; peal, 'tis a rising!*\*

The result was not difficult to be foreseen. The people began to whisper together, and to assemble at nightfall.† The Sicilian Vespers had taken place but twenty years before.

At first, thirty of the heads of the trades appeared before Châtillon to complain that the works undertaken by royal order had not been paid for. The high and mighty lord, accustomed to the rights of *corvée* and purveyorship, was indignant at their insolence, and threw them into prison. The people flew to arms, set them free, and some lives were lost, to the great alarm of the wealthier classes, who declared for the royal officers. The affair was brought before the parliament. Here we have the parliament of Paris sitting in judgment on Flanders, as it but recently did on the king of England.

The decree of the parliament was that the heads of the trades were again to be thrown into prison. Among them were two men loved by the people; the deacon of the butchers and the deacon of the weavers. The latter, Peter König, (Peter King,) was a poor man, of wretched appearance, little, and one-eyed; but a man of head, and a popular mob and street orator. He led the trades out of Bruges; and they massacred all the French in the neighboring villages and castles, returning by night. They stretched chains across the streets to hinder the French from *scouring the town*; and each burghess was pledged to remove the saddle and bridle of the knight lodged with him. On the 21st of March, 1302, all the lower classes sound the alarm on their caldrons;|| a butcher strikes the first blow; in every direction the French are attacked and cut down. The women were the most furious in throwing them out of the windows; or they were led to the market-places, where they were put to death. The massacre continued for three days; and twelve hundred knights and two thousand foot-soldiers fell victims.

After this plunge, it remained but to conquer or die. The men of Bruges marched at first to Ghent, in the hope of being joined by its citizens. But these were held back by the large manufacturers; and, perhaps, by the jealousy

Ghent had of Bruges as well. The men of Bruges had with them, besides their own lord, only Ypres, l'Ecluse, Newport, Bourges, Furne, and Gravelines, which followed them either willingly, or perforce. They had placed at the head of their militia one of the sons of the count of Flanders, (the young Guy of Dampierre,) and one of his gendarmes, (William of Juliers,) who was a priest, but who attached himself in order to fight along with them.\*

They were in Courtrai, when the French pitched their camp in front of it. These mechanics, who had seldom sought in the open country, would, perhaps, have willingly retired; but retreat was dangerous in a large plain, and before so numerous a cavalry.† They waited for the attack bravely. Each man had fixed in the ground before him his gutturing, or stake shod with iron. Their device was the fine motto, *Seilt und Friendt*, “My friend and my buckler.”‡ Mace was celebrated, and they wished to take the communion together; but as they could not all receive the eucharist, each man stooped down, and aimed to his lips a vessel of the turf at his foot. The knights who were with them dismounted and disarmed their horses; and at the same time that they thus converted themselves into foot-soldiers, they dubbed the heads of the trades knights. All knew that the day of grace was past. Emma, too, ran from man to man, that Chastillon had brought casks filled with ropes to hang them with;|| and that the queen had counselled the French when they were killing the Flemish boys, not to spare the women.¶

The constable, Raoul de Nesle, proposed a manœuvre by which the Flemings would have been turned, and cut off from Combrin. But the king's cousin, the Count d'Artois, who commanded the army, brutally asked him, "Are you afraid of these rabbits, or have you any of their skin about you?" The constable, who had married one of the count of Flanders' daughters, felt the insult, and haughtily answered, "If your highness will ride even with me to-day, you will ride far enough!" At the same time he commanded and led an impetuous charge in a cloud of July dust. (It was the 11th of July, 1302.) As each man-at-arms strove to follow him closely through masses of slain

fluence either by virtue of their office or their wealth, followed the Lillies, dreading the royal power, and fleeing for their property." *Id.* p. 51.

\* *Stamond*, t. II. p. 66.—*G. Villani*, l. viii. c. 25, p. 224.  
† (The Flemings, too, were anxious to save the city.)—  
TRANSLATOR.

‡ (This was the Shibboleth used by the Flemings at the massacre of Bruges. Sentinels were posted at the city gates, with orders to put every one to death who could not pronounce words so impossible to all but a native tongue.

§ G. Villard, l. viii. c. 56, p. 225. See my *Revue des Droits*.

**V**asa visaria protergo spoliata plura, ut phantasie stupe-  
gularet Meyer, p  
**U**t apron \_\_\_\_\_ no apt adverb  
confederer  
spitted, "h  
letter on a

\* The inscription on the great bell—

"Roelandt, Roelandt, als ick kleppe, dan ist brandt,  
Als ick luye, dan ist storm in Vlenderlandt."

**Id. l. II, n. 115.**

† Convenire, conferre, colloqui inter se sub crepusculum  
noctis multitudo. Meyer.

† Villani, l. viii. c. 54, p. 82.

§ Primus ausus est Gallorum obestere tyrannidi Petrus cognomento Rex, homo piebelus, unoculus, etate sexagenarius, opifcio textor pannorum, brevi viri statura nec sic admodum liberali, animo tamen magno et feroci, consilio bonus, manu promptus, Flandriâ quidem linguâ comprime facundus, Gallicæ Ignarus. Meyer, p. 91.

|| "Not daring to force their way to the city bell, they struck upon their caldrons (*patres*) . . . as a signal for a general rising." *Id.* p. 90.

¶ "The chief men of the city, and those who had in-



March, the king's man, Pierre Flotte's successor, the bold Gascon, Nogaret, read and signed a furious manifesto against Boniface :—

"The glorious prince of the apostles, the blessed Peter, speaking in the spirit, has told us that as in former times, so in those to come, there will arise false prophets who will sully the way of truth, and who, in their avarice, and by their deceitful words, will traffic in us, after the example of that Balaam who loved the wages of iniquity. Balaam had for correction and warning a brute creature, who, gifted with human speech, proclaimed the folly of the false prophet. . . . These things, which were announced by the father and patriarch of the Church, we see with our own eyes realized to the letter. In truth, there sits in the chair of the blessed Peter that master of lies, who although *Maleficent*, (*Mal-faisant*), in every possible way, is yet called *Beneficent*, (*Boniface*).† He did not enter through the gate

into our Lord's sheepfold, nor as a shepherd and laborer, but rather as a robber and thief. . . . Though the true bridegroom be alive, (*Celestine V.*) he has dared to wrong the bride by unlawful embraces. The true bridegroom has been no party to this divorce. In fact, as human laws say, *Nothing more opposed to consent than error*. . . . He cannot marry, who, while a worthy husband lives, has sulked marriage by adultery. Now, as what is committed against God is a wrong and injury to all, and as with regard to so great a crime, the testimony of the first comer ought to be received, *even that of the wife, even that of an infamous woman*—I, then, like the beast which, through the power of God, was gifted with the voice of a real man in order to reprove the folly of the false prophet who longed to curse the blessed people, address to you my supplication, most excellent prince, our Lord Philippe, by the grace of God king of France, that after the example of the angel who presented the naked sword to this curser of God's people, you, who are anointed for the execution of justice, would oppose the sword to this other and more fatal Balaam, and hinder him from consummating the evil which he is preparing for the people."

No decisive step was taken. The king kept still tacking about. He allowed three bishops to justify his prohibition of the prelates' leaving the kingdom. The pope sent a legate to France, no doubt to feel the pulse of the clergy, and see if they would stir. Not one budged. The king told the legate that he would leave the question to the arbitrement of the dukes of Brittany and Burgundy, which was at once to flatter the nobility and secure their good-will, and to yield nothing. On this the pope addressed a bull to the legate, in which he declared the king excommunicated by the act of hindering the prelates from repairing to Rome.

The legate left the bull, and fled. The king seized two priests who had accompanied the legate when he brought it, and the ecclesiastics who copied it. The bull bore the date of the 13th of April. Two months afterwards—day for day—the two lawyers who succeeded Pierre Flotte, took the field against Boniface : Plasian was the accuser, Nogaret the executor. The first brought his charge against Boniface before the barons assembled in the states at the Louvre, and cited him to appear at a forthcoming council. Plasian added the charge of heresy to the previous charges;\* the king signed the citation; and Nogaret set out for Italy.

wick of Contances, had already been brought forward; and the opinion he delivered against the pope's claims is barbarous and fantastical in style, erudition, and logic to the extreme of pedantry. The following is the substance of this strange pamphlet of the fourteenth century.—After laying down the impossibility of a universal monarchy, and refuting the pretended instances of the Indian, Assyrian, Greek, and Roman empires, he quotes the law of Moses against covetousness and theft. "Now the pope covets and would take away the supreme liberty of the king, which is, and ever has been, to be subject to no one, and to command throughout his kingdom without fear of human control. Moreover, it cannot be denied, that since the recognition of *dominus*, the usurpation of things possessed, especially of those which enjoy the prescription of an immemorial possession, is a mortal sin. Now the king of France has possessed the supreme jurisdiction and franchise of his temporalities above a thousand years. Likewise, the said king, since the time of Charlemagne, from whom he is descended, as may be seen in the canon *Intercessores*, possesses and has collated to prebends and the fruits of the custody of churches, not without title and through right acquired by occupancy, but by gift from pope Adrian, who, with the consent of the general council, conferred on Charlemagne these rights, and many others almost incomparably greater, to wit, that he and his successors might choose and nominate whomsoever they would, popes, cardinals, patriarchs, prelates, &c. . . . Besides, the pope can only claim supremacy over the kingdom of France as sovereign pontiff; but, did the supremacy belong of right to the papacy, it would have belonged to St. Peter and his successors, who have not claimed it. The king of France has a prescriptive right of twelve hundred and seventy years. Now a hundred years' possession, without a title, creates—according to a new constitution of the said pope—a prescriptive right against him and against the Roman church, and, according to the imperial laws, even against the empire. Therefore, if the pope or the emperor had had any right of servitude over the kingdom, which is not the case, their right would be extinct. . . . Besides, if the pope should rule that prescription does not hold against him, no more will it hold against others, and especially against princes, who own no superiors. Therefore the emperor of Constantinople, who endowed him with all his patrimony, the donation being excessive, as being executed by a simple administrator of the goods of the empire, as donor, or the emperor of Germany, as his surrogate, can revoke this donation. . . . And so the papacy would be reduced to its primitive poverty of the times anterior to Constantine, since this donation, null in law as to its principle, might be revoked but for the prescriptive right of long possession, *longissimi temporis*." Dupuy, pp. 15, 17.

\* He signs himself *Cardinal et Venerabilis Professorum in Droit*. He had indeed, been knighted by the king in 1297; but he did not dare in an assembly of the nobles to style himself by a title so noble a title. Dupuy, *Proverbes*, p. 56.

† Such in cathedral seats Peter, mendoorum ingreſtor, faciens ſc, cum ſi omnifario maleficis Bonifacium nomen nari. Sol. . . . Nec ad ejus excommunicationem . . . quod ab aliquibus dicitur poſt mortem dicti Celeſtini . . . car-

dinales in eum denovo conſenſiſſe: cum ejus ore conjux ſuo potuerit quam, primo viro eivente, ſide digno conjungi, in ſtat per adulterium polluiſſe. Ibid. p. 57. . . . ¶ I ſunt angelus Domini prophete Balaam . . . occurrat gladii evaginatio in via, ſic dicto peſtifero vos evaginatio gladii occurrere velitis, ne poſſit malum perſicere populo quod intendit. Ibid.

\* "I, Guillaume de Plasian, knight, my, advance, and affirm that Boniface, who now occupies the holy ſee, will be found a perfect heretic, according to the heresies, prodigious facts, and perverse doctrines heretofore mentioned:—1st,

. He brought back more than seven hundred signatures.} Every one signed, even the king's preceptor, after the king's death at Courtrai, had in his despite repaired to pope. The seizure of the temporalities the forty-five had been enough to bring a over to the king's party. With the exception of Cîteaux, which the pope had gained

[illegible]

he believed that he was a short-term move. The French youth, Jean-Paul Sartre, told Phillips, "I am not a Communist, but I am for the East War."<sup>10</sup> The French students, who were the first to arrive in the United States, were not only the first to arrive, but they were also the first to leave. They were the first to leave because they were the first to be sent back to France. They were the first to be sent back to France because they were the first to be sent back to France.

The two accusers well knew all they had to fear. The pope's fury against Pierre Flotie must have enlightened them. Before the battle of Courtrai he had, in his address to the cardinals, thrown all the blame on the latter, and announced that he reserved to himself his spiritual and temporal punishment \*\* which was offering the king a means of finishing the quarrel by the sacrifice of the chancellor. He perished at Courtrai, but how much the more had not his two successors to fear after their audacious accusations? And, accordingly, on the 7th of March, five days before the first manifesto, Nogret had procured from the king

[illegible]

1. The first step is to identify the problem. In this case, the problem is that the company is not meeting its sales targets.

"... I am not a ..."







And he threw his ring from him. His malady and his rage increasing, and hardened in his iniquity, he confirmed all his acts against the king of France and his servants, and published them anew. . . . His friends, to sooth his sufferings, had brought him the son of Master James of Pisa, whom he was wont to love to hold in his arms, as if to boast of his sin . . . but at the sight of the child, he threw himself upon him, and would have bit off his nose, had he not been taken from him. Finally, the said Pharaoh, encompassed with tortures by the Divine vengeance, died on the 13th, unconfessed, and having given no sign of faith; and on this day, there were so many thunderings, tempests, and dragons in the air vomiting flames, so many lightnings and prodigies, that the Roman people thought that the whole city was on the point of sinking into the abysses."<sup>6</sup>

Dante, notwithstanding his violent invective against the murderers of this pontiff, gives him a place in his hell. In the 19th canto of the *Inferno*, Nicholas III., plunged head downwards in flames, hears a voice, and exclaims—“Art thou, then, already up there, thou, already, Boniface? I have been misled as to thy fate by many years. Art thou, then, so soon satiated with what thou hast not feared feloniously to ravish, with the beautiful Spouse, to lay waste and ruin her?”<sup>7</sup>

Boniface's successor, Benedict XI., a man of mean birth, but of great merit, whom the Orsini had made pope, did not feel himself very strong on his accession. He received with a good grace the congratulations of the king of France, brought by Plasian, the accuser of the last pope. Philippe felt that his enemy was not so far dead, but that he might strike some new blow. He carried on the war à l'outrance, sent the pope a memorial against Boniface which might pass for a bitter satire on the court of Rome,<sup>8</sup> and wrote to himself by his lawyers a *Supplication of the French people to the king against Boniface*. This important paper, drawn up in the vulgar tongue, was rather an appeal from the king to the people, than a supplication of the people to the king.<sup>9</sup>

\* Dupuy, Preuves, p. 5. Walsingham, writing under a contrary influence, exaggerates the crimes of Boniface's enemies. According to him, Colonna, Rupino, and the French king's seneschal seized the pope, placed him on a horse without a bridle, and set him off until the breath was nearly out of his body: after this, they would have starved him to death but for the people of Anagni. Walsingham, ap. Dupuy, Preuves, p. 195.

† . . . “Per lo qual non tenesti torre a inganno  
La bella Donna e di poi farne strazio!”

*Inferno*, c. xix.

‡ The mode in which this memorial is drawn up is whimsical. Each charge is preceded by a eulogium on the court of Rome, as follows:—“The holy fathers used not to heap up treasure, but distributed to the poor the goods of the churches. Boniface, on the contrary,” &c. This formula prevails throughout the whole paper. One might doubt whether the king could be in earnest in attributing thus to one pope all the abuses of the papacy. Dupuy, Preuves, pp. 209, 210.

§ “Most noble prince, our sire, by the grace of God king of France, we, the people of your kingdom, supplicate and beseech you, since it is needful, to preserve the sovereignty

On the contrary, Benedict had shown himself at first inclined to hush up this great business, by issuing pardons to all involved in it, with the exception of Nogaret only. But to pardon them was to declare them guilty; and this offensive clemency would have affixed a stigma on the king, the Colonna, and the prelates who had not repaired to Rome on Boniface's summons.

Philippe, overwhelmed at the time by his war with Flanders, had much to fear. The greater number of the cardinals refused to adhere to his appeal to the council; the pope threatened; and the king was constrained to seek the absolution which he had at first disdained. Was he serious in seeking it? One would be tempted to doubt this on seeing that Plasian and Nogaret were the messengers who bore his application to the pope. Probably, Nogaret had secured the mission in order to break off an arrangement which could only be perfected at his

(sovereign franchise) of your kingdom, according to which you recognise no temporal sovereign on earth except God, and to proclaim that pope Boniface manifestly erred and committed deadly sin, to wit, by issuing bulls in the effect that he was sovereign over your temporalities. . . . Likewise . . . to proclaim the said pope, heretic. . . . It can be proved beyond dispute, so that no one can give a reason to the contrary, that the pope was never your temporal lord, (seigneur.) . . . When God the Father had created heaven and the four elements, and had made Adam and Eve, he said to them and their descendants, ‘Where your foot shall tread, that shall be thine,’ (Quod calcaverit pes tuus, tuum erit.) . . . That is to say, he willed that each man should be the lord of what ground he should occupy. So the sons of Adam divided the land, and were its lords three thousand years and more before Melchizedek, who was the first priest that was king, as history tells: but he was not king of all the world; and the people being obedient to him as king over temporal things, and not as priest, he was as much king as priest. After his death it was a long time, six hundred years or more, before any other became priest. And God the Father, who gave the Law to Moses, made him ruler over his people Israel; and commanded him to make his brother Aaron high-priest, and his son after him. And Moses intrusted and committed when he was about to die, by God's commandment, the lordship of temporal things not to the high-priest his brother, but to Joshua, without demur from his brother or his son after him; but they kept the tabernacle . . . and they aided each other in defending the temporal kingdom. . . . That God who knows all things, present and to come, commanded their prince, Joshua, to divide the land between these eleven tribes, and ordered that the tribe of priests should have instead of their share the tithes and first fruits of all, and should remain without land, so that they might the more profitably serve God and pray for this people. And then, when this people of Israel asked a king from our Lord, or asked through the prophet Samuel, he did not give them the high-priest Samuel for king, but Saul, who was taller than all the people by the head and shoulders. . . . (as allusion to Philippe le Bel?) So that there was no king in Jerusalem over the people of God who was priest, but they had a king and a high-priest distinct from each other, and the one had enough to do to govern the petty people in temporal things, and the other in spiritual, and all the priests were obedient to the king in temporal matters. Afterwards, our Lord Jesus Christ was High Priest, and we do not find it written that he had any temporal possessions. . . . After Him, St. Peter . . . Great abomination was it to hear that this Boniface, at regards God's saying to St. Peter, ‘What thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven,’ understood this which was spoken spiritually, perversely, like a Bulgarian, (beneficial) of temporal things. Greater need was there that he should know Arabic, Chaldee, Greek, Hebrew, and all other languages, of which there are many Christians who do not think like the Church of Rome. . . . You, noble king, . . . defender of the faith, destroyer of Bulgars, can, and ought, and are bound to require and to . . . are that the said Boniface be held and judged as a . . . and punished after what fashion can and . . . and punished after his death.” Dupuy, Hist. du Delf. pp.





and rouse it.\* In the middle age it has fallen into its ancient slumber—but, in the churches, where, to secure its better rest, it takes a sacred form; cross, cope, or reliquary. Who will be bold enough to drag it thence; who clear-sighted enough to desecrate it in the earth in which it loves to bury itself? What magician will evoke, will profane this sacred thing, which is worth all things, this blind omnipotence which gives nature †

The middle age cannot so soon attain the great modern idea—*man can create wealth*; which he does, by changing a worthless material into a costly object, and gifting it with the wealth which he has in himself, that of form, of art, of an intelligent will. At first he sought wealth less in form than in matter; and he fell desperately on this matter, tormented nature with a furious love, asked her—all that one asks the beloved object, for life, for immortality.† But, despite the marvellous fortunes of the Lullys and Flamels, the gold, so often found, only showed itself to take to flight, ever leaving the bellows-blower out of breath: it fled, melted away without pity, and melted with it the blower's substance, his soul, his life, staked at the bottom of the crueble.§

The unhappy wretch, abandoning now all hope in human power, denied himself and renounced himself, soul and God. He evoked ill—the devil. King of the subterranean abysses, the devil was beyond doubt the king of gold. See

\* Each of the great revolutions of the world has been marked by a sudden influx of gold. The Phoenicians drew it out of the temple of Daphne; Alexander out of the treasure of Persia's king; Rome took it from the hands of the feet of Alexander's successors; and Cortez wrung it from America. Each of those periods was marked by a sudden change in the course of the progress of mankind and manners as well. But, however a sudden gold may be dragged forth, Europe is also strange attracted to where it lies to find it and nothing. And whatever we may do, it will fly back to Persia. Rome, whether her traditions be history or more than its tale gathered from fables. In our time we can see it. As you say take it in exchange for her merchandise, she grows rich and Europe is poor. Europe melted into Rome. Nations are now so strong are tried to get in going for prizes and goods of China and Japan. See M. A. page's address on M. A. Bismarck, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, March 1871.

4. The engine is called both passenger average gas engine and the standard is given or yielded by nature. In addition.

[illegible][illegible]

However, they were disappointed to find out whether the gold which they obtained in quantity, had nothing at all but the color.

at Notre-Dame de Paris, and on so many churches besides, the melancholy representation of the poor man who gives his soul for gold, who enfolds himself to the devil, kneels before the Beast, and kisses the velvet paw. . . .

The devil, persecuted along with the Manichæans and the Albigensians, and, like them, expelled from the towns, lived then in the desert. He pranced over the heath with Macbeth's witches. Witchcraft, the disgusting abortion of the old conquered religions, had, however, the merit of being an appeal, not only to nature, like alchemy, but to will; it is true, to bad will, to the devil. It was an ill mode of industry, which, unable to extract from will the treasures that it contains by its alliance with nature, essayed to gain by violence and crime what labor, patience, and intelligence, alone can give.

In the middle age, he who knows where gold is, the true alchemist, the true witch, is the Jew; or the demi-Jew, the Lombard.\* The Jew, the unclean man, the man who can touch neither food nor woman, but both must be burnt, the man born for insult, and on whom the whole world spits,† is the man to be applied to.

Ford and prolific nation, endowed beyond all others with the multiplying force, with the force which engenders, which fecundates at will Jacob's sheep or Shylock's sequins! During the whole of the middle age, persecuted, expelled, recalled, they were the indispensable intermediaries between the exchequer and its victim, between the doer and the sufferer, pumping out gold from below, and pouring it out above into the king's hands with frightful grimaces.† . . . . But some of it always stuck by them. . . . Patient, indestructible, they have conquered by lastingness.§ They have resolv-

\* As regards usury, the Jews are said only to have imitated the Lombards, their predecessors. Muratori, Antiquit. vi. 311.

At Tulum, they had their eyes bandaged three times a year, to punish them for having once before delivered up their city to the Spaniards. The standard story in the legends of the town found here at the Hotel had, unfortunately, — Al Habs, they were not, but with slaves a master was. They had a shaved complexion from the sun. The Spaniards, the Mexicans, the Indians, all had a skin of yellow. In the reign of Philip Augustus, the Spaniards began to wear the image of yellow, a *resplandor*, as it were, which was rendered slightly brown, as it were, through the action of the sun, the color of the Spaniards, the color of

They were then the subject of lectures between lords. It is stated in an ordinance of 1230 that no man should be allowed to tell on that lord's Jew, wherever any one should find him, so that he may have a *tanquam propter eum*. However, he may have a *tanquam* in the case of another lord. It was also ordered from the latter ordinance that the members of the Jews be assigned to the lord as *heredes* by the Jews and the king's court, later confirmed by royal statute.

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ed the problem of volatilizing riches; and made freedmen by the invention of bills of exchange, they are now free, they are masters; from buffets to buffets they are now on the throne of the world.\*

To force the poor man to apply to the Jew, to induce him to approach his small, sombre, infamous dwelling, to compel him to speak to that man who, it is said, crucifies little children,† no less a power is needed than the horrible pressure of the exchequer. Between the exchequer, which seeks his marrow and his blood, and the devil, who seeks his soul, he will repair to the Jew as a medium.

When, then, he had exhausted his last resource, when his bed was sold, when his wife and children, lying on the bare ground, shook with fever or cried out in agony, then, with drooping head, and bowed more than if he had his load of wood on his back, he slowly turned his steps towards the hateful house, and stood long at the door ere he knocked. The Jew, having carefully opened the small wicket, a dialogue ensued, a strange and a perplexing one. What says the Christian? In the name of God? Thy God—the Jew has killed him! For pity's sake! What Christian ever pitied a Jew? Words are of no avail here: a pledge is the only language understood. What has he to give, who has nothing? The Jew will speak him mildly—"My friend, in obedience to the ordinances of our lord the king, I lend neither upon bloody dress nor ploughshare.‡ . . . No, the only pledge I require is yourself. I am not your brother, my law is not the Christian law. It is a more ancient law—in *partes secanto*. Your flesh shall be answerable. Blood for gold, as life for life. A pound of your flesh which I am about to feed with my money, only a pound of your fair flesh!"§ The gold lent by the murderer of the Son of man can only be a murderous, anti-human, anti-divine gold, or to use the language of the time, *Anti-Christ*. Here we have gold *Anti-Christ*; just as Aristophanes has showed us in Plutus the *Anti-Jupiter*.

followed him, presumptuously trying to confuse him, and all the trappings of his horse were torn; and the pope scattered money in all the streets which he passed through, to wit, pennies called Florence quatrins and mailles; and, before and behind him, rode two hundred men at arms, each with a leathern mace in his hand, with which they battered the Jews in a manner delightful to behold." Monstrelet, ii. 315, ann. 1400.

\* In October, 1834, I saw the following notice in an English paper—"Little business was done on the Stock Exchange to-day, it being a holiday with the Jews."—But they have not only the superiority in wealth. One would be tempted to grant them a far higher one, when we see that the greater number of the men who now do most honor to Germany are converted Jews.

† See the Ballads published by M. Francisque Michel.

‡ Orlando, i. 26.

§ Shakspeare, The Merchant of Venice, act I. scene 3. "Let the forfeit be nominated for an equal pound of your fair flesh, to be cut and taken, in what part of your body pleaseth me."—About thirty years since, Sir Thomas Munro bought at Calcutta a manuscript containing the original story of the pound of flesh, &c. Only, instead of a Christian, it is a Mussulman whose life is sought by the Jew. See Asiatic Journal.

#### PROSECUTION OF THE TRUFLERS.

This Anti-Christ, this Anti-God, will rob God, that is to say, the Church—the secular church, or the priests and the pope; and the regular church, or the monks and Templars.

By the scandalously sudden death of Benedict XI., the Church falls into the hands of Philippe-le-Bel; enabling him to make a pope of his own, to draw the papacy out of Rome, and to bring it into France, in order to make it work in this jail for his advantage, to distill to it lucrative bulls, open up and work infallibility, and turn the Holy Ghost into a scribe and publican to the house of France.

After Benedict's death the cardinals had shut themselves up in conclave at Perugia. But the two parties, the Gallican and Anti-Gallican, were so equally balanced that neither could carry the day. The townsmen in their haste, in their Italian impatience and *furie* to have a pope elected at Perugia, could hit upon no other scheme than that of starving out the cardinals. It was at last agreed that one of the two parties should fix upon three candidates, out of whom the other party was to make its choice. It fell to the French party to choose; and they elected a Gascon,\* Bertrand de Gott, archbishop of Bordeaux. Bertram had previously shown himself hostile to the king; but he was known to love his own interest above all other things, and there was little doubt of his being soon brought over.

Philippe, informed of every thing by his cardinals, and fortified with their letters, gives a meeting to the future pope in a forest, near St. Jean D'Angely. Villani describes the particulars of this interview as if he had been present at it; his narrative is of setting simplicity:—

"They heard mass together, and mutually swore secrecy. The king then began to parley with him in fair terms, in order to reconcile him with Charles of Valois. He went on to say, 'See, Archbishop, I have it in my power to make thee pope, if I will, and it is for this that I have come to meet thee; for if thou givest me thy word to do me six favors which I shall ask of thee, I will secure thee this dignity, and here are the proofs that I have the power.' On this, he showed him the letters and missives from both colleges. The Gascon, full of covetousness, seeing thus all of a sudden that it depended altogether on the king to make him pope, threw himself, out of his wits with joy, at Philippe's feet, and said—'My lord, I now see that thou lovest me more than all others, and wishest to return me good for evil. It is thine to command, mine to obey; and thou shalt find me ever willing.' The king raised him, kissed his mouth, and said—'The following are the six special favors I have to ask of thee: firstly, that thou wilt thoroughly reconcile me with the Church, and issue my pap-

\* (As a Gascon, he ———  
He had been an abbot

(the king of England  
TRANSLATED.

don for my error in arresting Pope Boniface; secondly, that thou wilt restore me and mine to the privilege of the communion-table; thirdly, that thou wilt grant me the tenths of the clergy of my kingdom for five years, to contribute towards the expenses I have been at in my war with Flanders; fourthly, that thou wilt anathematize the memory of Pope Boniface; fifthly, that thou wilt restore to the dignity of cardinal master (messer) Jacobo and master Piero della Colonna, and fully reinstate them, and in the creation of new cardinals remember certain friends of mine. As to the sixth favor and promise, I reserve it for another time and place, for it is a great and secret thing.\* The archbishop bound himself to do all these things by an oath on the eucharist, and gave, moreover, his brother and two nephews as hostages. The king, on his side, promised and swore that he would get him elected pope.†

Philippe-le-Bel's pope, publicly admitting his state of dependence, declared his intention of being crowned at Lyons, (Nov. 11, 1305.) This coronation, with which the captivity of the Church began, was fitly solemnized. A wall, covered with lookers-on, falls down as the procession is passing, hurts the king, and kills the duke of Brittany. The pope was thrown down, and the tiara fell from his head. Eight days afterwards, at a banquet given by the pope, a quarrel arises between his people and those of the cardinals, and a brother of his is slain.

The disgraceful bargain became public. Clement paid ready money. He paid in what was not his, by exacting tithes from the clergy: tithes for the king of France; tithes for the count of Flanders, that he may redeem his engagements to the king; tithes for Charles of Valois, to supply him with the means of a crusade against the Greek empire. A strange motive was advanced for this crusade, the poor empire, according to the pope, was weak and unable to secure Christendom against the infidels.

Having paid, Clement thought he was quits, and had only to enjoy as purchaser and proprietor, to use and abuse. Just as a baron made progresses (*faisait chevauchée*) round his domains, in order to keep in exercise his rights of lodging and purveyorship, Clement took a tour through the Church of France. From Lyons he bent his course towards Bordeaux.

\* Dupuy positively refers this sixth condition to the condemnation of Boniface. Pithou, refers it to the election of Charles of Anjou to the imperial crown. Others are of opinion that it relates to the suppression of the Templars.—TRANSLATOR.

† *de Villars*, l. viii. c. 40. p. 117. The feeling of the time is well represented in the burlesque verses quoted by Walsingham.

*Deus in manu tuâ, regni quæ clavis.*

*Reus Rex Populi, cuius in manu es.*

*Hic in unum deus, Pictus hic, vult Heredes.*

Walsingh. p. 466. ann. 1305.

The birth of the Church, staggered because the king of the kingdom wavers. King and pope are become the exploiters. They play at 'em me, cu' thee—the one, Pictus the other, Herod.

but taking Mâcon, Bourges, and Limoges by his way, in order to plunder a larger extent of country. On he went, consuming and devouring, from bishopric to bishopric, with a whole army of familiars and servants. Wherever this swarm of locusts alighted, the place was left clear. With his rancorous feelings, as formerly archbishop of Bordeaux, he deprived Bourges of its primacy over the capital of Guenne, and lodged himself with his enemy, the archbishop of Bourges, like a tax-gatherer's bailiff or kitchen grub, (*comme un garnissaire, ou mangeur d'office*.)\* And here he lodged after such a sort, that he left him utterly ruined; and the primate of the Aquitaines would have perished of hunger, had he not come to the cathedral among his canons to receive his share of the Church's allowance.†

Of all Clement's robberies, the largest share went to a woman who sacked the pope, as he did the Church. The lovely Bruneseude Talleyrand de Perigord was the true Jerusalem who absorbed the money intended for the crusade; and cost him, it is said, more than the Holy Land.

Clement was soon to be cruelly disturbed from this pleasing enjoyment of the goods of the Church. The tithes in perspective did not satisfy the actual wants of the royal treasury. The pope gained time by handing over the Jews to him, and authorizing him to seize them. Not one, it is said, escaped. Not content with selling their goods, the king took it upon himself to pursue their debtors, averring that their books were sufficient proofs of debt, and that a Jew's handwriting was enough for him.

The Jew not yielding enough, Philippe fell back on the Christian. He again altered the coin, increasing the nominal value, and diminishing the weight—so with two livres, he paid eight. But where he had to receive, he would only take a third of the sum in his own coin: thus committing two bankruptcies in an inverse sense. All debtors profited by the occasion; and innumerable quarrels arose out of this money of different values, though the same denomination. It was a Babel, where none understood the other. The only thing in which the people agreed, (take notice, there is a people now,) was to revolt. The king took shelter in the Temple. Here they would have followed him, had they not amused themselves by the way with plundering the house of Etienne Barbet, a financier who bore the odium of having recommended the alteration of the coin. Here the revolt stopped, and the king had some hundreds of men hung on the trees bordering the roads round Paris. His alarm

\* These terms were synonymous in the language of the day.

† In the original, *recevoir* was distributed as *receles*, *recler*, a portion congrue. The portion congrue was the allowance that the owners of the great tithes was obliged to give the parish priest for his subsistence.—TRANSLATOR.—*Comin. G. de Nangis*, ed. ann. 1305.

led him to propitiate the nobles; to whom he restored the privilege of judicial combat, or, in other words, the right of impunity. This was a blow to kingly authority. The king of the legists renounced the law, in order to recognise the decisions of force: a sad and doubtful position in legislature as well as in finance. Driven from the Church to the Jews, from the latter to the communes, from the Flemish communes he fell back on the clergy.

The least used of all Philippe's treasures, his patrimony to draw upon, the funds on which he could count, was his pope. If he had bought this pope, and had fattened him on theft and robbery, it was not, not to make use of him, but to turn him to account, to levy upon him, like the Jew, a pound of flesh from whatever part he chose.

He possessed an infallible instrument for pressing and squeezing the pope, an all-powerful bugbear, to wit, the condemnation of Boniface VIII., which was to ask the papacy to cut its own throat. If Boniface were a heretic and a mock pope, then all cardinals of his creation were mock cardinals, Benedict XI. and Clement, elected by them, were, in their turn, mock and illegal popes, and not only they, but all those whom they had appointed or confirmed to ecclesiastical dignities, and not only these appointments of theirs, but their public acts of every kind. The Church would have been enmeshed in interminable illegality. On the other hand, if Boniface were true pope, as such he was infallible; his sentences would hold good, and Philippe-le-Bel would remain a condemned man.

Hardly was he enthroned before Clement had to hear the sharp and imperious requisition of Nogaret, enjoining him to pursue the memory of his predecessor. Hardly was the bargain concluded, before the devil demanded his payment. The servitude of the sold man begun; his soul, once fettered by the bonds of injustice, and having received the curb and bit, was to be wantonly ridden, even up to damnation.

Rather than thus kill the papacy in point of law, Clement preferred delivering it up in point of fact. He created twelve cardinals devoted to the king, in one batch: the two Colonnas, and ten Frenchmen or Gascons. These twelve, joined to those who remained of the twelve of the same party, whom Celestine had been surprised into creating, secured the king the election of popes to all eternity. Clement thus placed the Papacy in Philippe's hands: an enormous concession, which, however, did not suffice him.

He thought to soften his master by going a step further. He revoked Boniface's bull *Choris hinc*, which closed the purse of the clergy to the king. The bull *Ubi Summus* confirmed the king's right, and substituted the Portia for the papacy. Clement sacrificed it; and this was not enough.

He was at Poitiers, uneasy, and sick in body

and in mind. Philippe-le-Bel visited him there, and with fresh demands in his mouth. The king required a sweeping confiscation, that of the richest of the religious orders, the order of the Temple. The pope, hemmed in between two dangers, endeavored to divert him from his purpose, by heaping on him all the favors and power of the holy see. He helped his son, Louis Hutin, (the Quarrelsome,) to establish himself in Navarre; and appointed his brother, Charles of Valois, leader of the crusade. At last, he endeavored to secure himself the protection of the house of Anjou, by releasing the king of Naples from an enormous sum; was indebted in to the Church, canonizing one of his sons, and awarding the other the throne of Hungary.

Philippe was ever ready to receive; but did not relax his hold. He besieged the pope with charges against the Temple; and even found in Clement's own house a Templar to accuse his order. In 1306, the unhappy pope excused himself from receiving commissioners when the king was about to dispatch to him to bring him to a decision, on the following childish pretext: "By the advice of our physicians, we intend in the beginning of September to take some preparatory drugs, and then a purge, which, according to the said physicians, with God's aid, be very useful to us."

He would have gone on forever with these frivolous evasions, had he not suddenly learned that the king was arresting Templars in every direction, and that his confessor, a Dominican monk and grand inquisitor of France, was proceeding against them without waiting for his authorization.

What, then, was the Temple—let us seek briefly to describe it.

The Temple, at Paris, comprised the whole of that large, gloomy, and thinly-peopled quarter, which still goes under its name; a part of the Paris of that day. In the shadow of the Temple, and under its powerful protection, lived a swarm of servitors, familiars, adherents, members, and also criminals—the houses of the order having the right of asylum—a part of which Philippe-le-Bel had himself taken advantage in 1306, when he was pursued by the revolted populace. There still remained at the epoch of the Revolution a memorial of this royal ingratitude, in the large tower with four turrets, built in 1222; and which was the prison of Louis XVI.

The Paris Temple was the centre of the order, its treasury; and the chapters-general

\* Bédouze, *Acta Verid. ad Pap. Av.* pp. 75, 76. "Quidam præparatorum sumere, et postmodum peragitationem perire, quæ secundum prædictorum physicorum præceptum, quædam Damno, velle illis nobis erit."

\* The *cloître* (enclosure) of the Temple, contained that of St. Gervais, comprised almost the whole domain of the Templars, which extended along the street of the Temple, from the street St. Croix, or from near the street de la Verrière, to beyond the walls, the fosses, and the gate of the Temple. Sauval, t. i. p. 72.

were held there. All the provinces of the order were its dependencies—Portugal, Castile and Leon, Aragon, Majorca, Germany, Italy, Apulia and Sicily, England and Ireland. In the north, the Teutonic order was an off-shoot of the Temple: just as in Spain other military orders were formed out of its ruins. The large majority of the Templars were French, particularly the grand masters; and the knights went by their French designation of *Freres du Temple* (Brothers of the Temple) in several tongues, as *Freres del Templo*, in Italy, in Greece, *φρeres τῶν Τηπελων*.<sup>\*</sup>

Like all the military orders, that of the Temple derived its origin from Cîteaux; and St. Bernard, the reformer of Cîteaux, gave to the knights their enthusiastic and severe rule with the same pen with which he wrote his commentary on the Song of Songs. This rule was—exile and the Holy War unto death. The Templars were never to decline battle, even with one to three; never to ask quarter or to give ransom, *not so much as a piece of wall or inch of land*. They had no rest to hope for; and were not allowed to pass into less rigid orders.<sup>†</sup>

"Go happy, go in peace," said St. Bernard to them, "drive out with stout heart the enemies of the cross of Christ, well assured that neither in life nor in death ye will be beyond the love of God, in Christ Jesus. In the hour of danger, repeat to yourselves the words, '*Living or dead, we are the Lord's*.' . . . Glorious as conquerors, happy as martyrs."<sup>‡</sup>

Here is his rough sketch of the Templar — "Looks close shorn, shaggy hair, begrimed with dust, black with iron, weather-beaten, and sunburnt. . . . They love fury and swift chargers, but not adorned, trickered out, caparisoned. . . . The pleasing feature in this crowd, in this torrent ever flowing towards the Holy Land, is that you see there only villains and reprobates. Christ erects his enemy into a champion, of the persecuting Saul, he makes a holy Paul. . . . Then, in an eloquent itinerary, he leads the penitent warriors from Bethlehem to Calvary, from Nazareth to the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>§</sup>

The soldier has glory, the monk rest: the Templar abjured both. His life combined the hardest portions of their lot—danger and abstinence. The grand business of the middle age was the Holy War, the crusade: the ideal of the sentiment seemed realized in the order of the Temple. It was the crusade become fixed and permanent, the noble image of that spiritual crusade, of that mystic war which the Christian wages to the hour of his death with his internal foe.

Associated with the Hospitallers in the de-

fence of the holy places, they differed from them in war's being more particularly the object of their institution.<sup>\*</sup> Both performed the greatest public services. What a blessing to the pilgrim who travelled on the dusty road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, and who fancied every moment that the Arab brigands were upon him, to meet one of these knights and recognise the sign of succor in the red cross on the white cloak of the Templar. In battle, the two orders took by turns the van and the rear—those who had newly taken the cross and were unaccustomed to Asiatic warfare, being stationed between them. The knights surrounded and protected them, as one of them proudly remarked, *as a mother did her child*.<sup>†</sup> Zeal was in general but badly requited by these temporary auxiliaries; who were rather in the way of the knights than of use to them. Arriving full of pride and fervor, and certain of a miracle's being wrought expressly in their favor, they were constantly breaking truces, dragging the knights into useless dangers, provoking battle, and would then take their departure, leaving them to bear the whole brunt of the war, and with complaints of having been badly supported by them. The Templars composed the vanguard at Mansourah, when that young madman, the count of Artois, would continue the pursuit, against their advice, and enter the town: they followed him out of a sense of honor, and were all slain.

It had been thought, and reasonably, that enough could never be done for so devoted and useful an order; and the amplest privileges had been heaped upon them. First and foremost of these was their right to be judged by the pope alone. So distant a judge, and placed on so high an eminence, was seldom appealed to. Thus, the Templars became judges in their own causes. They were allowed, too, to be witnesses in the same: so perfect was the trust reposed in their honor. They were prohibited from granting their commanderies at the solicitation of king or noble, and were exempt from all customs, toll, and tribute.

All were naturally desirous of participating in such privileges. Innocent III. himself sought to be affiliated to the order, and Philippe-le-Bel asked it in vain.

But, though the order had not possessed such great and magnificent privileges, men would have crowded to enter it. The Temple had an attraction of mystery and of vague terror for the mind. The ceremony of reception took place in the churches of the order, at night, and with closed doors—the inferior brethren being carefully excluded. It was said that if the king of France had found his way in, he would never have found it out.

The form of reception was borrowed from the fantastical dramatic rites, from the *myste-*

<sup>\*</sup> *Memorie Rep. Ital.* t. ix. p. 265. *Pachmer Hist. And.* t. i. p. 12 t. ii. p. 215.

<sup>†</sup> *Duquesne Preuves* p. 115.

<sup>‡</sup> *St. Bernard's Letters* of M. de Longueville, t. i. p. 544, 549.

<sup>§</sup> *Notes et notices sur l'ordre des Templiers*, p. 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

<sup>\*</sup> See further on the letter of Jacques Molay.

<sup>†</sup> *Recueil des historiens des Templiers*, t. i. p. 179.



ries with which the ancient church did not fear to envelope holy things. The candidate was introduced as a sinner, a bad Christian, a renegade. He denied, after the example of St. Peter; and the denial, in this pantomime, was expressed by an act\*—that of spitting on the cross. The order charged itself with rehabilitating this renegade, and raising him the higher in proportion to the depth of his fall. Thus, in the festival of fools, (*fatuum*), man offered the homage of his own imbecility and infamy to the Church which was to regenerate him. These sacred comedies, daily less understood, became, therefore, daily the more dangerous, and the more likely to scandalize a prosaic age, which saw only the letter, and had forgotten the meaning of the symbol.

Here was another danger. The pride of the Temple might suffer an impious equivocal to remain in these forms. The candidate might suppose that the order was about to reveal to him a higher religion than the Christianity of the multitude, and to open to him a sanctuary behind the sanctuary. The Temple was not a sacred name to Christians only. If it expressed to them the holy sepulchre, it suggested to Jews and Mussulmans the temple of Solomon.† The idea of the Temple, higher and more general still than that of the Church, soared in some sort above all religions. The Church had a date; the Temple, none. Contemporary with all ages, it was as a symbol of the perpetuity of religion. Even after the ruin of the Templars, the Temple subsists, as a tradition at least, in the teaching of numerous secret societies down to the Rosicrucians and the Freemasons.‡

The Church is the house of Christ; the Temple, that of the Holy Ghost. The Gnostics chose for their grand festival, not Christ-

mas or Easter, but Pentecost—the day of the descent of the Holy Ghost. What remains may there have been of these ancient acts in the middle age? Were the Templars affiliated to any of them? Questions such as these, notwithstanding the ingenious conjectures of the moderns, will ever remain obscure through want of data.\*

These esoteric doctrines of the Temple seem at once to covet the light, and concealment. We fancy that we detect them either in the strange emblems sculptured on the fronts of some churches, or in the last epic cycle of the middle age, in those poems in which chivalry, purified, is no more than an *Odyssey*—an heroic and pious voyage in search of the Graal—the name given to the holy cup which received our Saviour's blood, the mere sight of which prolongs life for five hundred years, which can be approached by children only without death's being the consequence, and round the Temple containing which, the Templars, or knights of the Graal, watch all in arms.

This more than ecclesiastical chivalry, this cold and too pure ideal which was the close of the middle age and its last revery, was, by its very loftiness, a stranger to the real, and inaccessible to the practical. The Templar remained in the poems a figure shrouded in clouds, and approaching the divine. The Templar buried himself in brutality.

I would not be thought to ally myself with the persecutors of this great order. The enemy of the Templars, without wishing it, has washed them white; the tortures by which he wrung disgraceful confessions from them seem presumptive proofs of innocence. We are tempted to attach no credit to the self-accusations of wretches on the rack; and, if there are stains, we are tempted to believe them effaced by the flames of the fiery pile.

Grave confessions, however, are on record, obtained without the question or any torture. And even the very points which were not proved, are not the less probable to one who knows human nature, and who seriously revolves the situation of the order in its latter days.

It was natural that relaxation from the severity of the rule should creep in among a body, half monks, half warriors, younger sons of the nobility, who sought adventures far from Christendom, often far from the eyes of their chiefs, in the midst of the dangers of a war to the death, and of the temptations of a burning climate, of a country of slaves, of the luxurious Syria. Pride and honor supported them, as long as there was a hope of the Holy Land. Let us be grateful to them for having so protracted their resistance when their hopes so sadly vanished with each crusade, when every

\* Further on, I explain my reasons for considering this point as beyond doubt.—Probably, the fourteenth century saw only a suspicious singularity in the adherence of the Templars to the ancient symbolical traditions of the Church—for instance, in their predilection for the number three. The candidate had three questions put to him before he was introduced into the chapter. He asked three times for bread, water, and the fellowship of the order. He made three vows. The knights observed three grand feasts. They took the sacrament three times a year. Alms were distributed by all the houses of the order three times a week. They ate meat on three days of the week only. On fast days, they were allowed to have three different dishes. They worshipped the cross solemnly, three stated times a year. Each swore not to turn his back on three enemies. They flogged, three times in full chapter, those who had deserved the chastisement, &c., &c. The same holds good of denying three times, of spitting three times on the cross, (*Tir abnegabant, et horribili crudelitate ter in faciem spuebant crucem*.) Circul. de Philippe le Bel, du 14 Septembre, 1307. "And they made him three deny the prophet, and three spit upon the cross." Instruct. de l'Inquisiteur Guillaume de Paris. Rayn. p. 4.

† In some English monuments the order of the Temple is styled *Militia Templi Salomonis*. MS. Biblioth. Cottoniana et Bodleiana. They are called *Fratres Militie Salomonis* in a charter of 1197. Ducange, Rayn. p. 2.

‡ Possibly, the Templars who escaped may have founded secret societies. All these have disappeared in Scotland with the exception of two. Now, it has been observed that the most secret mysteries of freemasonry are believed to have emanated from Scotland, and that the highest grades bear Scotch names. See Grouvelle, and the writers whom he has followed, Munter, Moldenhawer, Nicolai, &c.

\* See Hammer, *Mémoires on Two Gnostic Cycles*, p. 2. See, also, his *Mémoires on the Mines of the East*, with M. Raynouard's reply. Michaud, *Hist. des Croisades*, ed. 1828, t. v. p. 572.

† See, above, p. 321.

prediction was falsified, and the promised miracles were ever adjourned. Not a week passed without the bell of Jerusalem giving warning, that the Arabs were desecrating the desolate plain; and it was always the Templars and Hospitallers who had to mount on horseback and sally forth from the walls. . . . At last, they lost Jerusalem: then, St. Jean d'Acre. Worn-out soldiers, lost sentinels, can we wonder that in the evening of this battle, fought through two centuries, their arms dropped by their sides?

A fall, after great efforts, is ever a serious one. The soul, which has soared so high in heroism and sanctity, falls heavily indeed on the earth. . . . Sick and fevered, it plunges into evil with a savage hunger, as if to punish itself for having believed.

Such would appear to have been the fall of the Temple. All that was holy in the order, became sin and stain. After having soared from man to God, it turned from God to the beast.\* Their pious love-feasts, and heroic fraternizations, covered filthy, monkish amors.† They concealed their infamy, by plunging further into it. Pride found its account in this, too. A race, constantly reproduced, without family or carnal generation, by election and the spirit, could make a show of its contempt for woman?—all-sufficient to itself, and loving nothing beyond itself.

As they did without women, so did they without priests; sinning, and confessing among themselves.‡ And they did, too, without God. They tried eastern superstitions. Saracen magic. At first, symbolical, the denial became real. They abjured a god who did not give victory, treated him as a faithless ally who betrayed them, insulted him, spat upon the cross.

The order itself, it would seem, became their god. They worshipped the Temple and the

Templars, their chiefs, as living Temples; and they symbolized by the filthiest and most disgusting ceremonies their blind devotion and complete abandonment of will. The order, closing itself in on this wise, sank into a fierce worship of itself, into a Satanic egotism. The most eminently diabolical feature of the devil, is his worshipping himself.

These, it will be said, are but conjectures. But, they proceed too naturally from numerous confessions obtained without recourse to torture; particularly in England.\*

That this was the general character of the order, or that its statutes had become, in express terms, disgraceful and impious, I am far from affirming. Things of the kind are not committed to writing. Corruption invades an order by mutual and tacit connivance. The forms remain, but with a changed meaning, and perverted by a criminal interpretation which no one openly acknowledges.

But though all these infamous and impious things had been true of the whole order, this would not have been sufficient to have drawn down ruin upon it. The clergy would have screened and hushed up its abuses, as they did so many other ecclesiastical corruptions. The cause of the ruin of the Temple was that it was too rich and too powerful. There was another and a nearer cause, which I will presently speak of.

In proportion as the furor of holy wars cooled down in Europe, and crusading became less popular, greater gifts were showered on the Temple by way of discharging the debt of conscience. The numbers affiliated to the order were numberless—a payment of two or three deniers yearly was all that was required. Many made offering of all their property, and even of their persons. Two counts of Provence made this wholesale offering of themselves. A king of Aragon, (Alphonse-le-Batailleur,† 1131-32.) left them his kingdom, but the kingdom did not choose to be so willed away.

The vast number of the Templars' possessions may be inferred from that of the estates, farms, and ruined strongholds, which still bear the name of Temple in our cities and provinces. They are said to have possessed more than nine thousand manors in Christendom.‡ In a single

\* Besides our popular saying, "To drink like a Templar," the English had another. "In his boyhood the boys used to call out commonly and jeerily to each other, 'Take care of the Temple's huns.'" *Cont. Britann.* p. 260. Evidence of the 20th witness.

† The austere rule which the order received on its foundation, sounds on its fall like a fearful charge: "Let not the host's house be without light, lest the enemy in the dark . . . Let them sleep in their shirts and drawers. The brethren must never sleep without a light until the morning." *Acts of the Council of Troyes* 1125. *Ap. Dup. Templ.* 92-102.

‡ See the *Processus contra Templarum* MS. in the Bib. *Botheque Royale*. What we find there in the *Actes* of the Examination with regard to their relations with women (*Lehouse* the masters made brothers and sisters of the Temple).

*Proc. MS.* books 10-11, must be understood of its affiliated members who were of both sexes. See *Dupuy* pp. 90-102. But I do not remember finding any confession on that point, even in the depositions most hostile to the order. The confessions turn rather on a revolting crime.

§ The manner of holding a chapter and of the ceremony of abjuration. After the chapter, the master or whoever heads the chapter will say: "My good lords and brethren the pardon given by our chapter is on this wise: he who shall have taken the name of the house wrongfully, or has kept back anything in his own name should have neither time nor pardon from our chapter. But all things that you shall do as the name of the house of God, the master of the house, we give you full and sweet mother's sake to pardon you." *Chronicles d'Angleterre*, edit. 1737, t. ii. p. 263.

\* The filthiest evidence, and which would appear with most probability to have been dictated by torture is that given by the English witnesses, who however were not subjected to it. . . . After returning thanks the chaplain of the order of the Temple would say to the brethren, "Devil burn you!" *Historicus comburn* viii. or something of the kind.

And he saw the brethren down of one of the brethren of the Temple and him standing with his face to the west and his back to the altar. . . . And a crucifix was shown him and he was told that as he had before been told, he should now recite and spit upon it, which he did. He was also told to let down his breeches and turn his back on the crucifix, which he did with tears. . . . *Ibidem* 200 ed. 1.

† The Fighter.

‡ *Hist. Templarum in Christianitate* *normanica* *monasterium*. *Math. Paris* p. 417. At a later period the *Chronicle of Flanders* gives them 10,000 manors. In the unscrupulousness of Beaumont, the order had bought, within

Spanish province, in the kingdom of Valentia, they had seventeen fortified places. They purchased the kingdom of Cyprus for ready money: it is true, they could not keep it.

With such privileges, wealth, and possessions, it was very difficult to remain humble.\* Richard Cœur-de-Lion said on his death-bed, "I leave my avarice to the Cistercians, my luxury to the Gray friars, and my pride to the Templars."

In default of Mussulmans, this restless and untameable militia warred on Christians. They warred on the king of Cyprus and the prince of Antioch. They dethroned the king of Jerusalem, Henry II., and the duke of Croatia. They laid waste Thrace and Greece. All the talk of the crusaders who returned from Syria was of the treachery of the Templars and their league with the infidels.† They were notoriously in communication with the Assassins of Syria;‡ and the similarity of their costume with that of the Old Man of the Mountain was noticed with fear. They had received the Soldan in their houses, allowed the Mahometans the exercise of their worship, and given the infidels warning of the arrival of Frederick II.§ In their furious rivalries with the Hospitaliers, they had even shot a flight of arrows into the Holy Sepulchre.|| It was said that they had slain a Mussulman chief who desired to turn Christian in order to escape from paying them tribute.

The house of France, in particular, thought it had subject of complaint against the Templars. They had slain Robert de Brienne at Athens; had refused to contribute towards the ransom of St. Louis;¶ and, lastly, they had

forty years, to the value of 10,000 livres of yearly rental.—The priory of St. Gilles alone had fifty-four commanderies. Grouvelle, p. 196.

\* In their ancient statutes we read, *Regula pauperum commilitonum Templi Solomonici*. (The rule of the poor fellow-soldiers of the Temple of Solomon.) Rayn. p. 2.

† "And Acre, a city, they betrayed of their treachery." Chron. St. Denys, ap. Dupuy, p. 26.

‡ See Hammer, *Hist. des Assassins*.

§ Dupuy, pp. 5, 6.

|| This animosity was pushed to such excess in the year 1250, that a battle took place between them in which the Templars were hewn in pieces. The writers of the time state that only one of them escaped.

¶ Joinville, p. 81, ap. Dupuy, *Preuves*, pp. 163, 164.—

"Towards evening of the Sunday, the king's servants, occupied in payment of the ransom, sent him word they still wanted thirty thousand livres. . . . I said to the king it would be much better to ask the commander and marshal of the Knights Templars to lend him the thirty thousand livres to make up the sum, than to risk his brother longer with such people. Father Stephen d'Outricourt, master of the Temple, hearing the advice I gave the king, said to me, 'Lord de Joinville, the counsel you give the king is wrong and unreasonable; for you know we receive every farthing on our oath; and that we cannot make any payments but to those who give us their oaths in return. The marshal of the Temple, thinking to satisfy the king, said, 'Mire, don't attend to the dispute and contention of the lord de Joinville and our commander. For it is as he has said, we cannot dispose of any of the money intrusted to us, but for the means intended, without acting contrary to our oaths, and being perjured. Know, that the seneschal has ill-advised you to take by force, should we refuse you a loan; but in this you will act according to your will. Should you, however, do so, we will make ourselves amends from the wealth you have in Acre.' When I heard this menace from

declared for the house of Aragon against that of Anjou.

However, the Holy Land had been definitively lost in 1191, and the crusades were over. The knights returned useless, formidable, and hateful. They brought back into the heart of this drained kingdom, and under the eyes of a starving king, a monstrous treasure of a hundred and fifty thousand golden florins and ten mules' load of silver.\* What were they about to do in the midst of peace with such troops and such wealth? Would they not be tempted to create a kingdom for themselves in the West, as the Teutonic knights have done in Prussia, the Hospitaliers in the islands of the Mediterranean, and the Jesuits in Paraguay?† Had they joined the Hospitaliers, no monarch in the world could have resisted them.‡ There was no state in which they did not possess fortresses. They were allied with all noble families. In all, they were not, it is true, more than fifteen thousand knights; but they were experienced warriors in the midst of a population that, since the cessation of the wars of the barons with each other, had become disused to arms. They were admirable horsemen, who rivalled the Mamelukes, and were as intelligent, agile, and rapid, as the heavy feudal cavalry was cumbersome and inert. They were seen proudly prancing about in every direction on their beautiful Arab horses, each followed by a squire, a page, and an armed servitor, without counting black slaves. They could not vary their dress; but they displayed costly weapons of eastern manufacture, swords of the finest temper, and gorgeously inlaid.

They were conscious of their strength. The English Templars had dared to say to Henry III., "You shall be king, as long as you shall be just;" a saying which, in their mouths, was a threat. All this set Philippe-le-Bel on thinking.

He bore a grudge to several of them for having signed the appeal against Boniface only with reservation, *sub protestationibus*. They had refused to receive the king into their order; and had subjected him both to refusal

them to the king, I said to him, that if he pleased I would go and seek the sum, which he commanded me to do. I instantly went on board one of the galleys of the Templars, and seeing a coffer of which they refused to give me the keys, I was about to break it open with a wedge in the king's name; but the marshal, observing I was in earnest, ordered the keys to be given me." Joinville, pp. 162, 163, of Joinville's translation.

\* *Audivit dici a Delphino predicto quod cum magister venit de ultra mare, portavit serum contum et quinquaginta millia florenorum aureorum et decem summorum coronarum turronum grossarum.* Arch. du Vatican, Rayn. p. 65.

† These equally powerful orders were equally attached. The Livonian bishops brought fully as serious charges against the Teutonic knights. From the time of John XXII. to that of Innocent VI., the Hospitaliers had to sustain similar attacks. The Jesuits were crushed by the like charges. See Grouvelle, p. 220.

‡ See further on.—In Spain, the Templars, Hospitaliers, and knights of St. John had entered into a treaty of mutual protection against the king himself. Hammer, p. 25.

Since the loss of the Holy Land, and even before, the Templars had been given to understand that it would be expedient for them to effect a union with the Hospitaliers.<sup>†</sup> United

Temple many Templars went over to their order. (Gron  
ville p. 116)

The order was founded about the year 1523, under the title of the order of the glorious Virgin Mary. It was confined to young men of family who associated themselves by the style of *Cavaliers Fraternels Les Fiers Japonois*—or the *Japanese Brothers*—for the defence of the injured, and the preservation of public tranquility. They took vows of chastity and eunuchial civility, and industriously pursued themselves to the perfection of wisdom and sorcery.\*\*\* Wandering Host of the Church note to p. 207. TRANSLATOR

They entertained gloomy presentations. An English Temper, meeting a newly admitted knight, seemed him to be a fool. "Is our brother admitted into the order?" The sister replied in the affirmative. "Oh, which he went on to say, "Should you sit on the top of the tower of St. Paul's, or London's, you could not be of greater misery than will be yours had he been you." (Cane 1, Part 2, 100-101)

This one, which had been prompted by the conduct of Milton being laid in 1572 and by various other ecclesiastical as well as. Raine 10

The policy of the Heights Temple was patched in 1111 by the patriarchs of Jerusalem, and it gradually recovered its former good heights, which had in community near the site of the ancient Temple, and took on themselves the duty of supervision of watching the roads in the neighborhood of the city and of protecting the pilgrims from the insults of robbers and thieves.

The entry of M. J. Han of Jerusalem at the height of the Hapsburg era is due to the establishment of an Hospitaller in house of entertainment for pilgrims at Jerusalem about

\* See the history of this order by the Hon. John Fredericks, 1795. They resulted, however, in the month of the

with a more docile order, the Temple would have offered little resistance to kingly power.

They would not listen to the proposition. Jacques Molay, the grand master, a poor knight of Burgundy, but an old and brave soldier, with his laurels fresh from the last battles fought by the Christians in the East, replied, that it was true that St. Louis had formerly proposed a junction of the two orders, but that the king of Spain had withheld his consent; that for the Hospitallers to be received by the Templars they must largely reform themselves; that the Templars were more exclusively founded for purposes of war.\* He concluded with these haughty words:—"We find many desirous of depriving the religious orders of their possessions, compared with those who seek to increase them. . . . But if the proposed union of the two orders were to be effected, this religion would become so strong and powerful that it would be able to defend its rights against the whole world."†

While the Templars were thus proudly resisting all concession, sinister rumors about them gained strength—partly, indeed, owing to their own imprudence. One of the knights told Raoul de Presles, one of the most seriously-disposed men of the time—"That in their chapter-general of the order there was one thing so secret, that if for his misfortune any one saw it, were it the king of France, no fear of torments would prevent those forming the chapter from putting him to death, as they best might."‡

A newly-admitted Templar lodged a protest against the form of admission with the judge of the bishop's court of Paris.§ Another sought absolution for it from a Franciscan friar, who enjoined him, as a penance, to fast every Friday for a year, without his shirt.|| A third, who belonged to the household of the pope, "ingenuously confessed to him all the evil he had witnessed in his order, in presence of one

of his cousins, a cardinal, who took down his deposition in writing on the spot."\*

At the same time, ominous reports were spread of the terrible prisons into which the masters of the order flung refractory members. One of the knights deposed, "that an uncle of his had entered the order healthy and light-hearted, with dogs and falcons, and that in three days he was a corpse."†

These reports were greedily swallowed by the populace, who considered the Templars both too rich‡ and niggardly. Although the grand master in his evidence boasts of the munificence of the order, one of the charges against this wealthy corporation was, "that it did not distribute fitting alms."§

Things were ripe. The king invited the grand master and heads of the order to Paris: caressed them, loaded them with favors, and lulled them to sleep. They walked into the net; like the Protestants at the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

The king had just added to their privileges.¶ He had asked the grand master to stand godfather to one of his children. On the 12th of October, Jacques Molay, together with twelve other persons of high rank, had been named by him to hold the pall at the burial of his sister-in-law.¶ On the 13th he was arrested, together with the hundred and forty Templars who were at Paris. Sixty were arrested, the same day, at Beaupre; and then, a host of others throughout the kingdom. The assent of the people and of the university had been secured.\*\* On the day of arrest, the citizens were summoned to the royal garden in the city, by their parishes and trades—and here monks held forth to them. The violence of their discourses may be inferred from that of the royal letter, which ran through all France:—

\* Dupuy, p. 13.

† *Sanus et hilaris cum avibus et canibus, et tertio de sequenti mortuus fuit.* Conc. Brit. p. 38.

‡

"Toujours achetèrent sans vendre . . .

Tant va pot à eau qu'il brise."

Chron. en vers, quoted by Rayn. p. 7.

(They were ever buying, never selling. . . . The pitcher that goes often to the well is at last broken.)

§ They were reproached in Scotland with want of hospitality as well as avarice: "Likewise deponent saith that they did not willingly show hospitality to the poor, but and that for fear, to the rich and powerful only; and that they were insatiable in grasping by any means the property of others, for their own order." Concil. Brit. Evidence of the fortieth Scotch witness, p. 392.

|| It is curious to observe with what prodigality of praise and of favors he invited them into France, in 1304:—"Phillip, by the grace of God, king of the French—The works of mercy, the magnificent plenitude exercised by the holy order of the knights of the Temple, of Divine Institution, far and wide throughout the world . . . deserve that we should extend the right hand of royal liberality to the aforesaid order of the Temple, and its brethren, whom we sincerely love, and towards whom we are pleased to show special favor," &c. Rayn. p. 44.

¶ B. luze, Pap. Aven. pp. 500, 501.

\*\* The king studiously made it a shaver in both the inquiry into this affair and the responsibility. Nogaret read the indictment (acte d'accusation) to the assembly of the university, which met the day after the arrest; and the grand master, and some others, were interrogated before another assembly of all the masters and scholars of each faculty, held in the Temple. They were examined a second time, in a third assembly.

the year 1048. This became a hospital annexed to a church, and Godfrey de Bouillon, when he took the city in 1099, endowed it, erected it into a religious order, and obtained its confirmation, with a rule for its observance from Rome. The brethren subsequently added military to their religious duties. The Hospitallers became afterwards celebrated as the knights of Rhodes, and then as the knights of Malta.—TRANSLATOR.

\* *Si unio fieret, multum oporteret quod Templarii laxarentur, vel Hospitalarii restringerentur in pluribus. Et ex hoc posset animarum pericula provenire. . . . Religio hospitaliariorum super hospitalitate fundata est. Templarii vero super militia proprie sunt fundati.* Dupuy, Preuves, p. 180.

† Ibidem, p. 181.

‡ Ibidem, p. 139.—Another said, "Suppose that you were my father and could be made grand master of the order, I would not have you enter it, seeing that we have three articles among ourselves, in our order, (quia habemus tres articulos inter nos, in nostro ordine,) which none will ever know, save God, the devil, and we, brethren of the order." Evidence of the fifty first witness, p. 361.—See the reports that were circulated of people who had been put to death for having witnessed the secret ceremonies of the Temple. Concil. Brit. ii. 361.

§ Dupuy, Preuves, p. 307.—This is the first of the 140 witnesses. Dupuy has mutilated the passage. See the MS. in the Archives of the kingdom, K. 413.

|| Ibid. p. 341.

"A bitter thing, a deplorable thing, a thing horrible to think of, terrible to hear! a thing execrable for wickedness, detestable for infamy! . . . A mind endowed with reason, compassionate and suffers in its compassion, when beholding a nature which exiles itself beyond the bounds of nature, which forgets its principle, which does not recognise its dignity, which, prodigal of itself, makes itself like unto the senseless brutes—what do I say! which exceeds the brutality of the brutes themselves!" . . . One may judge of the terror and astonishment with which such a letter was received by all Christendom. It sounded like the trumpet of the last day.

The letter went on to give the heads of the charges—the denial and betrayal of Christianity to the profit of the infidels, the disgusting initiation, mutual prostitution, and, finally, height of horror, the spitting on the cross.†

Templars themselves had denounced all these crimes. Two knights, a Gascon and an Italian, imprisoned for their misdeeds, were said to have revealed all the secrets of the order.‡

What made the deepest impression on men's minds, were the strange reports abroad of an idol that the Templars worshipped. The rumors were various. According to some, it was a head with a beard; according to others, a head with three faces. Its eyes were said to sparkle. Some said it was a human skull; others made it out to be a cat.§

\* Dupuy, pp. 196, 197.

† See the numerous articles of the indictment. Dupuy is curious to compare it with another document of the same kind—Gregory the Ninth's bull to the electors of Hildesheim, Luther, &c., against the Stedingers. Raynald, ann. 1234, tit. pp. 446, 447. With more coherence, it is precisely the indictment against the Templars. Will this coincidence prove, as M. de Hammer seeks to establish, the adoption of the Templars with those sectaries?

‡ Raynald, Pap. Avon, pp. 99, 100.

§ According to the majority of the witnesses, it was a frightful head with a long white beard and sparkling eyes. Rayn. p. 261, which they were charged with worshipping. In the instructions furnished by Guillaume de Paris to the provinces he ordered inquiry to be made "sur une ydole qui estoit en forme d'une teste d'homme a une gracie horrible."

¶ Worshipping an idol in the form of a man's head with a great beard. The indictment, *acte d'accusation*, published by the court of Rome set forth art. 16, "that in all the provinces they had idols, that is to say, heads, some of which had three faces, others but one—sometimes it was a human skull." art. 47, &c. "That in their assemblies and especially in the grand chapters, they worshipped the idol as a god, as the *Testament* saying that this head could save them; that it bestowed on the order and its wealth, made the trees flower and the plants of the earth to sprout forth." Rayn. p. 267. Numerous depositions of the Templars in France and Italy and much indirect evidence in England bear on this point, with additional circumstances. The head was worshipped as that of a saviour—"quidam caput cum barba quod adorant et vocant salvatorem suum."

Rayn. p. 266. Thedot Jaffet, admitted into the order at Poitiers, deposes that he who admitted him showed him a head of an idol which seemed to him to have three faces, telling him, "Thou must worship as your saviour and the saviour of the order of the Temple," and that he, the witness, asked the idol saying, "Reused be he who will save my soul!" pp. 267 and 268. Gertius Regius admitted at Rome in a room of the palace of the Lateran deposes that he was told when shown the idol, "Thou needst thyself to it and pray it to bestow thee with health." p. 265. According to the first of the 17 centine witnesses the *Testament* addressed it in the Christian formula, "Deus, adjuva me." (O God, grant me thy aid) and he added that this admo-

Whether these reports were true or false, Philippe-le-Bel lost no time. On the very day of the arrest, he established himself personally in the Temple with his treasure and the archives of the kingdom, (*Tresor des Chartes*), and with an army of lawyers to draw up warrants and inventories. This lucky seizure had made him a rich man all at once.

## CHAPTER IV.

### CONTINUATION OF THE PRECEDING CHAPTER. DESTRUCTION OF THE ORDER OF THE TEM- PLE, A. D. 1307-14.

THE pope's astonishment was extreme when he learned that the king had done without him

tion was a rite observed by the whole order. (p. 264.) And, indeed, in England, a Minster friar deposed to having heard from an English Templar that there were four principal idols—one in the treasury of the Temple of London, one at Bristol, one at Birmingham, and the fourth beyond the Hunter, p. 267. The second Florentine witness adds a new circumstance, he declares that in a chapter one brother said to the rest, "Worship this head, it is your god and your Mahomet." p. 245. Gueterand de Montperran states it to have been made in the likeness of *H. g. m. e. l.* and Raymond Rubet deposes that he was shown a wooden head, on which were painted the words *Figura Baphometis*, adding, "Et illam adorant circulatorum ovis pedes, dicens palla, verbum Paracletorum." he worshipped it by kissing his feet and shouting *palla*, a *Paracletus* word.

M. Raynouard, p. 261, considers the word *Baphomet* in these two depositions, as an alteration of that of Mahomet, mentioned by the first witness, and sees in it a device on the part of the examiners to confirm the charges of a good understanding with the Moslems, so generally reported of the Templars. In this case, we must admit that all these depositions are utterly false, and forced by torture only, since nothing can be more absurd than to make the Templars more Mahometan than the Moslems themselves, who do not worship Mahomet. But the depositions on the point are too numerous, and, at once, too unanimous and too different. Rayn. pp. 262, 267, and 268-269, to suppose this. Besides, they are far from being denunciations of the order. The Templars admit nothing more serious than that they have felt alarm that they have feared they saw a devil's head, a man's head, p. 260, that in these circumstances they have seen the devil himself under the shape of a cat, or of a woman, pp. 263, 264. Without wishing to see in the Templars, in all points, a sect of Gnostics, I would rather with M. de Hammer trace in this the influence of those Eastern doctrines, *Baphomet*, in Greek, after, it is true, a very doubtful etymology, is the God who baptizes, the Spirit, he of whom it is written, "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." Mt. Matthew, III. 11. He was to the Gnostics, the Paraclete, who descended on the Apostles in the shape of "seven tongues like as of fire." In fact the Gnostic baptism was with fire. Perhaps we must see an allusion in some ceremony of the kind in the reports spread among the people against the Templars, "qu'un enfant nouveau baptisé d'un Templier et d'une puerle estoit ent et mort au feu, et toute la grande mere et de celle estoit sacree et morte leur aide." that a new born infant baptised of a Templar and a maid was crucified and smothered by the fire, and all the grease roasted out, and their skin crucified and smothered with it. (*Chron. de St. Louis*, p. 26.) Might not this pretended ad have been a representation of the Paraclete whose festival that of Pentecost was the highest solemnity of the Temple? It is true, three heads, one of which ought to have been a face, and in each chapter were not found with the exception of one, but it bore the number 1,111 engraved upon it. The publicity and importance given to this count no doubt decided the Templars to get rid quickly of every record of it. As to the head seized in the chapter of Paris, they declared it to be a relic, the head of one of the eleven thousand virgins. (Rayn. p. 269.)—It had a large band of silver

in his proceedings against an order, of which the holy see was sole judge. In his wrath he forgot his ordinary servility, and his precarious and dependent position in the heart of the king's dominions; and he issued a bull, suspending the powers of the ordinary judges, of the archbishops and bishops, and even those of the inquisitors.

The king's reply is rough. He writes to the pope, that God detests the lukewarm, that to make delays of the kind is to connive at the crimes of the accused, that the pope ought rather to excite the zeal of the bishops. "It would be a serious wrong to the prelates to deprive them of the ministry which they hold from God. They have not deserved this insult; they will not support it; the king could not allow it without violating his oath. . . . Holy father, what sacrilegious wretch will dare to counsel you to despise those whom Jesus Christ sends—or, rather, Jesus himself? . . . If the inquisitors are suspended from their functions, the business will never be brought to an end. . . . The king has not taken it in hand as an accuser, but as a champion of the faith and defender of the Church, for which he is accountable to God."<sup>†</sup>

Philippe let the pope believe that he was about to place the prisoners in his hands; and took upon himself only the guardianship of the property of the Temple in order to apply it to the service of the Holy Land. (December 25, A. D. 1307.) His object was to induce the pope to remove his suspension from the bishops and the inquisitors. He sent off to him, to Poitiers, seventy-two Templars, and dispatched the heads of the order from Paris; but no further on the road than to Chinon. With this the pope was fain to be contented, and heard the confessions of those sent to Poitiers. At the same time, he took off the suspension from the ordinary judges, and only reserved to himself the trial of the heads of the order.

This gentle way of proceeding could not satisfy the king. Should the matter be thus quietly inquired into, and end with absolution, as in the confessional, it would be impossible to retain hold of the property. Thus, while the pope was imagining that the whole was placed in his hands, the king carried on the trial at Paris, through the instrumentality of his confessor, the inquisitor-general of France. A

hundred and forty confessions were quickly obtained by torture—in which both fire and steel were employed.\* These confessions once made public, the pope had no means of hushing up the business. He sent two cardinals to Chinon to inquire of the heads and grand master of the order, whether all he heard were true. The cardinals persuaded them to acknowledge it, and they submitted.<sup>†</sup> The pope, in fact, absolved them, and recommended them to the king. He thought that he had saved them.

Philippe let him talk, and went on his own way. In the beginning of the year 1308, he got his cousin, the king of Naples, to arrest all the Templars of Provence.<sup>‡</sup> At Easter, the states of the kingdom met at Tours; when the king caused a discourse to be addressed to him, in which the clergy were assailed with singular violence—"The people of France earnestly supplicate their king. . . . To recall to mind that the princes of the sons of Israel, Moses, the friend of God, to whom the Lord spoke face to face, when he saw the apostasy of the worshippers of the golden calf, said, 'Put every man his sword by his side . . . and slay every man his brother.' . . . Nor did he ask for this the consent of his brother, Aaron, who was made high priest by God's own order. . . . Wherefore, then, should not the most Christian king proceed in like manner, *even against all the clergy*, should they err similarly, or support those who err?"<sup>§</sup>

In support of this address, twenty-six princes and lords constituted themselves accusers, and covenanted by letter of attorney to appear against the Templars before the pope and the king. The letter bears the signatures of the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, of the counts of Flanders, Nevers, and Auvergne, of the viscount of Narbonne, and of the count Talleyrand de Perigord. Nogaret boldly affixes his signature between those of Lusignan and Coucy.<sup>||</sup>

Armed with these adhesions, "The king" says Dupuy, "repaired to Poitiers, accompanied by a crowd of people (clerks?) belonging to the attorneys whom he retained by his side to consult with on whatever difficulties might arise."<sup>¶</sup>

On his arrival, he humbly kissed the pope's feet; who soon saw that he would obtain nothing.

\* Quis ergo sacrilegus vobis, Pater Sancte, presumet consilium quod vos eos aperitis, imo potius Jesum Christum eos mittentem? Dupuy, p. 11.

† Dupuy does not give this letter entire; probably it was not sent, but was made public for the sake of its effect on the people. On the other hand, we have one of the pope's, dated Dec. 1, 1307, according to which the king had written to Clement that persons connected with the pontifical court had given some of the king's people to understand that the pope enjoined him to undertake the process; that the king was eager to relieve his conscience from such a weight, and to intrust the whole business to the pope, who heartily thanks him for so doing. Clement V. seems to me to have intended this letter rather for the public than the king, and it is probable that it is in reply to some letter which was never written.

\* Archives du Royaume, K. 413. These depositions are extant in a large roll of parchment: they have been very carelessly extracted by Dupuy, pp. 207-212.

† "He acknowledged the atrocious denial, and brought us to hear the confession of a certain serving brother and his friend, who was with him." (Confessus est abominabilem prædictam, nobis supplicans quatuordecim fratrum servientem et familiarium suum, quem secum habebat, volentem confiteri, audiremus.) Lettre des Cardinaux, Dupuy, p. 241.

‡ Charles the Lame sent sealed letters to his officers—"On the day fixed, before dawn, rather while still night, you will unseal them, Jan. 13th, 1308." Dupuy, *Preuves*, p. 223.

§ Quare non sic procedet rex et principes Christianissimi etiam contra totum clerum, et sic errant vel errantes sustineret vel faveret? Ap. Raynouard, p. 66.

|| Dupuy, p. 233.

¶ *Id. ib. p. 21*

ing. Philippe could afford to listen to no punctilios or compromise. He was bound to treat their persons rigorously in order to keep their goods. The pope, beside himself, was eager to quit the town and escape from his tyrant—who knows whether he might not have fled out of France!—but he was not the man to leave without his money. When he presented himself at the gates with his mules, baggage, and money-bags, he was not allowed to pass, but found himself the king's prisoner no less than the Templars. He renewed his attempts at escape, but always unsuccessfully. It would seem as if his all-powerful master took a pleasure in the torture of this poor wretch, vainly beating against the bars of his prison.

So Clement remained, and appeared resigned. On the 1st of August, 1308, he published a bull, addressed to the archbishops and bishops. Contrary to the custom of the court of Rome, it is singularly brief and precise. The pope clearly writes on compulsion: some one guides his hand. According to this bull, certain bishops had written that they knew not how to treat such of the accused as should persist in denying the charges, or those who should retract their confessions. "These things," observes the pope, "have not been left unsettled by the written law, with which we know many of you to be well acquainted. We do not purpose at present, as regards this affair, to enact any new law, and we will you to proceed as the law requires."

There lurked in this a dangerous ambiguity. Was *Jura Scripta* (the written law) to be understood of the Roman law, or of the canon law, or of the rules of the Inquisition?

The danger was the more real from the king's failing to hand over the prisoners to the pope, as he had given him to expect. In interviews with him, he still beguiled him, and promised him the goods by way of consolation for not having the persons—the estates of the Templars were to be assigned as the pope should direct.\* This was taking him by his weak side. Clement was exceedingly uneasy about what was to become of these said goods.†

The pope had restored (the 5th of July,

1308) their temporarily suspended powers to the ordinary judges, the archbishops, and the bishops. On the 1st of August, he wrote that they might proceed by the common law. On the 12th, he referred the affair to a commission, who were to prosecute the trial in the province of Sens; that is, at Paris, the bishopric of which depended on Sens. Other commissioners were named for the same purpose in other parts of Europe—for England, the archbishop of Canterbury; for Germany, those of Mentz, Cologne, and Trèves. Judgment was to be pronounced at the end of two years in a general council, to be held out of France, at Vienne, in Dauphiny, within the imperial territory.

The president of the commission, which consisted mostly of bishops,‡ was Gilles d'Anselin, archbishop of Narbonne, a mild man, of feeble character, deeply learned, but of little courage, and whom both the king and the pope set down for his own. The pope, thinking completely to do away with Philippe's discontent, associated with the commission the king's confessor, a Dominican and grand inquisitor of France, who had begun the process with such violence and audacity.

Philippe made no opposition: he had need of the pope. The death of the emperor, Albert of Austria, offered a brilliant perspective to the house of France. Charles of Valois, Philippe's brother, whose fate it was to seek every thing and to miss every thing, stood candidate for the Empire. Had he succeeded, the pope would have become the perpetual serf and serf of the house of France. Clement interested himself ostensibly in favor of Charles of Valois, but secretly opposed him.

Henceforward, the pope was no longer secure within the French territory. He managed to effect his escape from Pontiers to Avignon. (March, 1309.) As he had bound himself not to quit France, he rather eluded than violated his promise by this step. Avignon was, and was not France. It was a border, a debatable land, a sort of asylum, such as Geneva was for Calvin, or Ferney for Voltaire. Avignon held of many sovereigns, and of none. It was an imperial possession; an ancient municipal city; a republic under two kings. The king of Naples, as count of Provence—the king of France, as count of Toulouse—each had the lordship of one half of Avignon. But as the pope's taking up his residence in this little city would bring it a considerable influx of wealth, he was about to become its king much more than they.

Clement thought himself a freeman, but he dragged his chain after him. The poems against the memory of Boniface was a fetter which he could not break. Hardly was he

\* He had even written to the king of England assuring him that Philip had made them over to the pontifical agents and leaving him to imitate or good or evil an example. Dupuy p. 204. Letter of the 4th of October 1307. But the decree of repley by which Philip put the pope's delegates in possession of the Templars' estates is not dated till the 16th of January 1308. And moreover with these delegates of the pope he associated some agents of his own who watched over his interests in France and who under the shadow of the pontifical commission encroached on the neighbouring domains. We learn this from a protest of the nobles of the county of Flanders who remonstrated in the name of Edward II. of these aggressions on the part of the king of France. Dupuy p. 112.

† Elsewhere he praises in glowing terms the disinterestedness of his dear son "who is not instigated by avarice and has no wish to obtain any of this property." He adds very truly, "evident for all, without any disguise, non-type, avanie, cum de bonis Templariorum nihil appetere," adding "but rather host, liberally and devoutly intrusted it to us to administer, govern, preserve, and guard." 15th of August 1308. 14 p. 268.

‡ 14 pp. 260-262. The commission consisted of the archbishop of Narbonne, of the bishop of Bayeux, Meaux, and Langres, of the three archbishops of Rouen, Tournai, and Vique, one and of the precent of the church of Aix. The Northern, who were most in the pope's interests, were, we see, the majority.



seated in Avignon, before he learns that Philippe is bringing upon him a whole army of witnesses from beyond the Alps; and at their head that captain of Ferentino, that Raynaldo di Supino who had been engaged in the affair of Anagni—Nogaret's right arm. But when within some three leagues of Avignon, the witnesses fell into an ambuscade which had been laid for them. Raynaldo, with much difficulty, escaped to Nîmes; where the king's lawyers drew up his statement of this trick on the pope's part.\*

The pope wrote at once to Charles of Valois, soliciting his good offices with his brother. To the king himself he wrote, (the 23d of August, 1309,) that if the witnesses had been delayed by the way it was not his fault, but that of the king's people, who should have looked to their safety.† Philippe upbraided him with indefinitely postponing the examination of the witnesses, who were old and infirm, and of waiting for their death; stating reports that some of them had been killed, or tortured by partisans of Boniface, and that one had been found dead in his bed. The pope replies that he knows nothing of all this; all that he knows is, that during this long process the affairs of kings, prelates, and of the whole world, go to sleep and wait; that one, too, of the witnesses said to have disappeared, happens to be in France, and with Nogaret.

The king complained to the pope of certain injurious letters. The pope replies that both their Latinity and orthography prove that they could not have emanated from the court of Rome, and that he has ordered them to be burnt: as to pursuing their authors, *recent experience has proved that these sudden processes against important personages, have a sad and dangerous issue.*‡

This letter of the pope's was an humble and timid profession of independence of the king—a revolt, kneeling. Its concluding allusion to the Templars, indicated the hopes conceived by the pope from the troubles in which this process would involve Philippe.

The pontifical commission, assembled on the 7th August, 1309, at the bishop's palace, Paris, had long been at a stand-still. The king was no more desirous of seeing the Templars justified, than the pope of condemning Boniface. The witnesses for the prosecution in Boniface's affair were maltreated at Avignon; those for the defence in that of the Templars, were tor-

tured at Paris. The bishops paid no attention to the orders of the pontifical commission, and would not send the prisoners to it.\* Every day the commission was opened by hearing mass, and then sat. A crier proclaimed at the door of the hall, "Whoever has witness to bear on behalf of the knights of the Temple, may enter:" none presented themselves. The commission adjourned to the next day, when the same farce would be repeated.

At last, the pope having issued a bull, (13th September, 1309,) authorizing the process against Boniface to be proceeded with, the king, the following November, allowed the grand master of the Temple to be produced before the commissioners.† The old knight showed at first great firmness. He said, that the order had received its privileges from the holy see, and that it was very surprising to him that the Roman Church should seek its sudden destruction, when it had suspended the deposition of the Emperor Frederick II. for two-and-thirty years.

He also said, that he was ready to defend the order to the best of his ability; that he should consider himself a wretch did he not defend an order which had so highly honored him; but that he feared that he had not wisdom or understanding for the task, that he had not four deniers to expend on the defence, and had no other counsel than a serving-brother;‡ that, to conclude, the truth would be made apparent, not only by the testimony of the Templars, but by that of kings, princes, prelates, dukes, counts, and barons, in all parts of the world.

Should the grand master proceed to defend the order in this strain, he would greatly strengthen the defence, and undoubtedly compromise the king. The commissioners advised him to deliberate reflection, and had his deposition before the cardinals read over to him. This deposition had not emanated directly from

\* *Processus contra Templarios*, MS. The commissioners wrote another letter in which they said that, apparently, the prelates had thought that the commission was to proceed against the order in general, and not against its members; that it was not so: that the pope had deputed it to try the Templars.

† "The same day, he being present, (23d November,) there came before the bishops one, in layman's attire, who gave his name Jean de Melot, (not Molay, as Raynald and Dupuy have it,) and stated himself to have been a Templar for ten years, and to have left the order, although he had, he said, seen no harm in it. He avowed that he came to do and say whatever they desired, (il déclarait venir pour faire et dire tout ce qu'on voudrait.) The commissioners asked him if he wished to defend the order, that they were ready to give him patient hearing. He answered, that he had come for that only, but that he first wished to know what they wanted to do with the order, adding, 'Do with me what you please, but let my needs be supplied, for I am very poor.' (Ordonnez de moi ce que vous voudrez; mais faites-moi donner mes nécessités, car je suis très pauvre.)—The commissioners perceiving by his appearance, words, and gestures, that he was a simple man, of weak intellect, went no further, but dismissed him to the bishop of Paris, who, they said, would receive him kindly, and supply his wants." *Processus*, MS. folio 8.

‡ "... Nisi unum fratrem servilem, cum quo consilium habere posset. Predicti domini commissarii discurrant predicto Magistro, quod bene et plane deliberavit super dicta defensione ad quam se offerret." *Ibid.*, p. 282.

\* Dupuy, *Hist. du Diff.* p. 288.

† *Ibid.* pp. 283-295.

‡ Then, passing on to another matter, the pope declares that he had suppressed as useless a clause of the convention with the Flemings, which either through hurry of business or carelessness he had signed at Poitiers, to the effect that if the Flemings brought upon themselves the papal censure by violating the convention, they were only to be absolved on the king's request—the which clause might lead to inferences against the sound sense of the pope. Every excommunicated person who makes satisfaction may be absolved, even without the consent of the adverse party. The pope cannot disavow himself of the power of granting satisfaction.

himself. From modesty, or some other reason, he had referred the cardinals to a serving-brother, whom he ordered to speak for him.\* But when he was before the commission, and the churchmen read to him with loud voice the miserable avowals which had been set down, the old knight could not coolly hear such things repeated to his face. He crossed himself, and said, that if the lords commissioners of the pope had not been who they were, he would have had something to say to them. The commissioners answered, that they were not persons to take up a gauntlet thrown down by way of challenge. "That is not what I mean," said the grand master; "but would to God that in such things we followed the custom of the Saracens and Tartars, who cut off the heads of the wicked or saw them in two."†

This provoked the commissioners from their usual mild demeanor, and they answered with cold sternness, "Those whom the Church finds to be heretics, she condemns as heretics, and abandons the obstinate to the secular tribunal."

Philippe-le-Bel's man, Plasian, was present, though uninvited, at this hearing. Jacques Molay, alarmed at the impression which his words had made on the priests, thought that he would do better to trust himself to a knight.‡ He asked permission to confer with Plasian, who advised him as a friend not to ruin himself, and persuaded him to solicit an adjournment of the hearing till the following Friday; a delay at once granted, and which the bishops would have been heartily glad to have extended to a much longer period.]

On Friday, Jacques Molay was again produced, but an altered man. No doubt, Plasian had worked upon him in his prison. When again asked whether he undertook to defend the order, he submissively replied, that he was but a poor illiterate knight, that he had heard an apostolic bull read, by which the pope reserved to himself the trial of the heads of the order, and that at present he asked nothing more.

The question was expressly put to him—Did he wish to defend the order? He said, No, he only begged that the commissioners would write to the pope to summon him as soon as possible to his presence, adding, with the sim-

licity of impatience and of fear, "I am mortal, as others are; the present moment only is ours."§

The abandonment of the defence by the grand master deprived it of the unity and strength it might have received from him. He only asked to say three things in favor of the order. Firstly, that in no churches was divine service more honorably performed than in those of the Templars. Secondly, that he knew no religion in which greater alms were bestowed than in that of the Temple—alms being given thrice a week to all who presented themselves. Lastly, that so far as he knew, no manner of people had shed so much blood for the Christian faith, or were more feared by the infidels; that at Mansourah, the count of Artois had stationed them in the vanguard, and that if he had hearkened to them . . .

Here a voice interrupted him: "Without faith, all this leads not to salvation."

Nogaret, who was present, also took up the word: "I have heard say, that in the chronicles, preserved in the abbey of St. Denys, it is written, that in the time of the sultan of Babylon, the master of that day, and the other heads of the order, did homage to Saladin; and that the said Saladin, when he heard of a great reverse sustained by the Templars, had publicly said that it had befallen them as a punishment for an infamous vice, and for their prevaricating with their law."

The grand master replied, that he had never heard tell of any such thing; that he only knew that the grand master of that day had observed the truce, since, otherwise, he could not have retained possession of certain castles. Jacques Molay concluded by humbly praying the commissioners, and the chancellor Nogaret, to allow him to hear mass, and to have his chapel and his chaplains. This they promised him, commending his piety.

Thus the two processes of the Temple and of Boniface VIII. were begun at the same time; presenting the strange spectacle of an indirect war between the king and the pope. The latter, constrained by the king to pursue the memory of Boniface, was avenged by the depositions of the Templars for the barbarity with which the king's servants had at first proceeded against them. The king cast dishonor on the papacy, the pope on the monarchy. But the king had power on his side. He prevented the bishops from sending the imprisoned Templars to the pope's commissioner, and, at the same time, he directed on Avignon swarms of wittenesses who were picked up for him in Italy. The pope, in some sort besieged by them, was condemned to listen to the most fearful depositions against the honor of the pontificate.

\* Requirere eundem quod cum ipso sicut et alii homines, esset mortuus nec haberet de tempore suo nec placeret eundem dominum commissarius significare illis: Papa quod ipsum Magistrum quam citius posset ad quos presentem evocaret. . . . Ibid.

\* Ibid. p. 302.

† M. Raynouard says "the cardinals," but incorrectly; Abscondunt caput proterva inventis vel abscondunt eum per medium. Dupuy p. 319.

‡ Quam idem Magister rogasset militem virum, domini Guilhelmi de Plasiano, qui illudm venerat, et non de mandato d. eorum domini eum commissarius eorum arduum quod dixerunt et d. eorum d. eorum Guillemus faceret ad portum locutus cum eodem Magistro quem acut asserebat diligebat et dilexerat, quia uterque miles erat. Ibid. p. 319. The same master requested the noble man lord William de Plasian, who had come thither but not at the command of the said lord's commissary, as they gave out, and the said lord William spoke apart with the same master whom as he asserted, he loved and had loved because they were both soldiers.

§ Quam ditionem concesserunt eodem, magister etiam ad delictum necessitates, si illis placeret et videret. Ibid. p. 303.

Many of the witnesses confessed their own infamy, and detailed at length the abominations in which they had shared with Boniface.\* One of the least revolting of their confessions, one which admits of being translated, is, that Boniface had murdered his predecessor. One of these wretches deposed that he had said to him, "Come not again into my presence till thou hast slain Celestine."† Another stated, that Boniface had held a *sabat*, and done sacrifice to the devil.‡ What is most probable of the things related of this old Italian legist, this countryman of Aretine's and Machiavel's, is, that he was skeptical, and often used impious and cynical expressions. . . . On one occasion, when some were expressing their fears in a storm, and saying the end of the world had come, he is reported to have observed, "The world ever has been, and ever will be." When questioned as to the resurrection, he replied by asking, "Did you ever see any one rise again?"

One who brought him figs from Sicily said to him, "Had I perished on my passage, Christ would have had mercy on me." To this Boniface is said to have rejoined, "Pooh, I am much more potent than your Christ, for I can give kingdoms."§

He spoke with fearful impiety of all the mysteries of religion. He said of the Virgin, "Non credo in Mariolâ, Mariolâ, Mariolâ," (I have no faith in her Maryship, Maryship, Maryship;) and at another time, "We believe not in either the she-ass or her foal."||

There is no clear proof of these horrible buffooneries. What is better proved, and was, perhaps, more fatal to him, is his toleration. A Calabrian inquisitor had once observed, "I fancy the pope favors heretics, for he will not let us perform the duties of our office."¶ At another time an abbot having been charged by his monks with heresy, and found guilty by the Inquisition, the pope contemptuously said, "You are idiots; your abbot is a learned man, and of riper judgment than you: away, and believe as he believes."\*\*

After being nauseated with all this testimony, Clement V. had still to endure, face to face, the insolence of Nogaret, (March 16th, 1310,) who repaired to Avignon, but accompanied by Plaisan, and a trusty escort of men-at-arms. For this petty Luther of the fourteenth century, this was his triumph, his diet of Worms—with this difference, that Nogaret, having the king

and the sword with him, was the oppressor of his judge.

We find the substance of what he probably said to the pope in the numerous *factums* (memorials) which he had issued on the subject, and in which we find a mixture of humility and insolence, of monarchical servility, classic republicanism, pedantic erudition, and revolutionary audacity. I was in the wrong to compare him to Luther. The bitterness of Nogaret does not recall the fine and simple bursts of wrath of the good man of Wittenburg, in which were blended the child and the lion, but rather, the bitter and concocted bile of Calvin—that hatred raised to the fourth power. . . .

In his first *factum*, Nogaret had declared that he would not let go his hold. The action for heresy, he said, is not voided by death, *morte non extinguitur*. He required Boniface's remains to be exhumed and burnt.

He seeks to justify himself in 1310. A good mind ever fears having done wrong, even when there really is no fault, as did Job, the Apostle, and St. Augustin. . . . Then he knows persons who, through ignorance, have been scandalized through him. He fears, should he not justify himself, that such persons will be damned for their evil thoughts of him. Wherefore he beseeches, demands, postulates, and *requires as a right*, with tears and groans, clasped hands, bended knee. . . . In this humble posture, he pronounces, under plea of self-justification, a fearful invective against Boniface. It contains no less than sixty distinct charges.

Boniface, he goes on to say, having declined to submit to the judgment of a council, and refused to call one, was therefore to be considered contumacious and guilty. Nogaret had not a minute to lose in fulfilling his commission. In default of the ecclesiastical or civil law, it behooved that some Catholic should defend the body of the Church—every Catholic is bound to expose his life for the Church. I, then, William Nogaret, a private man, and not simply a private man, but a knight, bound by the duty of chivalry to defend the republic, it was permitted me, it was imposed on me, to resist the said tyrant for the Lord's truth.—Likewise, just as each is bound to defend his country, *even to the deserving of a recompense, if, in such defence, he should slay his father*,\* it was lawful for me,—what do I say!—it was obligatory upon me to defend my country, the kingdom of France, which had to fear ravage, the sword, &c.

Since, then, Boniface raged against the Church and himself *more furiosi*, (like a madman,) it was necessary to bind fast his hands and feet. This was not the act of an enemy, quite the contrary. . . .

But the height of effrontery is to come: it is Nogaret who saved Boniface's life; he saved, too, that of a nephew of his. He only suffered

\* Ibid. p. 525.

† Ibid. p. 530.

‡ Ibid. p. 537.

§ This speech as reported at length is "Vade, vade, ego plus possum quam Christus unquam poterit, quia ego possum humiliter et depauperare reges et imperatores et principes, et possum de uno parvo milite facere unum magnam Regem, et possum donare civitates et regna." (Go, go, I can do more than Christ ever could, for I can humble and reduce to poverty kings, emperors, and princes, and of a poor soldier make a great king, and can bestow states and kingdoms.) Ibid. p. 56.

|| "Tace, miser, non credimus in asinam nec in pullum esse." Ibid. p. 6.

¶ Ibid. p. 540.

\*\* Ibid. p. 533.

\* Pro quâ defensione si patrem occidit, meritum habet, nec pœnæ meretur. Dupuy, *MS.* p. 288.

people in whom he could confide to prepare the pope's victuals. Boniface, on account of his deliverance, gave him absolution. And at Anagni itself, Boniface had preached to a large multitude, that all which had befallen him through Nogaret or his people, had been the Lord's doing.

Meanwhile, the process of the Temple had commenced with great parade, despite the desertion of the grand master. On the 23d of March, 1310, the commissioners had brought before them in the garden of the bishop's palace those knights who had expressed their willingness to defend the order—the hall would not have held them, for they were no fewer than five hundred and forty-six. The counts of the indictment were read to them in Latin; but when they were about to read them in French, the knights cried out that it was quite enough to have heard them in Latin, and that they did not want to be disgusted with such vile slanders in the vulgar tongue.\* Being so numerous, they were told, in order to avoid confusion, to appoint attorneys, and choose some of themselves to speak for the rest. All wanted to speak, so much had their courage revived:—"You should, then," was their cry, "have tortured us by attorney."† However, they delegated two to act for the rest, brother Raynaud de Pruin, a knight, and brother Pierre de Boulogne, a priest, the order's notary in the pontifical court, with some others to act as assistants.

The commissioners then caused to be taken down in every house at Paris used as a prison for the Templars,‡ the depositions of those who undertook the defence of the order. Fearful was the light which penetrated the prisons of Philippe-le-Bel. There issued from them strange voices, some fierce and rude, others pious and exalted, many breathing a naive dolor. All that one of the knights would say, was, "I, single as I am, cannot undertake to argue with the pope and the king of France."§ Some offer up, as all their deposition, a prayer to the Holy Virgin—"Mary, star of the seas, guide us into the harbor of safety || . . . ." But the most curious document is a protest in the vulgar tongue, in which, after maintaining the innocence of the order, the knights bring us acquainted with their humiliating misery, and the sad account of their expenses¶—a strange

details, forming a painful contrast with the far-celebrated haughtiness and wealth of the order!

. . . These unhappy men, out of their poor pay of twelve deniers a day, were obliged to pay for the boat which bore them to undergo their examinations in the city, and to pay besides the man who unlocked or riveted their chains.

At last the defenders entered a solemn protest in the name of the order. In this singularly strong and bold document, they declare that they cannot undertake the defence without the grand master, or before any other tribunal than a general council. They maintain "that the religion of the Temple is holy, pure, and immaculate before God and his Father.\* Regular institution, salutary observance of the rule, have *ever* been, and *still* are kept up in it in pristine vigor. All the brethren have but one profession of faith, which throughout the world has been, and is *ever* observed of *all*, from its foundation to the present day. And whoso says or believes otherwise, errs totally, sins mortally." It was a bold affirmation, indeed, to maintain that *all* had remained faithful to the rules of the primitive foundation; that there had been no deviation, no corruption. Though "the just man sins seven times a day,"

sages, ordonnés de par notre pere l'Apostreille pour le fet des Templiers li freres, liques sont en prison a Paris en la maison de Tiron—Honneur et reverence. Cumes nostre comandement fait a nous ce jendi prechablement pous et nous feut demande se nous voleus defendre la Religion des Temple deusdie, tuit dierat oel, et diens que ele est bone et leal, et en tout sans macule et tainon hant requie nous l'en met sus, et cumes pout de nous defendre chacun pour soy ou tous ensemble, an telle maniere que deul et sainte Eglise et vin an reguardans, come cil qui sunt en prison an nout freres a copie li. Et nous en nout sime incure toutes les nuis.—Item nous vin freres a nous que les pages de cil deniers que nous avons ne nous souffrent mie. Car nous convenent pour nos lis, li denier par jour chascun lis. Lange du cuisine napes, toutes pour bonetes et autres choses, li nout vi drames en semaine. Item nous non ferget et deslerge puisque nous sommes devant les auditeurs, li nout. Item pour laver dras et robes, linges chascun vi jours tous deniers. Item pour buche et candide chascun par li deniers. Item pour et repaiser les di freres, xvi deniers de sales de Notre Dame de l'autre part de l'eau. Pwe. Ms. folio. 30." To the honorable and wise man,

appointed by our father the pope for the affair of the brothers Templars who are in prison in Paris, in the house of Tiron—honor and reverence. When your notary was with us this Thursday last past, and asked us whether we would defend the religion of the aforesaid Temple, all said yes and we say that it is good and loyal and altogether without malice and treason in all that is imputed to us, and are ready to defend ourselves each himself singly, or all together in such manner as law the Holy Church and you shall come der good, and as thame may do who are exposed to every kind of misery.—We are kept in a black gloomy house, all night. Also we give you to know that our allowance of twelve deniers does not suffice us. For we have to pay for our bed three deniers a day each bed. The hiring of kitchen, cooking, linen, towels, for pans and other things two sous six deniers the week. Also for stirring and unstriving our stoves when we go before the said lord, two sous. Also, for washing clothes given, linen we have each to pay eighteen deniers the fortnight. Also for wood and candle, four deniers the day. Also for the ferrying and ferrying back of the said brothers from the assembly of Notre-Dame, on the other side of the water between deniers.

¶ Apud Deum et Patrem. Et hoc est omnium fratrum Templi communiter una professio, cum per unum cum rebus servatur et servatur fuit per omnes fratres episcopus cum eis a fundatione religionis usque ad demum per ventum. Et quicunque aliud dicit vel aliter credit, censetur hereticus, peccat mortuarius. Chap. p. 333.

\* Quel content: errant de lecture faite en Latin, et quod non curant quod tante turpitudines quas asserant an minus falsas et non mandantes vigiles exponere. Pwe. contra Templ. Ms.

† Deventis quod non prelatibus obis quando presentantur in domibus de parat de constituto valant. Ibidem.

‡ Some were kept in the Temple, others in the church of St. Martin des Champs, others in the mansion of the count of Paris, and in other private houses. Pwe. Ms.

§ Respondit quod poveris legere cum domini pape et pape France. Pwe. Ms. li. ver. 11.

|| Brother Elie who drew up this affecting document, ends by paying the notaries to correct whatever errors they may find in his Latin. Ms. li. 31. 32. Others were a defence in the Roman language (supra) c. 11, 12, and others in old northern French. Ibid. 33. 34.

¶ I give this document, as it was copied by the notaries, with all its rude orthography.—"A humis humilibus et

this haughty order found itself pure and without sin. Such excess of pride shocked all.

They did not stop here. They required that the apostate brothers should be placed under sure guard, until it was made apparent whether they had borne true witness or not.

They further required that no layman should be present at the examinations. No doubt the presence of a Plasian or of a Nogaret intimidated both accused and judges.

They conclude by saying that the pontifical commission can proceed no further:—"For, truly, we are not in place of safety; being, and having been, in the power of those who suggest false things to the lord king. Every day, either of themselves or through others, either personally or by letters or messages, they warn us not to retract the false depositions which have been torn from us by fear; that, otherwise, we shall be burnt."\*

Some days afterwards they entered a new protest, but stronger still, and less apologetical than threatening and accusatory. "This process," they say, "has been sudden, violent, iniquitous, and unjust; it is, altogether, atrocious violence, intolerable error. . . . Many, many of us have died of imprisonment and torture; others will remain maimed for life; several have been constrained to belie themselves and their order. These violences and torments have altogether deprived them of free-will; that is, of all the good that man can own. He who loses freedom of will, loses all that is valuable—knowledge, memory, and intellect.† . . . To compel them to falsehood and false witness, letters have been shown them with the king's seal, guarantying them their limbs, life, and liberty; promising carefully to allocate them a satisfactory revenue, and assuring them that the order would be condemned without help." . . .

Accustomed as the men of that day were to the violence of inquisitorial proceedings, and the immorality of the means commonly employed to extract evidence out of witnesses, words like these, nevertheless, could not but move the heart to indignation! But what spoke more forcibly than all words, was the pitiable appearance of the prisoners, their meager and emaciated countenances, and the hideous marks of the tortures they had undergone. . . . One of them, Humbert Dupuy, the fourteenth witness, had been tortured three times, and kept thirty-six weeks in the pit of an infectious tower on bread and water. Another had been suspended by his privy parts. The knight

Bernard Dagué, (de Vado,) whose feet had been held before a blazing fire, showed two pieces of bone which had exfoliated from his heels.\*

These were cruel sights. Even the judges, legists as they were, and cased in the dry robe of the priest, were moved, and felt the spectacle. How much more the people, who duly saw these unhappy men crossing the river in their boats to the city, to the bishop's palace, in which the commission sat! The popular indignation increased against the accusers, the apostate Templars. One day four of these appear before the commission, still wearing their beards, but carrying their cloaks in their hands. Throwing themselves at the feet of the assembled bishops, they declare that they renounce the dress of the Temple; but the judges regarded them with disgust, and told them that out of that presence they might do as they liked.†

The process was taking a troublesome turn for those who had begun it so precipitately and violently. Gradually the accusers sank into the place of the accused; whose depositions daily revealed the barbarities and turpitude of the early stage of the proceedings. The interest of the process became apparent. One of the accused had been put to the torture to compel him to state the amount of the treasure brought from the Holy Land. Was a treasure a crime; a ground for indictment!

When we remember the number of affiliated members the Temple had among the people, and the relations of the knights with the nobility, out of whose bosom they all issued, we cannot doubt that the king was alarmed at having gone so far. The shameful end, the atrocious means—all had been unmasked. Would not the people, troubled and disturbed in their faith since the tragedy of Boniface VIII., rise up! In the revolt that took place on account of the alteration of the coin, the Temple had been strong enough to protect Philippe-le-Bel: now, all the friends of the Temple were against him. . . .

The danger, too, was aggravated by the decisions of the councils in the other countries of Europe‡ having been favorable to the Templars. They were declared innocent on June 17th, 1310, at Ravenna; on July 1st, at Mentz; on October 21st, at Salamanca. By the beginning of the year, these judgments, and the dangerous reaction which would follow at Paris could be foreseen. To anticipate it was of the last consequence, and safety was to be snatched

\* . . . Quia si recesserunt, prout dicunt, comburentur omnino. Ibid. p. 334.

† . . . Liberrimum arbitrium, quod est quicquid boni potest homo habere: unde qui caret libero arbitrio, caret omni bono, scientia, memoria, et intellectu. Ibidem, p. 340.—Admirable revival of justice and morality. The Templars, who required from their adepts so complete a sacrifice of free-will, here acknowledge that, without it, man is nothing. In like manner we see further on Nogaret asking the pardon—either really, or at least feigning so to do—of his victim; asking absolution from a pope to whom he denied the name of pope.

\* Ostendens duo ossa, quod dicebat illa esse ossa que ceciderunt de talis. Proc. ap. Rayn. p. 73.

† Sed dicti domini commissarii dixerunt eis, quod eos non dimitterent ibi, nec de eorum mandato ire consilio, sed extra facerent quicquid vellet. Dupuy, p. 336.

‡ The king of England at first expressed himself loudly in favor of the order; and, whether from a feeling of justice, or in opposition to Philip, he wrote, on the 6th of December, 1307, to the kings of Portugal, Castile, Aragon, and Sicily, on behalf of the Templars, praying them not to credit the accusations raised against them in France. Dupuy, pp. 326-328.



self in order to avoid receiving the envoys of the commission; and then some one (it is not known who) raised a doubt as to their having spoken in the name of the commission. Margni joined in the doubt, and they proceeded as before.\*

The Templars, who had been brought before the council on the Sunday, were sentenced on the Monday. Those who had made confession, were set at liberty; those who had been constant in their denial of the charges, were imprisoned for life; those who had retracted their confessions, were pronounced relapsed. These last, fifty-four in number, were degraded on the same day by the bishop of Paris, and handed over to the secular arm. On the Tuesday they were burnt at the *Porte St. Antoine*. These unhappy men had prevaricated in prison, but they were constant and consistent in the flames, and protested their innocence to the last. The crowd was mute, and as if stupified with astonishment.†

Who can believe that the pontifical commission had the heart to assemble the next day, to continue their useless proceedings, and to go on examining while the council was burning!

"Tuesday, May 12th, brother Aimeri, of Villars-le-Duc, was brought before the commissioners, his beard shaven off, and without the cloak or dress of the Temple, aged, as he said, fifty, and having been about eight years in the order as serving-brother, and twenty as knight. The lords commissioners explained to him the counts on which they were about to question him. But the said witness, pale and all scared,‡ appealing to his oath and his hopes of salvation, praying, if he lied, to be struck suddenly dead, and to be engulfed soul and body in hell before the very eyes of the commission, beating his bosom with clenched hands, bending his knees and raising his hands to the altar, protested that all the crimes charged on the order were utterly false, although, in the agonies of the torture to which he had been put by Guillaume de Marcillac and Hugues de Celles, knights belonging to the king, he had admitted

some of the accusations. He added, however, *that having seen fifty-four brothers of the order borne off on carts to the stake, who would not admit the truth of the said charges, and HAVING HEARD SAY THAT THEY HAD BEEN BURNED, so he feared that he had not strength and fortune to bear such a punishment, he was ready, in his fear, to acknowledge on oath, before the commissioners or others, all the crimes imputed to the order, and even to say, if they so desired, that he had killed our Lord. . . .* He supplicated and conjured the said commissioners and us, the notaries present, not to reveal to the king's people what he had said, lest, he said, if they should know of it, he should be delivered up to the same punishment as the fifty-four Templars. . . . The commissioners, seeing the danger to which the witnesses were exposed, should the examinations be continued while the reign of terror<sup>a</sup> prevailed, and moved as well by other causes, resolved to adjourn for the present."

The commission would seem to have been affected by this terrible scene; and although weakened by the desertion of its president, the archbishop of Narbonne, and by that of the bishop of Bayeux, both of whom had ceased to attend its sittings, it essayed to save, if there were still time, the three principal defendants.

"On Monday, 18th May, the pontifical commissioners deputed the provost of the church of Poitiers and the archdeacon of Orleans to wait, from them, on the venerable father in God, the lord archbishop of Sens and his suffragans, to claim for the defendants, Pierre de Boulogne, Guillaume de Chambonnet, and Bertrand de Sartiges, that they might be brought up under good guard as often as they should require to conduct the defence of the order." The commissioners took care to add, "that they did not seek to throw any hindrance in the way of the archbishop of Sens and his council, but only to relieve their conscience."§ . . .

"In the evening, the commissioners met at St. Genevieve's, in St. Eloi's chapel, to receive a deputation of canons from the archbishop of Sens; whose answer was, that the process had been going on for two years† against the aforementioned knights, as private members of the order; that he desired to bring it to an end according to the form of the Apostolic rescript; and that it was far from his thoughts to interfere with the commissioners in the discharge of their duty."¶ Dreadful mockery!

\* . . . A quodam fuisse dictum coram domino archiepiscopo Senonensi, ejus suffraganeis et concilio . . . quod dicti prepositus . . . et archidiaconus . . . (qui in dicta die Martis . . . premissa intimasse dicebatur, et ipsi eidem hoc attestabantur, suffraganeis domini archiepiscopi Senonensis . . . tunc abeunte dicto domino archiepiscopo Senonensi) predicta non significaverant de mundato eorumdem dominorum commissariorum. Ibidem, 71 verso.

† Constantiter et perseveranter in abnegatione communi persistunt . . . non absque multa admiratione stuporeque vehementi. Contin. Guill. Nang. in Spicil. d'Achery, lib. ann. 1310.

‡ Pallidus et multum exterritus . . . impetrando sibi ipsi, si mentiebatur in hoc, mortem subitanam, et quod statim in animâ et corpore in presentia dominorum commissariorum absorberetur in infernum, tendendo sibi pectus cum pugni . . . et elevando manus suas versus altare ad majorem asseritionem, flectendo genua . . . cum ipse testis vidisset . . . duci in quadrigis liliis fratres dicti ordinis ad comburendum . . . et audivisse non fuisse combustos; quod ipse qui dubitabat quod non posset habere bonam patientiam si combureretur, timore mortis confiteretur . . . omnes errores . . . et quidem etiam interfecisse Dominum, si peteretur ab eo. . . . Process. MS. 70 verso.

\* Durante terrore predicto. Ibidem, folio 71.

† Non intendentes . . . aliquem inhibitionem fieri . . . Ibidem.

‡ Eleonium erat elepsum. Ibidem.

§ Non erat intentionale . . . in aliquo impudico officio . . . Ibidem.

"It being asserted that the provost of the church of Poitiers and the archdeacon of Orleans had not espoused the authority of the commissioners, the latter charged the envoys of the archbishop of Sens to request him that he should speak in their name. The archbishop, however, they told them to r. Moreover, they told them to r. Pierre de Boulogne, Chambonnet, Sartiges, had appealed

"The deputies having withdrawn, Raynaud de Pruin, Chambonnet, and Sartiges, were brought before the commissioners, whom they informed that Pierre de Boulogne had been taken from them without their knowing wherefore, adding, that they were simple, inexperienced men, and, moreover, so stupefied and disturbed in mind, that they could neither direct nor dictate any thing for the defence of the order, without the advice of the said Pierre. For which reason they besought the commissioners to have him produced, to afford him a hearing, and to inquire how and why he had been separated from them, and whether he chose to continue his defence of the order, or to throw it up. The commissioners directed the provost of Pontiers and Jehan de Temville to produce the said brother before them on the following morning."

We do not find that Pierre de Boulogne did appear the following morning; but numbers of Templars came, and made known their intention of discontinuing the defence. On the Saturday following, the commissioners, deserted by another of its members, adjourned to the 24 November.

When they reassembled, the commissioners were still fewer in number, being reduced to three. The archbishop of Narbonne had left Paris on the king's service. The bishop of Bayeux was on a mission from the king to the pope. The archdeacon of Maguelone was ill. The bishop of Laon had set out to join the commission, but was met by a notice from the king, that its adjournment had better be prolonged till the next parliament.† The three commissioners present, however, bade the crier ask as usual at the door of the hall, whether there were any one desirous of speaking on behalf of the Temple. None presented themselves.

On the 27th December the commissioners resumed their examinations, and demanded the production of the two principal defenders of the order. But the first, Pierre de Boulogne, had disappeared. His colleague, Raynaud de Pruin, it was said, could no longer go on with the defence, having been degraded by the archbishop of Sens. Twenty-six knights, who had been already sworn previously to giving in their depositions, were detained by the royal officers and could not appear.

It is worthy of all admiration that, surrounded as they were by violence and peril, there should have been found knights to maintain the innocence of the order, but such courage was rare. The greater number were under the impression of a profound terror.‡

from the archbishop and from his council on Sunday, 10th of May, and that this appeal ought to have been answered to the contrary on Tuesday by the provost and archdeacon. Process MS. Babelon.

† Ibidem 24 verso.

‡ *Inter cetera per litteras regias quod non expulsetur* Ibidem 72 verso.

§ This is clearly inferrible from the deposition of Jean de

The destruction of the Templars was being mercilessly prosecuted by all the provincial councils.\* Nine knights had just been burnt at Sens. Examinations took place in the midst of the terror inspired by executions. The process was stifled with the fagot. . . . The commission continued its sittings until June 11th, 1311; and the result of its labors is recorded in a register, which ends with these words:—"As an additional precaution we have deposited the said *procédure*, (copy of the proceedings,) formally drawn up and attested by the notaries, in the treasury of the Notre-Dame de Paris, to be shown to no one save on the authority of letters special from your holiness."†

Polencourt, the thirty-seventh witness. At first, he declares that he will abide by his first confession. The commissioners, seeing him all pale and frightened, tell him to think of saying the truth only and of saving his soul, that he runs no risk in telling the truth to them, that neither they, nor the notaries present, will repeat his words. On this, he revokes his deposition, and declares that he had sought absolution for it from a younger brother of the order, who engaged him never again to bear false witness.

\* By the councils of Sens, Reims, Reims, Rouen, &c. and after examination by the bishops of Amiens, Caen, Clermont, Chartres, Langres, Puy, Mans, Meaux, Meaux, Meaux, Nevers, Orléans, Poitiers, Poitiers, Rhodéz, Saintes, Sens, Toul, Tours, &c. Raynaud, p. 139.

† This register, to which I have so often referred, is in the Bibliothèque Royale, fonds Harlay no. 329. It records the proceedings before the pope's commissioners at Paris—*Procédure contre les Templiers*. It was deposited in the treasury of Notre-Dame but got, how is unknown, into the library of the president Brisson, then came into the possession of the advocate general, M. Servin, and lastly, passed into the library of the Harlays, whose armorial bearings it still displays. In the middle of the eighteenth century, M. de Harlay, scrupling, probably, to keep possession of a manuscript of such importance, bequeathed it to the library of the abbey of St. Germain des Prés. This library was burnt in 1793, but the manuscript was saved and transferred to the Bibliothèque Royale, the royal library. A duplicate of it is preserved in the archives of the Vatican. See the Appendix to M. Raynaud's work, p. 309.—Most of the documents relative to the process of the Templars are in the National Archives. The most curious of these are, 1st, the first examination of a Hundred and Forty Templars arrested at Paris, filling a large roll of parchment from which Dupuy has given some extracts in a very negligent manner. 2d, several examinations in other cities. 3d, the minute of the articles on which they were interrogated, to which is prefixed a minute of a letter, with out a date, from the king to the pope a sort of factum evidently designed to be spread abroad among the people. These minutes are written on paper made of cotton. This fraud and previous rag covered with a very difficult hand writing, has been deciphered and transcribed by one of my predecessors, the learned M. Pavidet. It is full of corrections, which have been carefully noted by M. Raynaud, p. 30, and which must have been due to the hand of one of Philip's ministers, to Margot Planchon or Nogaret. The pope has done, copied the articles in the parchment in the Vatican. The other styled in above is written with remarkable animation and vigor. In Dei nomine Amen Christus vincit Christus regnat Christus imperat. Postquam unumquemque vestrum quatuor dominus fecit in lignis crucis contra hominem antiquum. Ita mirum et magnam et strenuam illam obtemperacionem. Item in vestram huius debet per iniquitatem in perditionem Templarum cum negaret. Horrenda fuit domus regis perque conditio in perditionem dominorum quia parva et alia erant homines et tam grande promissionem negatum, &c. In the name of God, Amen, Christ is victorious, Christ reigns, Christ governs. Since that universal triumph of Christ, who in the cross of wood over the old enemy, so wonderful, and great and strenuous, so useful and necessary, has not been wrought out in these last days by the iniquities, in the affair of the pernicious Templars, our sovereign king felt alarm on account of the risk of the sacrament, because they were of mean condition to bring forward so great a matter," &c. Archives, Section Historique, J. 413.



The order was suppressed as useless or dangerous, in all the states of Christendom; their monarchs either seizing its property, or bestowing it on other orders. But the persons of the Templars were respected there. The severest treatment they experienced was imprisonment in monasteries; and often in those which had belonged to themselves. This was the only punishment to which those heads of the order in England, who persisted in denying the allegations against it, were subjected.

In Lombardy and in Tuscany the Templars were condemned; acquitted at Ravenna and Bologna.\* In Castile they were adjudged to be innocent. The Aragonese Templars offered resistance, and threw themselves into their strongholds, mostly into their famous fort of Monçon.† These forts were attacked and carried by the king of Aragon. But they were not the worse treated for their attempt, and entered in crowds into the order of Monteza which was then created. It was not in Spain, in presence of the Moors, and on the classic ground of crusade, that the thought could be entertained of proscribing the old defenders of Christendom.‡

The conduct of other princes with regard to the Templars was a satire on that of Philippe-le-Bel. Their mildness was blamed by the pope, who reproached the kings of England, Castile, Aragon, and Portugal, for their not having had recourse to torture. Philippe had hardened him, either by giving him a share of the spoil, or resigning to him the judgment in the case of Boniface. The French king had made up his mind to give way a little on the latter point. He perceived all around him symptoms of general movement. The states over which he had extended his influence seemed on the point of escaping from it. The English barons were striving to unseat Edward the Second's favorites, whose governing their country humbled them in the sight of France. The Ghibelines of Italy were inviting the new emperor, Henry of Luxembourg, to dethrone Charles of Anjou's grandson, king Robert, a great clerk but sorry king, whose only skill was in astrology. The house of France was on the verge of losing its ascendancy in Christendom; and the empire, which had been thought defunct, threatened to rear its head again. This state of things touching Philippe's fears, he allowed Clement to clear Boniface's

memory from the charge of heresy,\* with the qualification that the king had acted without malice prepense, that rather, like another Shem, he would have sought to conceal the paternal shame and nudity. . . . . Nogaret himself is acquitted on condition that he will proceed to the crusade, (should there be a crusade,) and serve therein all his life in the Holy Land: meanwhile, he is to make such or such pilgrimage. The continuator of Nangis maliciously adds another condition, namely, that Nogaret shall make the pope his heir.†

A compromise was thus effected. The king gave way with regard to Boniface, and the pope abandoned the Templars to him. He yielded up the living to save a corpse. But that corpse was the papacy itself.

It remained to procure the sanction of the Church for these family arrangements. The council of Vienna was opened on the 16th October, 1312; an œcumenic council, at which more than three hundred bishops assisted, but rendered still more solemn by the importance of the subjects brought before it than by the number of those present.

The first subject submitted to its notice was the deliverance of the holy places, of which every council talked, while all princes took the cross, and all remained at home. The theme had degenerated into a mere expedient for raising money.‡

\* This timid and incomplete reparation does not satisfy Villani, who adds, no doubt to render the matter more dramatic and more disgraceful to the French, that two Catalan knights threw down their gauntlets, and offered to prove Boniface's innocence in the lists. Villani, l. ix. c. 52. p. 454.

† Contin. Gull. de Nang. ad ann. 1311.

‡ The following document, discovered in the abbey of the ladies of Longchamp, is a specimen of the marvellous tales with which it was attempted to reanimate the popular zeal for the crusade:—"To the very holy lady, of the royal line of the French, Jane (Jehanne) queen of Jerusalem and of Sicily, our very honorable cousin—Hugh (Hue) king of Cyprus, wishes happy fulfilment of all her best desires. Rejoice and exult with us, and with the other Christians bearing the sign of the cross, who, through reverence of God and to avenge the sweetest Jesus Christ—who, for our salvation, chooses to be sacrificed at the altar of the cross (qui pour nous sauver vout être en l'autel de la croix sacrée)—fight against the unbelieving Turks. Raise to heaven your loudest acclamations, lift your voices together, and call on all to join you in returning thanks and praises incessantly to the blessed Trinity, and to the very glorious Virgin Mary for so solemn, great, and singular a blessing as to this hour was never heard of, and which I now give you to know. For, on the 33d day of June, we, with the other Christians signed with the sign of the cross, were assembled in a plain between Smyrna and the high ground, where was the host and the very strong and very powerful assembly of the Turks, amounting to nearly twelve hundred thousand, and we, Christians, about two hundred thousand in number, moved and animated by Divine grace began to fight so vigorously, and to put such great numbers of Turks to death, that towards vespers we were so worn out and so exhausted that we could no more. But we were all expecting death and the wages of martyrdom, since there were numbers of the Turks who had not yet fought or gone through any toll, and these were coming against us as desirous of drinking our blood, as dogs are desirous of drinking the blood of hares. And drunk it they would, had it not been otherwise provided for by the very great mercy of Heaven. But when Jesus Christ's knights saw that they were come to this strait, they began in chorus crying out together, with voices made hoarse by their very great labor and very great weakness—"O very sweet son of the very

\* At Mentz, July 1st; Ravenna, June 17th; Salamanca, 21st October, 1310. The German Templars justified themselves after the manner of the Westphalian free-judges. They appeared in arms before the archbishops of Mentz and Treves, affirmed their innocence, turned their backs on the tribunal, and went the way in peace. See my *Symbole du Droit*.

† *Montesquieu*—the Mountain of Joy.

‡ *Collectio Conciliorum Hispanie, Epistolarum, Decretalium, &c.* curâ Jos. Sien. de Aguirre, Bened. Hisp. Mag. Generalis et Cardinalis. Romæ, 1694, c. iii. p. 546. "All and each were declared acquitted of all crimes and errors by the council of Terracenenis, 1312."—See, also, *Monarchia Lusitana*, pars 6. l. 19.

Two affairs of high importance had to be settled by this council—the process relative to Boniface and that of the Templars. By November, nine knights presented themselves before the assembled bishops, bravely offering to undertake the defence of the order, and declar-

sweet Virgin Mary, who chose to be crucified in order to redeem us, grant us firm hope, and vouchsafe so to strengthen our hearts in you, that we may be sustained by the love of thy glorious name to receive the wages of martyrdom, since we can no longer defend ourselves from these unbelieving dogs.' And as we were thus in prayer with weeping and tears, and crying out with worried hoarse voices, and expecting very bitter death, of a sudden there appeared before our tents upon a very white horse, so very tall that there is no beast of such great height, a man, bearing a banner in his hand, on which was blazoned, on a field whiter than any thing ever was, a vermeil cross redder than blood, and clad in camel's hair, and with a very great and very long beard, and of thin, clear countenance, shining like the sun, who exclaimed with clear and loud voice—'O, followers of Jesus Christ, doubt not. See, the Divine majesty has opened the heavens for you, and sends you invisible aid. Rise up, and hearten yourselves, and take meat, and come fight vigorously with me, doubting nothing. For you shall gain the day over the Turks, and few of you shall die, and those of you who die shall have life everlasting.' And then we all rose up, so heartened, and as if we had never fought, and suddenly we assailed the Turks right cheerfully, and we fought all night, and yet we cannot truly say night, for the moon shone not like a moon but like the sun. And when day came, the surviving Turks fled so that we saw no more of them, and thus, by God's aid, we gained the day, and in the morning we left ourselves stronger than we were at the beginning of the first battle. So we caused a mass to be sung in honor of the blessed Trinity and the blessed Virgin Mary, and devoutly prayed God that He would deign to grant us grace to distinguish the bodies of the holy martyrs from those of the unbelievers. And then he who had before appeared to us said, 'You shall have what you have asked, and God will work a greater work for you if you persevere firmly in the true faith.' Then with our own mouth we asked him, 'Sir, tell us who thou art who hast done such great things for us, in order that we may make known thy name to the Christian people.' And he answered, 'I am he who said, Behold the Lamb of God, behold him who taketh away the sins of the world—he whose festival you this day celebrate.' And this said, we saw him no more, but he left behind so powerful and sweet a smell that all the day and the night following we were perfectly sustained, refreshed, and fed by it without any other supply of refreshment. And thus supported as we were, we gave orders to seek and to number the bodies of the holy martyrs, and when we came to the spot we found at the head of each Christ in corpse a long wand, without branches, with a very white flower round as a consecrated host, consecrated water, flowering at the top, and written therein in letters of gold, 'I am a Christian.' And then we separated them from the bodies of the unbelievers, returning thanks to our Sovereign Lord. And thus as we were about to repeat the burial service over their bodies, no Christians are wont to do, numbers of voices from heaven sounded forth and raised a chant of such very sweet melody that each of us thought that he had entered into the enjoyment of life everlasting, and that he was living the verue.

Now to benedict, praise and glory to our heavenly father, and to the possession of the kingdom which has been prepared for you from the beginning of the world. And then we buried the bodies of the twelve thousand and fifty soldiers near the city of Thebanus, which was heretofore a renowned singulare city, which with the country thereabout we hold for ourselves and for loyal Christians. And this country is so pleasant and desirable, and abundant in good things there is no lack of anything being due to us as we are, and support himself. And the very location of the country is so far as we are concerned under them were above us, as if they were dead. So have we seen, that the time is now come that the saying of the Lord, who is verified which says that there shall be no lack of one shepherd that is to say, that all manner of people shall be of one flock, assembled together under the banner and obedience of Jesus Christ, whom we shepherd shall be Jesus Christ. Amen. And we buried the bones of the twelve thousand and fifty soldiers in the year of grace 1247. And ever best in His obsequies.

ing, that from fifteen hundred to two thousand of their brethren were in Lyons and the adjoining mountains, ready to come to their support. Alarmed at this declaration, or rather at the interest awakened by the devotion of the nine, the pope threw them into prison.\*

From this time he feared to reassemble the council; and he kept the bishops idle the whole of the winter in this foreign city, far from their own dioceses and duties, no doubt hoping to tire them out, and trying to win them over separately.

Another object which the council had in view was, the repression of the mystics, of the *spiritual* beghards and Franciscans. It was a sad sight to see on his knees before Bertrand de Gott, Philippe-le-Bel's pope, the pious and enthusiastic Ubertino, the first known author of an "Imitation of Jesus Christ."† All the favor which he asked for himself and his brethren, the reformed Franciscans, was, that they should not be compelled to enter monasteries in which the rule had become too relaxed, or which were too rich, and in which they could not find poor enough to their liking.

Imitation of Christ, in the mind of these mystics, was charity and poverty. In the most popular book of this day—the Golden Legend—a saint gives away all he has, even his shirt; he only keeps his evangel; but, again applied to for relief, he gives his evangel. . . . In this bold legend, religion seems immolated to works, faith to charity.‡

Poverty, sister of charity, was the passion and the ideal of the Franciscans, their sublime desire.§ Their aspiration was, to have nothing.

\* See the letter of Clement V. to the king of France, dated Nov. 11, 1311, in Raynouard, p. 177.

† Nihil in hoc libro intendit nisi Jesus Christum notum et directorem nostrum et imitandum. . . . The author's design in this work is solely the knowledge and heartfelt love, and imitable life of Jesus Christ. . . . *Archiev. de cruchin. Jesu. Prolog. l. i.* Many passages breathe an united love. . . . (1) my soul melt and resolve thyself into tears reflecting on the hardships undergone by the dear little Jesus and the tender Virgin his mother. See how they are crucified, both by their mutual pity, and that which they feel for us. Ah! couldst thou make of thyself a bed for worn-out Jesus who lies on the bare ground. . . . Couldst thou with plentiful tears make them a refreshing beverage, thirty pilgrims they find nothing to drink. . . . Love has two eyes, one so sweet in presence of the beloved object, such as Jesus gave his mother to cry, when she was with him, and wept, and kissed him. The other eye is bitter in absence and regret. The soul uses itself and passes into it, the beloved object, it wanders around seeking the object of its love, and asking help to it. . . . So the Virgin seek the little Jesus, while He was teaching in the Temple. . . . *Thiers de cruchin. Archiev. de cruchin. Jesu. l. i. c. 1.* . . . *The Imitation of Jesus Christ* is the subject of several books in the fourteenth century. The beautiful work so connected with which we are best acquainted, that of Thomas à Kempis, is the latest of it, and is the worst and most tedious, but not perhaps the most important of the most perfect. The writer has particularly extracted the true Christian manna from the food of philosophy and human poetry, in which the mystic had indulged.

‡ According to some, the Pauline mysticism is represented by him, then on the surface of the altar. . . . *Alfred. de mystic. plus. p. 162.* . . . *Quid in Christianis magis representatur? Paulus Christi quoniam in seculo Christi. Erasmus. Controversiae a Turra. p. 162.* . . . *Idem. l. i. c. 1.*

§ In his last days, the mastery of poverty and of St. Francis. . . . *Idem. l. i. c. 1.* has completely, gave utterance to this

But this is not as easy as is supposed. They begged, they received: is not the gift of one's daily bread a possession? And when food had become assimilated to, blended with their flesh, could it be said that the food was not theirs? . . . Many persisted in denying it.\* A fantastic effort to escape living on the conditions of life, to emancipate one's self from the servitude to matter, to conquer and to anticipate here below, the independence of pure spirit.

The aim might appear sublime or ridiculous; but, at the first glance, the danger was unseen. Yet, was not the erection of absolute poverty into the law of man, the condemnation of property<sup>1</sup> precisely as at the same period the doctrines of ideal fraternity and illimitable love were making marriage, that other basis of society, null and void.

In proportion as authority was being lost, and the priest was sinking in the estimation of the people, religion, no longer bounded by forms, diffused itself in mysticism.† Christianity was born of love, and in its hour of weakness, it seemed sick of love.

The *Little Brothers* (fraticelli) had goods and wives in common. They maintained that in the aurora of the age of charity, one should keep nothing for one's self; and they undertook to establish on a mountain‡—in Italy, where the imagination is impatient, in Piedmont, an energetic land—the first truly fraternal city. Here they sustained a siege under their chief, the brave and eloquent Duleino. Undoubtedly there was something in this man. When he was taken, and torn in pieces with burning pincers, his beautiful Margaret refused all the knights who wished to save her by marrying her, and preferred sharing his fearful punishment.§

Women take a distinguished place in the history of religion at this period. The great saints are women—St. Bridget and St. Catherine of Sienna. The great heretics are women too. In 1310 and in 1315, we find women from Germany or the Low Countries, teaching that the soul, annihilated in the love of the Creator, may leave the body to do as it pleases, without a thought.¶ Already (A. D. 1300) had an Englishwoman visited France, who was persuaded

that she was the Holy Ghost incarnate, for the redemption of woman; and as she was beautiful and sweet-spoken, she found but too ready believers.\*

Whatever were the good intentions of these preaching women, there was sensuality in this. But, is love only dangerous under a voluptuous form? Is it not quite as much so in the midst of mortifications? The pure mysticism of the Franciscans, too, was scarcely less alarming.† The pope, the defender of the Church, of society, and of common sense, performed to condemn their sublime, but so vigorous and absurd logic, their charity, their absolute poverty. The ideal had to be condemned, the ideal of Christian virtues!

Hard and odious thing to say! How much more shocking still, when the condemnation proceeded from the lips of a Clement V. or a John XXII. However dead might be the conscience of those popes, must they not have been inwardly troubled when they found themselves required to judge and proscribe these unfortunate sectaries, this mad sanctity, whose criminality consisted in a wish to be poor, to fast, to weep through love, to go barefoot through the world, to play, innocent eccentrics, the touching drama of Jesus?‡

In the spring, the process of the Templars was resumed. The king laid his hand on Lyons, their asylum. The citizens had called him in to oppose their archbishop. This imperial city was wearied of the empire, and was so convenient to the king, not only as the knot of the Saône and the Rhone, the extreme eastern point of France, and commanding the road to the Alps or to Provence, but above all, as the asylum for malecontents and nest of heretics. Philippe held an assembly of notables there—

\* *Veni de Anglia virgo decora valde pariterque sacra, dicens Spiritum Sanctum incarnatum in redemptionem salutis herum.* "She baptized women," continues the anecdote, "in the name of the Father and of his Son." Alex. Dominican. Colmar. ap. Crestum. P. 2 fol. 33.

† They, too, preached that the age of love had begun. From the coming of Christ to his return, seven ages were to pass. "The sixth was the age of evangelical poverty, and of the extirpation of the antichristian sect, by the voluntary poor who possessed nothing in this life. This age began with St. Francis, the seraphic man, the angel of the sixth seal of the Apocalypse. (Quod erat angelus with signaculo, et quod ad literam de ipso et ejus statu et de evangelista Joannes intellexit.) Ubertin. v. c. 3. who, perfect Jesus, after the image of his own life, in the likeness of his conversation, in the perfect observance of the Gospel . . . perfectly figured, quem perfectissime Jesus ad imaginem vite sue, in similitudine conversationis sue, in perfecta observantia evangelii . . . perfectissime figuravit. Ibid.") It appeared that he was, as it were, a new incarnation of Jesus, Jesus Franciscum gerens, Jesus begotten Francis, and his rule, a new Gospel. Defendunt quod regula fratrum minorum est vera et propria idem quod evangelium. Probat. contra Ubert. de Casali. ap. Baluze. Miscell. ii. 276.

‡ Ubertin, in his desire to represent the Gospel asserts that he had entered into, and spiritually put on all its precepts, figuring himself to be, sometimes, the servant of the brother of the Saviour; sometimes, the ox, the ass of the law; sometimes, the little Jesus. He assisted at the crucifixion, by having himself the sinful Magdalen; then he became Jesus on the cross, crying out to his Father, lastly, the spirit caught him up into the glory of the Assumption. Arbor Vitæ Crucifixi Jesu. Prolog.

† *Probatur contra Ubert. de Casali.* Baluze. Miscell. ii. 276.

\* See Ubertin de Casali in his chapter, *Jesum pro nobis angelum*. "Jesus, in want on our account." Hicentes dicit . . . non enim continet ad proprietatem d' anime sed quantum ad fructum in nobis, per quem modum d' amor esse quod ad meritum, etiam non sed nobis proprium, sed gratis a nobis datur. Ubert. de Casali. Arbor Vitæ. l. i. c. 11.

† The French called the "precept" (regula), went so far as to declare prayer as useless. "When the spirit is," said they, "there is liberty. Hence that they were independent of human rule, and unbound by the precepts of the Church." Chénier. l. v. c. 3. 10 Argentine. p. 276.

‡ *Ubertin*, called Mount Garzan. Many accounts of the sect of Ubertin Verard, New P. in the whole of Lombardy, in Savoy, Savoy, France, and France. The sect was suppressed, and sent to the hundred holiest cross-bones against the heretics. Bony d'Innoce. ap. Muratori. Ant. Ital. p. 1120.

§ *Ubertin*.

¶ *Comp. G. de Nangis ap. Spizeler. ii. 63.*

Next, he came to the council with his sons, his princes, and a powerful escort of men-at-arms. He sat by the pope's side—somewhat below him.

Up to this time the bishops had shown themselves any thing but docile, and had persisted in demanding to hear what defence the Templars had to offer. The Italian prelates, one alone excepted; those of Spain, Germany, and Denmark; those of England, Scotland, and Ireland; even the French bishops, Philippe's own subjects, (excepting the archbishops of Reims, of Sens, and of Rouen),\* declared that they could not condemn without hearing.

The pope behaved then, after having assembled the council, to do without it. He assembled those bishops on whom he could most surely rely, with a few cardinals, and in this consistory he abolished the order, of his own pontifical authority.† The abolition was afterwards solemnly pronounced in presence of the king and the council. None raised their voices in protest.

It must be acknowledged that this process is not one of those on which we can pass judgment. It embraced all Europe. The depositions were by thousands, the documents innumerable, the forms of trial had differed in the different kingdoms. The only thing certain is, that the order had become useless and dangerous too. However little his secret motives may have been to his honor, the pope acted sensibly. He declares in his explanatory bull, that the judicial examinations are not to be implicitly depended on, that he has not the right to judge, but that the order is suspected—*ordinem valde suspectum* † Clement XIV. (Ganganelli) pursued exactly the like course with regard to the Jesuits.

Clement V. endeavored to save the honor of the Church on this fashion. He secretly falsified Boniface's registers; but he only revoked

one of his bulls in the council, the bull *clericis laicos*, one which did not touch upon doctrine, but which hindered the king from taking their money from the clergy.

And so these great quarrels of ideas and principles, dwindled down to questions of money. The possessions of the Temple were to be devoted to the deliverance of the Holy Land, and given to the Hospitaliers;<sup>o</sup> which order was even accused of having bought the abolition of the Temple. If it did, it cheated itself. One historian asserts, that it was rather impoverished than benefited. John XXII. complained, in 1316, that the king paid himself for the keep of the Templars by seizing the revenues of the Hospitaliers.† The year following, they were too happy to give the royal administrators a final discharge for the property of the Temple. In 1309, the pope bewailed that he had only yet received a few of the moveables, *not even enough to cover his expenses.* But, finally, he had no reason for complaint.‡

There remained a sad portion of this inheritance of the Temple, and the most embarrassing—the prisoners whom the king detained at Paris, particularly the grand master. Let us listen to the description given of this tragic event by the anonymous historian, the continuator of Guillaume de Nangis:—

"The grand master of the ci-devant order of the Temple, and three other Templars, the visitor of France, the masters of Normandy and Aquitaine, the right of pronouncing definitive judgment on whom the pope had reserved to himself, appeared before the archbishop of Sens, and an assembly of other prelates and doctors of divine and canon law, convened for this special purpose at Paris, on the pope's orders, by the bishop of Albano, and two other cardinals, legates. The four above-named, having publicly and solemnly acknowledged the crimes of which they were accused, and having persevered in the confession, and appeared to desire to persevere in it to the end, after ripe deliberation of the council, on the Place du Parvis de Notre-Dame, the Monday after St. Gregory's day, were condemned to perpetual close imprisonment. But when the cardinals thought that they had concluded this business, lo and behold, all of a sudden, so that no one could have anticipated it, two of the condemned, the master from beyond the sea

\* In hac conveniunt, ut dicitur Temporalis aequum est et  
definitur. In hac sententia concipiuntur. Exterius

Walsing Vit. Ciern V surtoe Plodem Mayn p 147

<sup>7</sup> Multis viris peritis cum cardinalibus in privato con-  
sistorio, sedem Templariorum cassam. Petrus octid. de  
Aprilio 1312, fuit secunda sessio consilii, et postea quo  
omnes eorum capitula subditi non essent, et deinde.

presented by Francis P. Appleton before the court. Appleton testified that he had been told that it was the second of the sentences, and that it was the second of the sentences, and that it was the second of the sentences. The first sentence, which was first initiated three centuries after the second.

1. The first part of the report is a general statement of the purpose of the study and the scope of the work.

lam super hier een indomine ingesloten was en per concessie per  
dalen nien concessione letter de jure en de jure van concessione  
et edictum stamden. Hier stamden 10 in dalem

V. Ryan 193 However, it cannot be denied that the paper depicted great compassion and served to unite the French King. This was the feeling of the King.

And as I have heard from one who sat in the boat and examined the witnesses, the order was destroyed and was smothered. And he told me that Clement knew it all.

if it cannot be destroyed on past grounds, let it be destroyed by experimental means, as non-purified water is a potent bacterial destructor of non-purified water.

that we do not own the A-1 France for not to state as if  
A-1 was a Roman

6. Peronosporales et al. 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658

(d'Outremer) and the master of Normandy, obstinately defending themselves against the cardinal, who had just spoken, and against the archbishop of Sens, turn round to deny their confession and all their preceding avowals, totally and unreservedly, to the great astonishment of all. The cardinals committed them to the custody of the provost of Paris who happened to be present, to guard them until they had more fully deliberated the matter the following day. But as soon as the report of these things came to the ears of the king, who was at the time in his royal palace, after communicating with his counsellors, *without summoning the clerks*, (prelates,) by a prudent decision, towards the evening of the same day, he had both of them burnt on the same pile, on a small island of the Seine, between the royal garden and the church of the hermit brothers of St. Augustin. They seemed to endure the flames with so much firmness and resolution, that the constancy of their death and their final denials struck the multitude with admiration and stupor. The two others were imprisoned, according to the sentence pronounced upon them.\*

Their execution, without the privity of the judges, was clearly an assassination. The king, who in 1310 had at least called a council in order to make way with the fifty-four, here disclaimed all appearance of right, and employed force alone. Here he had not even the excuse of danger, the reason of state, the excuse of the *Salus populi* which he had inscribed on his coin.† No, he considered the denial of the grand master as a personal affront, an insult to the monarchy so deeply compromised in this business. He struck him the fatal blow, no doubt as *reum lese majestatis*, (guilty of high treason.)‡

And, now, how explain the prevarications of the grand master and his final denial? Does it not seem as if through chivalrous fidelity and military pride, he saved at all risks the honor of the order; that the *haughtiness* of the Temple awakened at the last moment; that

the old knight, left in the breach as its last defender, chose, at the peril of his soul, to render it impossible for futurity ever to come to a judgment on this obscure question?

It may also be urged that the crimes charged on the order were peculiar to such or such a province of the Temple, or such and such a preceptory, but that the order was innocent of them; that Jacques Molay, after confessing as an individual, and through humility, might cry as a grand master.

But something more remains to be said. The principal charge, the denial of the Saviour,\* rested on an equivocation. The Templars might confess to the denial, without having been in reality apostates. Many averred that it was a symbolical denial, in imitation of St. Peter's—one of those pious comedies in which the antique Church enveloped the most serious acts of religion;† but whose traditional mean-

\* This denial reminds one of a much more serious saying than is apparent on the surface—"Offer up your unbelief to God."—See, above, notes at pp. 163, 173, and 184, on the grotesque ceremonies of the Church and the feast of *la fête des fous*.—"The people lifted their voice: not the first people who speak in the choir, but the true people, rising from without tumultuously and innumerable through all the vomitories of the cathedral, with their loud raucous voice—a giant child, like the St. Christopher of the legend, brute, ignorant, passionate, but decisive, imploring assistance and praying to bear Christ on their colossal shoulders. They entered, dragging into the Church the hideous drags of sin, purged with victims, to the Saviour's feet, to wit: the stroke of the prayer which was to imitate it 40 times, also, recognizing that the animalism was with themselves, they exposed in symbolical extravagance their miseries and infirmity. This was called the *festin des fous*, *fatuum*; and this imitation of the pagan cruci-fer, tolerated by Christianity as man's farewell to the animalism which he abjured, was repeated at the festivals of the Nativity, the Circumcision, Epiphany, the murder of the Innocents, and likewise on those days on which mankind saved from the devil, fell into the intoxication of joy—at Christmas and Easter."

In all initiatory ceremonies, the candidate is represented as a worthless person, in order that his initiation may be the credit of his moral regeneration. See the initiatory Ceremony of the Coopers of Germany. (Notes to my *Introduction à l'Histoire Universelle*, p. 103, first edition.)—"Just now," says the apprentice's godfather, "I brought you a goat skin, a murderer of hoops, a spoil-wood, an idiot, a traitor to masters and journeymen, (traître aux maîtres et aux compagnons;) henceforward, I hope," &c.

† One of the witnesses deposes that when he refused to deny God and to spit upon the cross, Raymond de Bre Nolles, who was officiating, said to him laughingly, "Compose yourself, it is only a farce." (Non cures, quin non nisi quidam trifia.) Rayn. p. 303. In the important deposition of the preceptor of Aquitaine, of which I proceed to give a part, we have the details of a ceremony of the last together with an explanation of its origin:—

"The knight who initiated the candidate, having first invested him with the cloak of the order, presented him a crucifix on a mass book, and told him to deny Christ nailed to the cross. When, in great terror, he refused, crying out, 'Alas! my God, why should I do so? I will, as no wise do it.'—'Do it, without fear,' replied the other. 'I swear by my soul that you shall sustain no injury either a soul or conscience, for it is a ceremony of the order's, ordered by a wicked grand master, who, being taken prisoner by a soldier, could obtain his liberty only by taking oath to make all future candidates for admission into the order abjure Christ on this fashion; which has been done ever since, and so you may well do it.' And, then, dependent would not do it, but resisted the more, and asked of his uncle and the other worthy persons who had brought him there. But the other replied, 'They are gone, and you must do what I order you.' And still he would not. Seeing his determination, the knight then said to him, 'If you will take your oath on God's holy Gospel that you will tell all the brothers of the order that you have done all that I have

\* Cost. G. de Nangis, p. 67. An authentic deed is still extant which indirectly proves this execution, in a register of the parliament for the year 1313:—"Whereas, lately, at Paris, a vessel lying in the river Seine, near the angle of our garden between this our said garden on one side of the river, and the house of the brotherhood of the order of St. Augustin on the opposite side of the said river, was taken to be the place of two men who had been formerly burnt, and having been burnt on the aforesaid island; and whereas the abbot and chapter (conventus) of St. Germain des Prés at Paris, claiming to be in seisin of high and low justice of every kind on the aforesaid island . . . We command that the rights of the said abbot and chapter . . . be sustained no prejudice therefrom." Olim. Parliament. iii. folio cxviii. 13th March, 1313. (1314.)

\* Cons. of Philip's are extant with the impress of the angel's station and the legend, "*salus populi*."

† How shall we qualify the strange words with which Philip commences his *Histoire de la Consecration des Templiers*?—"The finest and noblest acts of great princes have the same suitable fidelity attending them, that they are for the most part misinterpreted by such as are ignorant of the ends of the acts, and who have had an interest in the parties' powerful enemies of truth, who impute to them various motives and ends; whereas zeal on behalf of virtue plainly sees the favorable side of the question."









sought to appease God and do penance. Amongst famines and bankruptcies of the coin, (depreciations of the currency,) amongst the devil's harassings and the king's punishments, they paraded through the cities, weeping and howling, as filthy processions of naked penitents, of obscene flagellants: evil devotions, which but led to sin.\*

Such was the sad state of the world when Philippe and his pope took their departure for the other, to meet with their judgment. Jacques Molay, it is said, had summoned them from the stake to appear in one year before God. Clement departed first. A little before his death he had seen in a dream his palace on fire. "From that time," says his biographer, "he lost his spirits, and his health declined."†

Seven months afterwards, it was Philippe's turn. He died at Fontainebleau. He is buried by the side of Monaldeschi, in the little church of Avon.

Some ascribe his death to being gored by a wild boar hunting. Dante, in his high vein of hatred, can find no terms base enough to describe his death in—"He will die from the gash of a task, the false coiner."‡

But the contemporary French historian makes no mention of this accident. He says that Philippe wasted away, without fever or any perceptible ailment, to the great astonishment of his physicians.§ There had been no reason to suppose that he would die so soon; he was only forty-six years of age. In the midst of so many striking events this fine and mute figure had appeared impassible. Did he secretly suffer from the belief that the curse of Boniface or of the grand master was upon him? Or, which is the more probable, was he not depressed by the confederation into which the nobility of his kingdom had entered against him the very year he died? His barons and nobles had followed him blindly against the pope; and they had not opened their lips in behalf of their brothers, the cadets of noble houses, I mean the Templars. But the attacks on their rights of administering justice and of

coining money, were too much for their patience. In reality, the king of legists, the enemy of feudality, had no other military force to oppose to it than feudal force. He was in a vicious circle from which he could not extricate himself; but from which death relieved him.

It is impossible to define the share he had in the great events of his reign: only, we find him incessantly traversing the kingdom, in which there takes place nothing great for good or evil without his having assisted at it personally; as, at Courtrai and Mons-en-Puelle, (A. D. 1302-1304,) at St. Jean-d'Angely, at Lyons, (A. D. 1305,) and at Poitiers and at Vienna, (A. D. 1306-1313.)

This prince appears to have been methodical and regular in his habits. We find no trace of private expenses. He accounted with his treasurer every five-and-twenty days.

The son of a Spanish woman, educated by the Dominican Egídio of Rome, of the house of Colonna, he had evidently a tinge of the sombre spirit of St. Dominic, as St. Louis had of the mystic sweetness of the order of St. Francis. Edigio wrote for his pupil's instruction, a work *De Regimine Principum*, and he had no trouble in impressing on his mind the doctrine of the illimitable power of kings.\*

Boethius's *De Consolatione*, the books of Vegetius on the Art Military, and the letters of Abelard and Heloise,† were translated by Philippe's orders. The misfortunes of the celebrated professor, so ill-treated by the priests.

\* V. S. *Agilii Romanus*, Archiep. *Blondensis* quondam. De utraque potentia, editit Goldastus, *Monarchia*, t. II. A Colonna could not but inspire his pupil with a hatred of popes.

† The author (continues) of the *Roman de la Rose*, Jean de Meung, translated these for him. In the preliminary epistle prefixed to his Boethius, he gives us the list of his literary honors:—"To the royal majesty, very noble prince by the grace of God, king of the French, Philip the Fourth, I, Jehan de Meung, who first added to the Romance of the Rose, putting Jean de Meung in the prison Welcomes, teaching the way to take the castle, and gather the Rose, (qui Jean au Roman de la Rose, puis que Jeanne d'Arc en prison fut accueilli, ay enseigné la manière du Chastel prendre, et de la Rose cueillir,) and translated from Latin into French Vegetius's work on Chivalry, and the book of the wonders of Hircanie and the book of the Epistles of Peter Abelard and of Heloise his wife, and Aelred's book on spiritual friendship, now send you Boethius on Consolation, which I have translated into French, although you understand Latin right well."

The king's confidence in him did not hinder him from tracing in the *Roman de la Rose* the following rude picture of primitive royalty:—

"Un grant vilain entre eux estoient,  
Le plus corve de quant on fust,  
Le plus ois, et le greigneur,  
Et le fere prince et seigneur.  
Cil jura que droit leur estoient,  
Se chascun en droit say hay fust  
Des biens dont il se pausé vives . . .  
De là vint le commencement  
Aux roys et princes terriens  
Selon les livres anciens."

Roman de la Rose, v. 1004.

(They elected a great clown shapeliest of all of them, the most idle, and chose him prince and lord. He swore would give him a right to take to support him. Hence, the beginning of kings and of

Among themselves, the king and his nobles, and chose him prince and lord. He swore would give him a right to take to support him. Hence, the beginning of kings and of

\* Totis audis corporibus processionaliter . . . Idem, *ana*, 1313, p. 70.

† No sooner was the breath out of his body, than his Gascon servants utterly neglected their master's corpse to pillage his effects—*Gascones qui cum eo steterant, intenti circa sarcinas, videbantur de sepultura corporis non curare, quia diu remansit insepultum*. Baluz. *Vita Pap. Aven.* I, p. 22.

‡ "There shall be read the wo, that he doth work  
With his adulterate money on the Seine,  
Who by the task will perish."

Dante, *Paradiso*, c. xix.

According to several authorities, he met his death in a stag-hunt. "Seeing the stag turning upon him, he drew his sword, and spurred his horse, seeking to strike the stag; but his horse bore him against a tree with such violence that the good king was thrown, and severely hurt in the heart, and borne to Corbeil. There, he grew worse." . . . *Chronique*, Trad. par Sauvage, p. 110, Lyon, 1572, fol.

§ Diuturna detentus infirmitate, ejus causa medicis erat multa, non solum ipis, sed et aliis multis multi stuporis et admirationis induxit; præsertim cum infirmus mortis periculum nec pulsus ostendebat nec urina. *J. de Nangis*, fol. 68.

The tendency to a new order of things is strongly marked from the beginning of this reign. The king seeks to exclude priests from the administration of justice, and from municipal offices. § He protects Jews and heretics ; increases the royal tax on amortizements, and the acquisition of unmovable property by the churches, % and prohibits private wars and tournaments. This prohibition, grounded on the king's want of his subjects for the Flanders' war, is often repeated, \*\* and, once, the king goes so far as to direct his provosts to arrest all

The street was a large one in front such as were worn by the masters of arts of the street of Bonaparte, and a house also closed before and behind, whence their name of

were are a find. (ed) p. 304. (cont) p. 304. Ann. 1294,  
 p. 304. Ann. 1294 p. 304. Ann. 1294. July.

who repair to tournaments.\* Each campaign he was obliged to have recourse to *impressment*, and to bring together in its own despite that indolent chivalry which recked little of the need of either king or kingdom.†

But this government, hostile alike to feudalism and to priests, had no other military force than the barons, and but little money except through the Church; whence arose many contradictions, and more than one retrograde movement.

In 1287, the king allows the nobles to seize their fugitive serfs in the cities. Perhaps it was requisite to check the great influx of the people into the towns, and prevent the desertion of the country;‡ since the towns would soon have absorbed all, and the land have been left a desert, as it happened in the Roman empire.

In 1290, the clergy forced from the king an exorbitant charter, which could not have been carried into execution without causing the death of the monarchy. The leading articles enacted, that the bishops *should be the judges in cases relative to wills, legacies, and doweries*; that the king's bailiffs and officers should not live on church lands; that churchmen were to be arrested at the instance of the bishops only; that clerks should not be brought into the lay courts in personal actions, even though required so to do by letters royal, (thus securing impunity to priests:); that prelates should make no payment for property acquired by their churches; and that the local judges should not have cognizance in cases of title—that is to say, that the clergy should be sole judge of the fiscal abuses of the clergy.§

In 1291, Philippe-le-Bel violently combated the tyranny of the Inquisition in the South.|| In 1298, at the commencement of his struggle with the pope, he seconds the intolerance of the bishops, and orders his barons and the royal judges to hand over all heretics to them, to

condemn and punish them without appeal.\* The year following, he promises that his bailiffs shall no more harass the churches with forcible seizures, that they shall seize before manor at once, &c.†

The nobles, too, had to be propitiated. He granted them an ordinance against their exactions, against the Jew usurers.‡ He guaranteed their rights of chase. The king's collectors are no more to fasten upon the inheritances of bastards and of aliens in the domains of those having the right of high justice—"Ibid." prudently adds the king, "*it be proved a competent witness, whom we shall specially impute for the purpose, that we are fully entitled to take possession.*"§

In 1302, after his defeat at Courtrai, the king struck a daring stroke. He seized, for his mint, half of all silver plate,|| (his own barons and officers were to give up the whole of theirs:); he seized the temporalities of the bishops who had repaired to Rome;¶ finally he taxed the barons, defeated and humbled at Courtrai; the hour was favorable for making them pay.\*\*

In 1303, during the crisis, when Nogaret had accused Boniface, (March the 12th.) and when excommunication might at any moment fall on the king's head, he promised all that was wished. In his reforming ordinance (the close of the same month) he pledged himself to his nobles and prelates to *make no acquisition in their lands*;†† yet, here he introduced a reservation

\* Ballivis . . . injungimus . . . diocesis episcopi . . . et inquisitoribus . . . perant, et intendunt in hereticorum investigatione, captione . . . condemnatos et relictos statim recipiant, indilate animadversione debita puniendos . . . non obstantibus appellationibus. Ord. i. p. 330, ann. 1289.

† Mandate addressed to the bailiffs of Touraine and Maine, enjoining them to respect the clergy. Letters granted to the bishops of Normandy against the oppressions of bailiffs, viscounts, &c. Ord. i. pp. 331, 334. A similar ordinance was promulgated in favor of the churches of Languedoc, May the 6th, 1302. Ibid. p. 340.

‡ "Against the whirlpool of usury . . . we will that the sum originally borrowed be discharged, but remit all beyond." "Contra usurarium voraginem . . . volumus ut debita quantum ad sortem primariam plenarie persolvantur, quod vero ultra sortem tunc legaliter penitus remittenda." Ord. i. p. 334.

§ Nisi prius per aliquem idoneum virum quem ad hoc specialiter deputaverimus . . . constiterit, quod non sint in bona sacra percipiendi . . . Ord. i. pp. 339, 339.

|| "Make known to all, by general proclamation, without specifying prelates or barons, to wit, that all manner of people shall bring half of their silver plate," signifié a tous, par en general, sans faire mention de prelates ni de barons c'est a savoir que toutes manieres de gens apporrient la moitié de leur vaissellement d'argent blanc. Ord. i. pp. 339, 339.

¶ "Certain prelates, abbots, and priors . . . having left the kingdom . . . in contempt of our prohibition . . . we, being unwilling that through their personal absence their substance should be wasted, but rather desiring to preserve it . . . do decree," &c. Ord. i. p. 340. The indignation against these priests seems to have been great, for the king is obliged to prohibit the Normans from crying "*Harauc the clerks!*" Ord. i. p. 348.

\*\* Harauc haraoc harol, derived from *ha* and *Raoul*, or Rollo, first duke of Normandy, and equivalent to "Away with them!" or "On them!" or "Down with them!" — FRAZER.

†† Ord. i. p. 330—end of the year 1302.

‡‡ The king declares, that in reforming his kingdom he takes the churches under his protection, and intends securing

\* Quotiens omnes et singulos nobiles . . . capias et arrestes, et quique et arrestes, et tamen in arresto teneri donec a nobis mandatum. Ord. i. p. 324. Ann. 1304.

† In 1302 the bailiff of Amiens is ordered to send to the Flemish war all worth above 100 livres in moveables, and 200 in immovables; those worth less were to be spared. Ord. i. p. 335. But on the following year, May 23th, an ordinance came out that every *exterior* worth fifty livres in moveables or twenty in immovables, should contribute either his person or his money. Ord. i. p. 373.

‡ Formidates were enacted similar to those imposed to this day on foreigners seeking to be admitted French citizens—i.e. authority from the provost or mayor, settlement established by the purchase. "Pour raison de la bourgeoisie d'une maison de bonz ou de jour de la voie de soixante sols parisis ou moins, signification au seigneur dessous en un certain point" for right of citizenship, of a house dwelt in for a year and a day, of the value of sixty sous of Paris at the year, and not owing to the lord of whom he holds, &c. &c. Ord. i. p. 344.

§ Ord. i. p. 339. "Quod boni nobiles clericorum capere debent, et non possunt, per rationem seu causam. Ut cum inter alia prelatum in parlements condemnatum fuerit, et non ad sententiam aut litem, et non ad appellacionem, non impediantur a tali."

|| Du Lang. l. xxviii. c. 22, p. 72.

Let me reiterate and cause to be refined and turn the balance against me after any such whatever of your meeting.  
Jan 20th, 1880. Ord. p. 672

words in which the king caused himself to be addressed both in the famous *Supplique du peuple de France*, (petition of the French people,) and in the discourse of the deputies of the states in 1308; but nothing is more remarkable than the terms of the ordinance by which he confirms the enfranchisement of the serfs of the Valois, granted by his brother:—"Seeing that every human creature who is made in the image of our Lord, ought generally to be free by natural right, and that in no country this natural liberty or freedom should be so effaced or obscured by the hateful yoke of servitude, that the men and women who dwell in the aforesaid places and countries, in their lifetime are regarded as if dead, and at the end of their dolorous and wretched existence are so fast bound up and strictly treated, that the goods which God has lent them in this world, they cannot by their last wishes dispose of and order . . . ."

These words must have sounded harshly in feudal ears. They seemed a protest against slavery, against baronial tyranny. The stifled feeling which had never dared to murmur, not even in a whisper, now burst forth and descended from royal lips like a judgment. Having overcome all his enemies by the aid of his barons, the king ceased to observe any terms with the latter; and, on the 13th of June, 1313, he prohibited them from coining except with his express authorization.†

The ordinance to this effect filled the cup to overflowing. Despite the terror the king's name must have inspired since the overthrow of the Temple, the barons resolved on running every risk and taking decided steps. Most of the lords of the north and of the east, (Picardy, Artois, Ponthieu, Burgundy, and Forez,) entered into a confederacy against the king:—"To all those who shall see or hear of these present letters, the nobles and the commons of Champagne, for us, for the countries of Vermandois, and for our allies and adjoints within the borders of the kingdom of France—greeting. Know all, that as the very excellent and very powerful prince, our very dear and redoubted sire, Philippe, by the grace of God, king of France, has enacted and raised many taxes, aids, and imposts contrary to right, has altered the coin, and done many other things by which the nobles and commons have been much aggravated and impoverished. . . . And it does not appear that they have been turned to the honor or profit of the king, or of the kingdom, or to the delivery of the commonwealth. For, whereas before we have several times humbly and devoutly besought and supplicated the said lord our king, to be pleased to repeal and give up these taxes, which he has in nowise done. And again, in this present year current, this year 1314, our said lord the king

has laid undue impositions on the nobles and the commons of the kingdom, and aids where he has endeavored to raise; the which we cannot conscientiously suffer or allow, for we should lose our honors, franchises, and liberties; both we and those who shall come after us. . . . We have sworn and covenanted on oath, loyally and in good faith, for ourselves and our heirs to the countships of Auxerre and of Tonnerre—to the nobles and the commons of the said countships, their allies and adjoints—that we, with regard to the aid demanded the present year, and all other griefs and novelties not duly done and to be done, in time present and to come, which the king of France, our lord or others, shall desire to exact of them, will aid and succor them at our proper cost and expense." . . . .

This document would seem to be a reply to the dangerous words of the king touching slavery. The king denounced the lords; the latter, the king. The two powers which had combined to despoil the Church, now accused each other in presence of the people, who as yet had no existence as people, and who could make no rejoinder.

The king, defenceless against this confederacy, addressed himself to the towns. He summoned their deputies to come and consult with him in the matter of the coinage. (A. D. 1314.) Docile to royal influence, these deputies demanded that the king would prohibit the barons from coining for eleven years, in order that he might mint good money, on which he would gain nothing.‡

\* The original is as follows:—"A tous ceuz qui veront ces presentes lettres, li nobles et li commons de Champagne, pour nous, pour les pays de Vermandois et pour nos allies et adjoints etant dedens les points du royaume de France; salut. Sachent tous que comme tres-excellent et redoutable prince, nostre tres-cher et redoutable sire, Philippe, par la grace de Dieu, roi de France, ait fait et releve plusieurs tailles, subventions, exactions non deus, changement de monnoyes, et plusieurs autres choses qui ont este fait par quoi li nobles et li commons ont este moult greue appesuvris. . . . Et il n'apert pas qu'ils soient tournez en l'honneur et profit du roy ne dou royaume, ne en benefice ne dou profit commun. Desquels griefs nous avons plusieurs fois requis et supplie humblement et devotement ledit seigneur le roy, que ces choses voulist defaire et delaisser, de quel rien n'en ha fait. Et encore en cette presente annee courant, par l'an 1314, ledit nos sire le roy ha fait imposer non deuenement sur li nobles et li commons du royaume plusieurs subventions lesquelles il s'est efforce de lever, laquelle chose ne pouvons souffrir ne soutenir en bonne conscience, car ainsi perdrions nos honneurs, franchises et libertes, et nous et eis qui apres nous verront, s'encheveront. . . . Ayant jure et promis par nos sermens, leaument et en bonne foy, par nous et nos heirs aux comtes d'Auxerre et de Tonnerre, aux nobles et aux commons desdits comtes, leurs allies et adjoints, que nos, en la subvention de la presente annee, et tous autres griefs et novelletes non deuenement faites et a faire, au temps present et avenir, que li rois de France, nos sires, ou autres, lor voudront faire, lor aideront et secourront a nos propres costes et despens." Boulayvillers, Lettres sur les Anciens Parlements, t. ii. pp. 29, 31.

† "Que le Roi pourchace par devers ses barons que ils se suellent de faire ouvrir jusques a onze ans." "Otherwise," the ordinance goes on to say, "the king cannot supply his people, or his kingdom, with good money. And they were agreed that the king should give such full weight of gold and silver as to gain nothing thereon," et fuerent avertis que li Rois doit tant en or, en argent que il n'y preigne nul profit. Ord. i. pp. 346, 349. However, such was

† A. D. 1313, can. 1311.

‡ pp. 3-22, art. 14.



Philippe-le-Bel's brother, the violent Charles of Valois, a busy man, of mediocre abilities, who put himself at the head of the barons. Though in such near proximity to the throne of France, he had traversed all Christendom to find another, the while a petty Norman knight reigned side by side with Philippe-le-Bel. It is not surprising that he was mad with envy.

Marigny would have had no difficulty in defending himself, could he have procured a hearing. He had done nothing, except being the thought and conscience of Philippe-le-Bel. To the young king, it was as if he were sitting in judgment on his father's soul; and so he desired simply to remove Marigny, banish him to the island of Cyprus, and recall him after a time. Therefore, to effect his destruction, Charles of Valois had recourse to the grand accusation of the day, which none could surmount. It was discovered, or presumed, that Marigny's wife or sister, in order to effect his acquittal, or bewitch the king, had caused one Jacques de Lor to make certain small figures: "The said Jacques, thrown into prison, hangs himself in despair, and then his wife, and Enguerrand's sisters are thrown into prison, and Enguerrand himself, condemned before the knights, (*juge en presence des chevaliers*), is hung at Paris on the thieves' gibbet. However, he made no confession as to the said witchcrafts, but only observed that with regard to exactions, and alterations of coin, he had not been the sole mover in those matters. . . . Wherefore his death, the causes of which were a mystery to most, was a subject of great admiration and surprise."

"Pierre de Latilly, bishop of Chalons, to whom the deaths of Philippe, king of France, and of his predecessor were ascribed, was by the king's order detained in prison, in the name of the archbishop of Reims. Raoul de Presles, advocate-general (*advocatus præcipuus*) to the parliament, equally suspected, and detained in prison on the like suspicion, was confined in the prison of St. Genevieve at Paris, and put to various kinds of torture. As no confession of the crimes with which he was charged could be forced from him, although he was subjected to the most different and most painful torments, he was at last set at liberty—the greater part of his property, moveable or immovable, having been either given away, or lost, or pillaged."

\* There were three Raoul de Presles. The first, who gave evidence in 1202 against the Templars, was implicated in the affair of Pierre de Latilly, and recovered his liberty with the loss of his property. Louis Hutin let remorse at this, and ordered his wife to send every thing to be restored to him, with the exception of his coronation. Philippe-le-Long and Charles of Valois, each in turn for his good services. The second Raoul de Presles, noted for courage, and also for having had a part in restoring his imprisonment, who became the next advocate-general. He introduced himself to the notice of Charles of Valois in 1265 by a legacy, entitled, *La Meuse*. He was charged by this prince to translate the City of God, and was supposed to have had a share in the composition of the *Songes du Vergier*.

All bootless was it to have hung Marigny, imprisoned Raoul de Presles, and, as he subsequently did, to have ruined Nogent. The legist had more of life in him than the barons supposed. Marigny springs into being with each reign, and is ever fruitlessly put to death. The ancient system, toppling down with repeated shocks, crushes at each fall its enemy: it is not the stronger for it. The whole history of this period is the ceaseless struggle between the legist and the baron.

With each accession we have a restoration of the *good old uses* of St. Louis, as the expiation of the preceding reign. The new king, the companion and friend of the prelates and barons, commences in his capacity of lord of the barons, as a *good and rude justice* to hang the best servants of his predecessor. A grand gibbet is erected, and the people pour to it with hootings the man of the people, the man of the king, the poor plebeian king, who lot it is to bear in each reign the sins of the crown. After the death of St. Louis, falls the barber La Brosse; after that of Philippe-le-Bel, Marigny; after Philippe-le-Long's death, Gerard Guete; and, after Charles-le-Bel, the treasurer Rémy. . . . He perishes legally, but not unjustly. He dies sullied with the violences of an imperfect system, the evil of which is greater than the good. But in dying, he bequeaths to the crown which strikes him its instruments of power, and to the people that curse him, institutions of order and of peace.

A few years slipped away, and the body of Marigny was respectfully taken down from Montfaucon to receive Christian burial. Louis-le-Hutin left ten thousand livres to his son Charles of Valois, in his last sickness, believing it essential to the safety of his soul, to restore the memory of his victim, and caused liberal alms to be distributed, with the recommendation to the receivers—"Pray to God for my son Enguerrand de Marigny, and for my lord Charles de Valois."

Marigny's best vengeance was that to crown, so strong in his care, sank after him into the most deplorable weakness. Louis-le-Hutin, needing money for the Flemish war, treated as equal with equal, with the city of Paris. The nobles of Champagne and Picardy hastened to take advantage of the right of private war which they had just reacquired, and made war on the countess of Artois, without troubling themselves about the judgment rendered by the king who had awarded this right to her. All the barons had resumed the privilege of coining; Charles of Valois, the king's uncle, setting them the example. But instead of coming for their own domains only, conformably to the ordinances of Philippe-le-Hardi and Philippe-le-Bel, they minted adulterate coin by

\* Contin. G. de Nangis, ann. 1325, p. 84. *Orate pro Domno Ingeranno*. . . .







only, "to extend his crimes, murders, and rapes, supporting bands of assassins, the friend of robbers, a rebel to the king. He might yet, perhaps, have escaped. One of the king's men had come to seize him; he slew him with the very staff on which were the royal arms, the ensign of his office. Summoned to trial, he came to Paris attended by a brilliant escort of the noblest counts and barons of Aquitaine. . . . This did not save him from being thrown into the prison of the Chatelet, condemned to death by the master of the parliament, and the evening before Trinity day, being dragged at horse's tail and hung on the common gibbet."

The parliament, which thus vigorously defends the honor of the king, is itself a true king in a judicial point of view. Its members wear the royal habit—the long robe, purple, and ermine. It is not, apparently, the shadow and effigy of the monarch, but rather, his thought, his constant, immutable, and truly royal will. The king wishes justice to pursue her course, "notwithstanding all concessions, ordinances, and letters-royal to the contrary." Thus, the monarch distrusts the monarch, and recognises himself better in his parliament than in himself. He distinguishes within himself a double character. He feels himself both king and man, and the king orders the man to be disobeyed—a fine confession of the twofold *Homo*, a to be respected and truly human inconsistency, which contains the whole mystery of our old monarchy.

Many texts of ordinances, interpreted in this sense, do honor to the wisdom of the counselors who dictated them. The monarch seeks to raise a barrier against his own liberality. He expresses a fear that excessive gifts may be torn from his weak hands, or that ingratitude, that while he sleeps or reposes, proud greed and ungrateful may be out too awake.<sup>1</sup>

And so, in 1318, with regard to certain feudal rights, he says — "... the which are frequently asked of us, and are of greater value *than we believe*, we must take counsel when any one asks them from us."

At another time, he recommends the receivers to apprise no one of extraordinary receipts, or "unexpected sums which may fall in to us, in order that we may not be expected to give them."

These confessions of weakness and of ignorance which the king's counselors caused him to make, naive as they are, are not the less respectable. It seems as if the new government, becoming all of a sudden the providence of the people, felt the disproportion between its means and its duties. This contrast is whimsical.

marked in the ordinance of Philippe-le-Long—on the government of his hotel (ordering of his palace) and the good of his kingdom. He begins by laying it down in a noble preamble, that Messie God has appointed kings on earth, in order that, well-ordered in their persons, they may filly order and govern their kingdom. He next announces that he hears mass every morning, and prohibits his being interrupted during the ceremony by the presentation of petitions. No one must address him in chapel, "Except our confessor, who will speak to us of things touching our conscience."\* He then provides for the safety of his royal person—"No unknown person, or servant of low estate, must enter our wardrobe, nor touch any part of it, nor assist at the bed-making, and no bed-clothes except our own must be allowed to be used"† Dread of poisoning and of sorcery is a feature of this period.

To these household details succeed regulations for the council, the treasury, the royal demesnes, &c. In all this the state looks like a simple royal appanage, and the kingdom like an appendage of the *hotel*, (de l'*hostel*.)—Throughout the whole, we detect the small wisdom of the *king's people*, (*gens du roi*.) that civic honesty which is exact and scrupulous in the petty, flexible in the great. No doubt this ordinance presents us with the ideal of royalty, in the estimate of the lawyers—the model which they held up to the feudal king, in order to make up a real king after their own mind.

These praise-worthy beginnings of order and of government brought no relief to the sufferings of the people. During the reign of Louis Hutin, a horrible mortality had swept off, it was said, the third of the population of the North. The Flemish war had exhausted the last resources of the country, and, in 1320, it was found expedient to bring this war to a close. France had enough to occupy her at home. Men's imaginations becoming excited, a great movement took place among the people. As in the days of St. Louis, a multitude of poor people, of peasants, of shepherds or *pastoureaux*, as they were called, flock together and say that they seek to go beyond the sea, that they are destined to recover the Holy Land. Their leaders were a degraded priest and an apostate monk. They entered along with them crowds of simple-minded persons, even down to chil-

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1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the situation.

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§ 100.11. 6 de 2 de 21.

• *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 17.2 (1949): 141-51.

...the King's ...

1. The purpose of this document is to provide a summary of the findings of the study conducted by the research team. The study aimed to investigate the impact of the proposed changes on the overall system performance.

6. La situation est telle qu'il est à craindre que nous ne puissions être requis de les donner. (Ibid. p. 113, 114)

dren who ran away from their homes.\* At first, they begged; then they took. Some were thrown into prison; but their comrades broke into the prisons and released them. At the Châtelet, they threw the provost who was for turning them from the gates from the top of the steps; they then drew up in order of battle in the Pré-aux-Clercs, and quietly quitted Paris, the citizens taking good care to make no opposition to the movement. Next, they wended their way towards the South, everywhere massacring the Jews;† whom the king's officers vainly tried to protect. At last, troops were got together at Toulouse, who fell upon the Pastoureaux, and hanging them up by twenties and thirties, the rest dispersed.‡

These strange emigrations of the people did not so much indicate fanaticism, as suffering and misery. The barons, ruined by the deteriorations of the coinage, and pressed down by usury, fell back on the peasant. The latter had not yet arrived at the time of the Jacquerie; he had not yet summoned daring to turn against his lord. He took to flight, and massacred the Jews, who were so detested that many were scandalized to see the king's officers undertaking their defence. The commercial cities of the South were fiercely jealous of them. This was precisely the period in which, as financiers, collectors, and tax-gatherers, they were beginning to domineer over Spain. Loved by the monarchs for their address and servility, they grew bolder daily, and at last, even assumed the title of Don. As early as the time of Louis the Débonnaire, bishop Agobart had written a treatise, "De insolentia Judæorum," (of the Insolence of the Jews;) and, in Philippe-Auguste's day, men saw with astonishment a Jew, the king's bailiff. In 1267, the pope was obliged to launch a bull against Christians who Judaized.§

Expelled by Philippe-le-Bel, they had quietly returned. Louis Hutin had guaranteed them a safe residence in his dominions for twelve years. According to the terms of his ordinance, their privileges, if they could be found, were to be restored to them, as well as their books, synagogues, and burial-places—if not, the king will reimburse them for the loss. Two auditors are nominated to inquire into the possessions sold at half their value by the Jews in the hurry of their flight. The king makes himself a partner with them in the recovery of their debts, of which he was to have two-thirds.||

The noble debtors who had interest to obtain an ordinance from Philippe-le-Bel, interdicting all suit on debts due to Jews, found themselves again at their mercy. The accounts of the Jews were held valid in the courts of law, and they could glut the treasury with victims at their pleasure. Rankling from innumerable injuries, the Jew could now take vengeance—the king's name.

The "ancient grudge" against their race being thus irritated and exasperated by fear, men were ready to go to any extreme against them. In the midst of the grievous mortality produced by misery, the report is suddenly spread that the Jews and lepers have poisoned the springs. The lord of Parthenay writes word to the bag that a *great leper*,\* arrested on his territory, has confessed that a rich Jew had given him money, and supplied him with drugs. These drugs were compounded of human blood, of urine, and of the blood of Christ, (the consecrated wafer,) and the whole, after having been dried and pounded, was put into a bag with a weight, and thrown into the springs or wells.† Several lepers had already been provisionally burnt in Gascony, and the king, alarmed at the new movement which was originating, hastily returned from Poitou to France, and issued an ordinance for the general arrest of the lepers.

Not a doubt was entertained by any one of this horrible compact between the lepers and the Jews. "We ourselves," says a chronicler of the day, "have seen with our own eyes one of these bags in Poitou, in a burgh of our own vassalage. A leprous woman, afraid of being taken, threw behind her a piece of rag tied up, which was directly brought to the authorities, and we found there an adder's head, the limb of a frog, and what resembled a woman's hair steeped in a black and fetid liquor—a thing horrible to see and to smell. The whole being thrown into a large fire would not burn; a sure proof that it was a violent poison.‡ . . . The rumors and opinions were various. The most probable was, that the king of the Moors of Grenada, grieving over his frequent defeats, bethought himself of taking vengeance, by plotting with the Jews the destruction of the Christians. But, already too suspected, the Jews applied to the lepers. . . . These, at the devil's instigation, suffered themselves to be persuaded by the Jews. The principal leper held four councils, if I may so term them; and the devil, through the medium of the Jews, gave them to understand, that since the leper

\* "With only water and staff, and penitence, leaving their sheep, and wine in the fields, they looked after them like sheep." Contin. G. de Nang., p. 77.

† "They (the Jews) flung down beams and stones without number, and even their own children, and so defended themselves mutually but inhumanly. . . . Finding escape hopeless, . . . they hired one of their own men . . . to cut their throats." Ibidem.

‡ Illic viginti, illic triginta . . . dum unus et minus suspendens in pretulis et arboribus. Ibid.

§ See M. Bouquet's *Mémoires* on the Jews of the West, and on the great history of Jost.

|| Ord. i. p. 505.

\* Scripsisse confessionem . . . magni cujusdam leprosi Contin. G. de Nang. ann. 1221, p. 78.

† Flebant de sanguine humano et urina de tribus leprosis . . . ponebatur etiam corpus Christi, et cum essent omnes desicati, usque ad pulverem terrebantur, quem misit in cunctis cum aliquo ponderoso . . . in puteis . . . jectum. Ibidem.

‡ Inventum est in panno caput colubæ, pedes bestiarum et capilli quasi mulieris, infecti quodam liquore nigerrimo . . . quod totum in ignem copiosum . . . projectum, nil in mundo comburi potuit, habito manifestato experimento, et hoc itidem esse venenosum testaturum. Ibidem.



claimed for the royal treasury, together with the rest of their property. The king got about a hundred and fifty thousand livres.

"It is asserted, that at Vitry forty Jews, in the king's prison, seeing that they were sure to die, and desirous to escape from falling into the hands of the uncircumcised, unanimously agreed to get one of their old men, who passed for a good and holy person, and whom they called their father,\* to put them out of the world. He would not consent, except upon condition of a young man's being associated with him in the task. When all were killed, and these two alone remained, each sought to die by the other's hand. The old man gained the point, and by his prayers persuaded the young one to put him to death. The young man, seeing himself left alone, collected the gold and silver which he found on the corpses, made himself a rope out of their dresses, and let himself down from the top of the tower. But the rope being too short, and the weight of gold too heavy, he broke his leg, was taken, confessed all, and met an ignominious death."†

Philippe-le-Long did not enjoy the spoil of the lepers and of the Jews, any longer than his father had done that of the Templars. He was seized with fever in the course of the same year, (A. D. 1321,) in the month of August, without his physicians being able to guess its cause. He languished five months, and died. "Some suspect it to have been a visitation from Heaven, brought on his head by the maledictions of his people for so many unheard-of extortions, not to mention those he was meditating. During his illness, the exactions abated, without ceasing entirely."

#### ACCESSION OF CHARLES THE HANDSOME.

His brother Charles succeeded him, without bestowing a thought more on the rights of Philippe's daughter, than Philippe had done to those of Louis's daughter.

The period of Charles's reign is as barren of facts with regard to France, as it is rich in them respecting Germany, England, and Flanders. The Flemings imprison their count. The Germans are divided between Frederick of Austria and Lewis of Bavaria, who takes his rival prisoner at Muhlendorf. In the midst of the universal divisions, France seems strong from the circumstance of its being one. Charles-le-Bel interferes in favor of the count of Flanders. He attempts, with the pope's aid, to make himself emperor; and his sister, Isabella, makes herself actual queen of England by the murder of Edward II.

A fearful history is that of Philippe-le-Bel's children! His eldest son puts his wife to death. His daughter murders her husband.

\* *Unus aut qui . . . sanctior et melior videbatur; unde et ob ejus bonitatem et antiquitatem pater vocabatur.* Ibid. p. 79.

† *Cum funis esset brevis . . . dimittens se deorsum adire, ubi sibi fragit, auri et argenti præ maximo pondere gravatus.* Ibidem.

The king of England, Edward II., born in the midst of his father's triumphs, and presented to the Welsh as about to become the realization of their Arthur, was, nevertheless, ever beaten. In France, he allowed Guyenne to be encroached upon, and promised to pay homage for it. In England, he was ill-used by Robert Bruce; but he prosecuted him in the papal court. He had inquired of the pope whether he might, without sin, rub his body with a marvellous oil, which inspired courage. His wife despised him; but he loved not women, and consoled himself for his mishaps with handsome youths. By way of reprisal, the queen threw herself into the arms of the earl of Mortimer. His barons, who detested their king's minions, first put out of the way the brilliant Gaveston, a bold Gascon and skilful knight, who amused himself with unhorsing in tournaments the most dignified lords and noblest barons. Spencer, Gaveston's successor, was no less hated.

As England found itself disarmed by these dissensions, the king of France took advantage of the opportunity, and seized the Agenous.\* Isabel came over to France, with her young son, to enter her protest, she said; but it was against her husband that she protested. Charles-le-Bel, not choosing to embark in her name in so hazardous a business as an invasion of England, forbade his knights to espouse her party;† and even gave out that he intended to arrest her and send her back to her husband;‡

\* See *Le Différent entre la France et l'Angleterre sous Charles-le-Bel*, par M. de Brequigny. The quarrel, which first arose about the possession of a petty fief, quickly became a most serious matter through Edward's own weakness and the audacity of his officers. While Edward made excuses for his delay in doing homage, and begged the French king to stay the French incursions on his domains, the English officers in Guyenne dismantled the disputed fortress, and held to ransom the grand master of the cross-bowmen of France, who had sought satisfaction for the insult. Edward hastened to disavow these acts to Charles; and at the same time, ordered all persons to assist Raoul Basset, the author of the insult to the French king. But he was thrust from the prospect of war, and degraded Raoul. His officers, left without support, were to give satisfaction to Charles-le-Bel, who did not stop on so fair a road. Edward's ambassadors wrote him word, that it was openly said in the French court, "That they would no longer put up with parchment and lip-service only, as before." Edward, who at first had applied to the pope and made some preparations, grew alarmed at the storm which threatened to disturb his pleasures. He gave full powers to arrange the business, and dispatched to Charles a Frenchman, named Raoul, along with his plenipotentiary. The king hearkened to the Frenchman, dismissed the Englishman, and marched his troops into Guyenne. Agens, after having waited for no couriers in vain from the earl of Kent, opened its gates to him. New ambassadors arrived from England. All the answer they received was, "That they should allow the king of France to take possession of the rest of Gascony, without opposition, and that Edward should prevent himself before him. Then, if he (Edward) sought justice from him, he should have good justice and speed; if he sought favour from him, he (Charles) would do as seemed good to him."

† . . . "At which many knights were exceedingly angry . . . and said that gold and silver had come in great quantities from England." Froissart, ed. Ducier, l. 38.

‡ "He (Robert of Artois) was also informed, that the king was not averse to the seizure of the person of the queen, her son Edward, the earl of Kent, and Sir Roger Mortimer, and to their being delivered into the hands of the king of England and Sir Hugh Spencer. He therefore rose in the middle of the night, to inform the queen of the plot she was in." Froissart, l. l. c. viii.

(Wherever it is not signified to the contrary, the sub-

Take a true son of Philippe-le-Bel's, he did not give her an army; but he gave her money to get one. This money was supplied by the Bardi, bankers of Florence. On the other hand, the French monarch sent troops into Guyenne, to put down, he said, some Gascon adventurers.

The count of Hainault gave his daughter in marriage to Isabella's youngest son; and the count's brother took upon himself to head the small troop which she had raised. A great force would but have injured her cause, by alarming the English. Edward was disarmed, and given up beforehand. He sent his fleet against her, which took care to avoid a meeting. He dispatched Robert de Wateville with troops, who went over to her. He implored the men of London, who prudently replied, "That it was their privilege not to leave their city for war; that they would not admit strangers, but should welcome the king, the queen, and the prince royal." Not less prudently did the churchmen deport themselves towards the queen on her arrival. The archbishop of Canterbury preached on the text, "The people's voice is God's voice." The bishop of Hereford took for his, "*Caput meum dolens*," (It is my head pains me,) while he of Oxford chose the text from Genesis, "I will put enmity between thee and the woman. She shall crush thy head," a homedial prophecy, which was verified.

Meanwhile, the queen was advancing with her son, and her small band. She came in the character of an unfortunate wife, who only seeks to separate her husband from the evil counselors who are hurrying him to ruin. Her grief and wo-begone appearance inspired universal pity, and all took her side. She soon had Edward and Spencer in her grasp. When this man, whom she hated with such deadly hate, was brought before her, she fasted her eyes on the sight; and then had him undergo, before the window of her palace, obscene mutilations previously to his execution.

At the moment, she durst not go further. She took alarm, felt the pulse of the people, and exposed her husband. She wept, but acted while weeping. Nothing seemed to be done by her, but by the hand of justice, and in regular form. The crownist sat on Edward's head; this stopped all. Three counts, two barons, two bishops, and the clerk to the parliament, William Trussel, repaired to the castle of Kenilworth, and gave the prisoner to understand that if he did not quickly resign the crown, he would gain nothing by it, but rather risk his son's losing the throne, as the

people might proceed to choose a king out of the royal family. Edward wept, fainted away, and ended by resigning. Then, the clerk drew up and pronounced the formula, which has been preserved as a good precedent:—"I, William Trussel, clerk to the parliament, in the name of all the people of England, resume the homage which I had paid to thee, Edward. From this time forward, I defy thee, and deprive thee of all royal power. Hereafter, I no longer obey thee as king."

Edward thought that he was sure of life at least; no king had yet been murdered. His wife still kept up her cajolements. She wrote tenderly to him, and sent him rich dresses.† However, a deposed king is very embarrassing. At any moment he might be released from confinement. In their anxiety, Isabella and Mortimer consulted the bishop of Hereford, but could draw from him only the equivocal reply—" *Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est.*"‡ This was an answer, and no answer at all. According to the placing of the comma, this doubtful oracle might be so read as to signify life or death. Their interpretation was, death. Fear was killing the queen, so long as her husband lived. A new governor was set over the king's prison—John Maltravers, a sinister name; but its owner was worse.

Maltravers made his prisoner long taste the terrors of death; mocking him for some days, perhaps in the hope that he would kill himself. He was shaved with cold water, crowned with straw; and, finally, as he permitted to live, they threw him down under a heavy door, and keeping him forcibly in this position, impaled him with a red-hot spit. The iron was said to have been passed into his bowels through a tunnel of horn, so as to leave no external marks. The corpse was laid out for public inspection, honorably buried, and a mass founded for the repose of his soul. There was no trace of violence; but his cries had been heard, and the contraction of his face denounced the horrible invention of his assassins.¶

Philippe-le-Bel did not profit by this revolution. He died almost at the same time as Edward, leaving only a daughter, so that he was succeeded by a cousin of his. All that fine family of princes who had sat near their father at the council of Vienne was extinct. In the popular belief, the curses of Boniface had taken effect.

\* Washington, p. 125. *Thron de la Mort* pp. 600, 601.

† *Mortimer's documents et lettres* (hand entries, Wal. v. p. 100, 101). She appeared almost distracted when seen in letters of the news of her husband's deposition. At the same time so large a dowry was assigned her that we may think of the king as married to her royal son." p. 125, 127.

‡ Like the Delphic responses, this may be read two ways, or even in many other ways. The good is best slaying Edward, or I fear not, to slay Edward's good. Thron, l. c. v.

¶ *Ipsa penetravit sub cutis pondere dentis ne esset gravit, cum talibus impudentibus, et per hoc omnia in malitiam ignem vult in viscera sua.* Ibid.

entries to Froissart are made to the edition in 2 vols. 8vo. p. 13, 14, 15. *William Smith* (First street). *Illustrations* n. 1.

\* *Ann. p. 100, 101. Wal. v. p. 125. Washington, l. c. p. 125.*

† *Thron de la Mort*. The coronation service at which was the only means of curing the body was cutting off the head.

‡ See the revolting details in Froissart, b. i. c. 12.

## BOOK THE SIXTH.

## CHAPTER I.

ENGLAND. PHILIP OF VALOIS, A. D. 1328-1349.

THIS memorable epoch, which depresses England so low, and, in proportion, raises France so high, presents, nevertheless, in the two countries two analogous events. In England, the barons have overthrown Edward II. In France, the feudal party places on the throne the feudal branch of the Valois.

The young king of England, Philippe-le-Bel's grandson by his mother's side, first entering a protest, proceeds to do homage at Amiens. But humbled England, nevertheless, contains within herself those elements of success which are soon to give her the superiority over France.

Intimately connected with Flanders, the new English government holds out a welcome to foreigners, and renews the commercial privileges which Edward I. had granted to merchants of all countries. On the contrary, France can take no share in the new movement of commerce. One word as to this great revolution, which, alone, explains the succeeding events. The secret of the battles of Creci and of Poitiers lies in the counting-houses of the merchants of London, Bordeaux, and Bruges.

In 1291 the Holy Land is lost, the age of the crusades over. In 1298, the Venetian, Marco Paolo, the Christopher Columbus of Asia,\* dictates the relation of his travels, and of a twenty years' sojourn in China and Japan.† For the first time, Europe learns that twelve months' journey beyond Jerusalem, there exist kingdoms and well-ordered cities. Jerusalem is no longer the centre of the world, or of human thought. Europe loses the Holy Land, but sees the earth.

In 1321, there appears the first work on political and commercial economy, the *Secreta Fidei-lum Crucis*‡ of the Venetian Sanuto—an old

\* Like Columbus, he had his gun-axe; but Columbus's return put an end to all doubts, while they began with Paolo's return. His Latin translator appeals in confirmation of his veracity to Paolo's father and uncle, the companions of his travels.

† Marco Paolo, when a prisoner at Genoa, dictated to the countenance of Columbus the work which fired him to his travels.

‡ *The Secreta Fidei-lum Crucis, or the Book of the Cross.* In the first part, our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen. In the year 1321, I, the son and son of our lord the pope, and pre-destined to two worlds on the recovery of the Holy Land, safety of the faithful; one bound in red, the other in blue.

At the same time I brought under his notice four physical maps, one of the Mediterranean Sea, another

title, but new idea. The author proposes, not a crusade, but rather a commercial and maritime blockade of Egypt. The subject is fantastically treated,\* and the transition from religious ideas to those of trade awkwardly managed. The Venetian, whose aim, perhaps, was to restore to Venice the traffic she had lost by the return of the Greeks to Constantinople, begins by accumulating all the sacred texts which stimulate the good Christian to the recovery of Jerusalem; then gives a regular list of the spices, as pepper, incense, ginger, of which the Holy Land is the entrepôt; names the provisions, and quotes them article by article; and calculates with admirable precision the expenses of transport,† &c.

The world, in fact, is commencing a great crusade, but of a thoroughly new kind. Less poetic than the first, it does not go in quest of the Holy Land, of the Graal, or of the empire of Trebizond. If we stop a vessel at sea, we shall no longer find a younger son of France

of the land and sea, the third of the Holy Land, the fourth of Egypt." At the end of Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*.

\* The reason which he gives for his dividing his book into three parts in honor of the Holy Trinity is, that there are three principal things to be looked for in the re-establishment of the health of the body—the preparatory step, the medicine, and good regimen:—"Parititer autem solis opus ad honorem Sancte Trinitatis in tres libros. Nam scilicet infirmanti corpori . . . tria imperit curamus: primum, solum ad primum dispositionem; . . . secundum, regimen medicinarum que morbum expellat; . . . tertium, ad conservandum sanitatem debitum vite regimen. . . . Sic conformiter continet liber primus dispositionem quasi solum," &c. *Secreta Fidei-lum Crucis, apud Bongars, p. 1.*

† He demonstrates the superiority of the route by Egypt over that by Syria. Then he proposes against the sultan of Egypt, not a crusade, but a simple blockade. Ten galleys will be sufficient. He determines, with a foresight altogether modern, the men, money, and provisions required. The fleet is to be got ready at Venice. He says, that the Venetian seamen alone can safely navigate the low shores of Egypt, which resemble their own lagoons, (pp. 31, 2.)

He does not stipulate for a Venetian admiral, but connects himself with saying, that he ought to be on good terms with the Venetians, in order to act in concert with them, (p. 65.) The blockade will effect the ruin of the sultan, and, consequently, of the Mohammedan world, of which Egypt is the heart. "It is essential," he plainly says, "either that aid be sent to Egypt be completely prevented, or that it be thrown so thoroughly open that all may go, return, and trade freely through the sultan's territories; and on the latter alternative, that the thought of recovering the Holy Land be entirely given up."—"But, it may be said, if the sultan should divert the Nile from the Mohammedans to the Red Sea? The thing is impossible; and, if it could be effected, Egypt would be ruined and become a desert. The sultan reduced, the fortresses on the Egyptian coast will become a sure asylum for the Christian nations, just as the lagoons of the Adriatic were for the Venetians, which throughout the tempests of the Galle, African, and Lombard invasions, and that of Attila, have remained inviolable." (Part iii. c. 2.) The allusion in these last words is to the recent fears, with which the Mongol invasions had impaled all Christendom.







literally to devour the land. But, in return, they are conquered by the fruits and wines. Their princes die of indigestion; their armies of dysentery.

Read, after this, Froissart, that Walter Scott of the middle age; follow him in his never-ending tales of adventures and feats of arms. Gaze in our museums on the heavy and brilliant suits of armor of the fourteenth century. . . . Do they not look like the spoils of Renaud or of Roland? . . . However, these strong corslets, these moving fortresses of steel, do most honor to the prudence of those who gilded themselves up in them. . . . Whenever war becomes a trade and traffic, the weight of defensive arms ever thus increases. The merchants of Carthage and of Palmyra went into battle similarly equipped.\*

Such is the strange character of this period, at once warlike and mercantile. Its history is episode and tale—a romance of Arthur and lance of ~~romance~~. The whole epoch is double, and squinting. Contrasts prevail: prose and poetry in all directions give one another the lie, and rally each other. The two centuries which intervene between the dreams of Dante and those of Shakespeare, themselves produce the effect of a dream. It is *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, in which the poet brings together at pleasant handier sitment and heroes, and where the noble Theseus figures by the side of jomier Bottom, whose fine ass's ears turn Titania's head.

While the young Edward makes a sorry beginning of his reign by doing homage to France, Philippe of Valois commences his with a flourish of trumpets. Feudal himself, son of the feudal Charles of Valois, and springing from the branch of the royal house, friendly to the barons, he is supported by them. Yet had these very barons and Charles of Valois himself maintained woman's right to the succession on the death of Louis Hutin, and had wished the crown treated as a feminine fief, to pass by marriage into different families, and so remain weak. They forgot this policy when the claim of males to the succession placed on the throne one of themselves, the son of their leader, Charles of Valois. They regret on his correcting the unjust and violent acts of the preceding reigns, for instance, on his restoring Flanders, Comte and Artois to those who had so long vainly laid claim to them. Robert of Artois, thinking his cause gained, contributed powerfully to the elevation of Philippe.

At last, the new king displayed great complaisance towards the barons. He began by freeing them from the obligation of paying their debts. In token of a gracious accession

L'un grand coutel d'acier, le miens corps s'achira,  
 Et mon âme perdue, et le frans perçura.  
 Et quant le mors l'eurent mortellement en pensa,  
 Il dist : « Certes n'est nuls plus ne vouera.  
 Et les uns en portis, le zune en meugra  
 Adonc quant ce lui fut, le mors s'apareilla,  
 Et lui gher les neis, le mors entra.  
 Et puis d'acier chevalier aveques lui mena.  
 Et le mors en Anvers, le mors ne s'arresta.  
 Quant ce eut saut veu, le mors devint,  
 Et par son frans gherca le mors s'ouvrit.  
 Et le mors d'acier mort quant ce li en place,  
 Le mors traqua. D'une main ven s'enquist,  
 A saque son tout, et le mors perdonne en *En-STA*,  
 Et le mors tout chevalier d'acier s'en courra,  
 Et le mors perdue le mors pour le mors se tra.  
 Adonc port le mors de saque p' d'acier

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

<sup>9</sup> *Id.* at 211, n. 10 (quoting *Id.* at 208).

\* The Carthage was in port at Port-au-Prince, Haiti, on 12-1-59. The Carthage was the only ship reported on May 12-59. The Carthage was the only ship reported on May 12-59.

' This is a record that there was a customer, among many



In the midst of this feudal pomp, which delighted the barons, they had soon reason to surmise that the son of their friend, Charles of Valois, would be no otherwise king than were the sons of Philippe-le-Bel. The first act of this chivalrous reign was an ignoble process; and the royal castle soon became a record-office where handwritings were compared and forgeries detected. This process aimed at no less than the ruin and dishonor of one of the great barons, of a prince of the blood, of the very man who had most contributed to Philippe's elevation, of his cousin and brother-in-law, Robert of Artois. This process revealed what was most of all humiliating to the great barons, one of their number a forger and sorcerer: two crimes which characterize the age. But, until now, they had not been attached to the name of knight, or been detected in one of his rank.

Robert complained that for twenty-six years he had been supplanted in the possession of Artois by Mahaut, (Matilda,) his father's youngest sister, and wife of the count of Burgundy. Philippe-le-Bel had supported the claim\* of Mahaut and of her two daughters, the wives of his sons, and who had brought them the magnificent dowers of Artois and Franche-Comte. On the demise of Louis Hutin, Robert, taking advantage of the reaction in favor of feudalism, threw himself upon Artois. But he was compelled to let go his hold. Philippe-le-Long marched against him. He therefore waited until all Philippe-le-Bel's sons should be dead, and a son of Charles of Valois mount the throne, in which last event none had a greater share than Robert†. In his gratitude, Philippe of Valois gave him the command of the vanguard in the Flemish campaign, and erected his county of Beaumont-le-Roger into a peerage. His wife was the king's sister, Jane of Valois, who could not be content with being countess of Beaumont, and hoped that her brother would restore Artois to her husband. She maintained that the king would do justice to Robert, if he could produce any new document in his favor, *no matter how small*.‡

Warned of the danger, the countess Mahaut hastened to Paris, but died almost on her arrival. Her rights devolved on her daughter, Philippe-le-Long's widow. She too died, three months after her mother §. The only competi-

tor now left to contest the prize with Robert, was the duke of Burgundy, the husband of Jane, Philippe-le-Long's daughter, and granddaughter of Mahaut. The duke himself was the king's wife's brother. He was allowed to take possession of the county by Philippe, who, however, reserved to Robert the right of bringing forward his claims.\*

Robert lacked neither documents nor witnesses. The countess Mahaut's chief counselor had been the bishop of Arras. He died, leaving large property; and the countess brought an action of recovery against the bishop's mistress, a certain dame Divion, whose husband was a knight,† and with whom she fled to Paris. Scarcely had she arrived before Jane of Valois, who knew her to be acquainted with all the bishop's secrets, pressed her to deliver up whatever papers she might have in her possession—and she even asserted that the princess threatened her with drowning or burning.‡ Having no papers, she fabricated some—first, a letter from the bishop asking Robert's forgiveness for his having purloined the title-deeds; and then, a charter of Robert's grandfather, securing Artois to his father. These, and other documents to back them, were hastily forged by a clerk of Divion's, and she attached old seals to them §. She had taken care to get from the abbey of St. Denis the names of the peers at the time of the supposititious deeds;||

pen who had lived with the countess, her mother. . . . As soon as the queen's name was on her bed she was seized with the pangs of death, and quickly gave up the ghost, and the poison gushed out of her eyes, her mouth, her nose, her ears, and her body was covered with white and black spots." *Chron. de Flandre*, 164 p. 100.

\* Having been given to understand that at the treaty of marriage between Philippe of Artois and Blanche of Britany . . . of the which treaty there were two letters ratified by Philippe le Fort . . . and registered in our register office, the which letters, since the said count's decease, have been abstracted by our dear cousin, Mahaut d'Artois, &c." 122 p. 101.

† *Quand on mout et mouta de Flandre, que fuerat M. Theobald, comte de Flandre, Episc. de Arras*, p. 40.

‡ The princess, she stated, even threatened her in the name of the king. "I have sought to advise you, she said, by representing to him that you have none of the said letters, but he answered that he would have you burnt if you did not give him some." 164 p. 100.

§ La Divion had been dispatched to Artois expressly to procure the count's seal. After some search she found one in the hands of a woman of Bourgne. Upon the square-eyed, married, and married, the handsome Divion. He asked her to lend him the seal. Not having the sum she offered him, he was obliged to take home on which her husband had pointed at Artois. Divion refused, and then with her husband's eyes, she placed in his hands a piece of wax, and two or three pieces of paper, and two or three seals of gold and silver, and seven hundred and two. . . . *Chron. de Flandre*, 164 p. 100. Then she took a seal from a letter which had been sealed by the count of Flandre, and by a cunning trick put her seal on great removed from this letter and placed it on the new. . . . And Jeanne and Marie, servants of the said Divion, who used this Marie to bring the countess and Jeanne, saying, 164 p. 100. *Ensemble de Mort de Robert*. La Divion avowed that she and the countess had sealed the same with the said three seals, and with the said seal. 164 p. 101.

|| Mahaut, sister of king Philippe, was obliged to write to his brother, the duke of Burgundy, to give him the seal of the countess of Artois, which she had taken from the countess of Artois, which he was obliged to give for the marriage of Jeanne d'Artois with the Duke of Brabant. 164 p. 101.

\* A decree of the court of France, delivered in 1419, gave to Robert the choice of Robert and of his brothers as he wished, and ordered that the said Robert should have the county of Artois, with its appurtenances, and the countess should have the county of Robert as her good and lawful wife.

† *Chron. de Flandre*, 164 p. 100. The countess of Flanders went so far as to say that the king had said that the barons were to be allowed to take the king's life, but however the king was not allowed to do so, and the king's life was saved. . . . *Chron. de Flandre*, 164 p. 100. The king's life was saved, and the king's life was saved. . . . *Chron. de Flandre*, 164 p. 100.

‡ *Chron. de Flandre*, 164 p. 100. The countess of Flanders went so far as to say that the king had said that the barons were to be allowed to take the king's life, but however the king was not allowed to do so, and the king's life was saved. . . . *Chron. de Flandre*, 164 p. 100.

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his transport, and to the archbishop of Canterbury words of comfort, and of flattery for the people.—"We acknowledge with grief that the people of our kingdom have hitherto been oppressed by various burdens, tallages, and impositions. The necessity of our affairs hinders us from relieving them. Let your grace, then, preserve this people in benignity, humility, patience," &c.\*

The king of France is far from having as many details to attend to. War for him is still a feudal business. The barons of the South obtain from him restitution of the right of private war, and a promise to respect their justices.† But, at the same time, the nobles desire to be paid for serving the king. These haughty barons hold out their hands for bounty-money. The knight banneret is to have twenty sous a day, the knight ten, &c.‡ This was the worst of systems, a system at once feudal and mercenary, and which united the inconveniences of both.

While the English king renews the commercial charter which secures liberty of trade to foreign merchants, the French monarch orders the Lombards to come to his fairs in Champagne, and takes it upon him to turn the route they are to follow.§

The English set out full of hope, (A. D. 1238.) They felt themselves to be summoned by an Christendom. Their friends in Flanders promised them powerful assistance. The barons were well inclined towards them, and Artaveld answered for the three great cities. The English, who have always believed that money can overcome every thing, spared no charge for an armed profession from the moment they landed.¶ They were as lavish of gold and of silver, as if it were rained on them from the clouds, paying handsome jewels to the lords, nobles, and gentlemen, to requite their good will and favour, and their behavior was such, that they were beloved by those of both sexes, and even by the common people, to whom they gave nothing, but who were pleased with their state and magnificence.‡

What our knight felt the admiration felt by the Frenchers for the great English king, Edward, found them more hesitating than he expected. At first, the barons possessed their consciences to control him, but as soon as it was known that the most powerful among them, the count of Barreuz, should be the first to do homage, he asked for time, and

at last consented. Then, they stated that they wanted for only one thing more in order to declare themselves—namely, that the emperor should defy the king of France, since, they said, we are in reality subjects of the empire. And, indeed, the emperor had only too good cause for war, Philippe having invaded the Cambresis, a fief of the empire.\*

Lewis of Bavaria, the emperor, had other, and more personal motives for declaring himself. Persecuted by the French popes, he talked of nothing less than of proceeding to Avignon with an army, to force the pope to grant him absolution. Edward sought conference with him at the diet of Coblenz. In this great assembly, where were present three archbishops, four dukes, thirty-seven counts, and a crowd of barons, the Englishman learned to his cost what German pride and slowness were.

At first, the emperor was desirous of granting him the favor of kissing his feet. Before this supreme judge, the king of England presented himself as the accuser of Philippe of Valois. The emperor, the globe in one hand, the sceptre in the other, while a knight held over his head a naked sword, defied the king of France, declared him to have forfeited the protection of the empire, and graciously conferred on Edward his diploma as imperial viceroy on the left bank of the Rhine. This was all that the Englishman could get out of him, for the emperor pondered, felt scruples, and instead of involving himself in a hazardous war with France, turned his steps towards Italy. Here, however, Philippe of Valois met the passage of the Alps barred against him by a son of the king of Bosnia.†

Returning with his diploma, the English king implored the duke of Brabant where he could show it to the barons of the Low Countries. The duke, taken upon the little town of Herken, a position on the frontiers of Brabant, as the place of meeting. "When all were met, know that the town was filled to crowding with lords, knights, pages, and all manner of people, and the town-hall, where were sold bread and flesh of little worth, was hung with rich and fine clothes, like to the private chamber of the king, and the English king was seated, with a rich and noble downward gown, his head two feet higher than the rest of the company, on a butcher's bench, where he seated his eldest and his next. Never had we a more magnificent sight."‡

While all the lords were doing homage on this butcher's bench to the new vicar imperial, the duke of Brabant told the king of France entreated to believe nothing that might be said against him. When Lewis touched Philippe by his name, and in the name of the barons, the duke declared that he preferred sending his de-

\* *Chron. de France*, p. 119.  
† *Chron. de France*, p. 120.  
‡ *Chron. de France*, p. 121.  
§ *Chron. de France*, p. 122.  
¶ *Chron. de France*, p. 123.  
‡ *Chron. de France*, p. 124.  
\* *Chron. de France*, p. 125.  
† *Chron. de France*, p. 126.  
‡ *Chron. de France*, p. 127.

\* *Chron. de France*, p. 128.

† *Chron. de France*, p. 129.

‡ *Chron. de France*, p. 130.



fiance apart; and, in short, when Edward prayed him to follow him to Cambrai, he confined himself to promising that as soon as he should hear that Edward had sat down before that city, he would join him with twelve hundred good lances.

During winter, the German and Low Country barons were tampered with by French gold; and they became the more inactive. Edward could not put them in motion until the September of the year following, (A. D. 1339.) Cambrai was better defended than had been supposed. The season was advanced; Edward raised the siege, and entered France. But, when on the frontier, the count of Hainault declared that he could not follow him beyond it; that holding fiefs both of the empire and of France, he would willingly serve on the imperial territory; but that as soon as he was on the French soil, he must obey the king as his suzerain, and that he should straightway go and join him against the English.\*

Amidst these tribulations, Edward advanced slowly towards the Oise, ravaging the whole country, and keeping together with difficulty his discontented and starving allies. He required a victory to indemnify him for so much expense and so many disgusts; and, for a moment, thought that he was on the point of coming to a pitched battle. The French king appeared in person, near La Capelle, at the head of a fine army:—"There were eleven score and seven banners," says Froissart, "five hundred and sixty pennons, four kings, six dukes, thirty-six earls, upwards of four thousand knights, and more than sixty thousand common men. With Philippe de Valois, king of France, were the kings of Bohemia, of Navarre, and of Scotland; the dukes of Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy, Bourbon, Lorraine, and Athens; the earls of Alençon, (the king's brother,) of Flanders, Hainault, Blois, Bar, Forets, Foix, Armagnac, the earl dauphin of Auvergne, &c., and from Gascony and Languedoc so many earls and viscounts that it would take up too much time to name them. It was a fine sight to see the banners and pennons flying in the plain, the barbed horses, the knights and esquires richly armed." The French king himself demanded battle; and Edward had only to fix, for the 2d of October, on the ground—a fine plain, without wood, marsh, or river, to advantage either party.

On the day fixed, when Edward, already "mounted on an ambling palfrey, and attended only by Sir Robert d'Artois, Sir Reginald Cobham, and Sir Walter Manny, rode along the line of his army, and right sweetly entreated the lords and their companions, that they would aid him to preserve his honor"—the French bethought themselves, says the chronicler of St. Denys,† that it was Friday, and then that

there was some unfavorable ground to be got over between the two armies. According to Froissart, "the French were of contrary opinions among themselves, and each spoke out his thoughts. Some said it would be a great shame, and very blameable, if the king did not give battle when he saw his enemies so near him, and drawn up in his own kingdom in battle array, in order to fight with him according to his promise: others said it would exhibit a singular instance of madness to fight, as they were not certain that some treachery was not intended; besides, if fortune should be unfavorable, the king would run a great risk of losing his kingdom; and if he should conquer his enemies, he would not be the nearer to gain possession of England, or of the land of the allies. Thus the day passed until near twelve o'clock in disputes and debates. About noon a hare was started in the plain, and ran among the French army, who began to make a great shouting and noise, which caused those in the rear to imagine the combat was begun in the front, and many put on their helmets, and made ready their swords. Several new knights were made, especially by the earl of Hainault, who knighted fourteen, and they were ever after called *knights of the hare*. . . . In the midst of the debates of the council of the king of France, letters were brought to the king from Robert king of Sicily, a very great astrologer . . . he had often cast the nativities of the kings of France and England, and had found, by his astrology and the influence of the stars, that, if the king of France fought with the king of England in person, he would surely be defeated; in consequence of which, he, as a wise king, and much fearing the danger and peril of his cousin the king of France, had sent long before letters, most earnestly to request king Philippe and his council never to give battle to the English when king Edward should be there in person."<sup>6</sup>

This unlucky expedition had exhausted Edward's finances; and he was advised by his friends, who were exceedingly disheartened, to apply to those rich communes of Flanders, which could do more for him, of themselves alone, than the whole empire. After taking a long time to deliberate, the Flemings answered that their conscience would not allow them to declare war against the French king, their suzerain, and their scruple was the more natural, as they had engaged to forfeit two millions of florins to the pope, if they attacked the king of France. For this, Artaveld found a remedy. In order to set them at ease, both as regarded their conscience and their money, he bethought himself of making the king of England, *king of France*.† Edward, who had just accepted the title of Imperial Vicar, in order to gain over the barons of the Low Countries, suffered himself to be made king of France, in order to

\* c. 38.

m. de St. Denys, c. xvii. Froissart, vol. I. c. 42.

\* Id. *Ibid.*

† Id. vol. I. c. 42.









up. The rumor ran that through him, Flemish gold was finding its way to England. No one greeted him. He hurried to his hotel, and, from his window, in vain endeavored to convince the multitude. The doors were forced; and Artaveld was slain precisely as the tribune Rienzi was two years afterwards at Rome.\*

\* "When on his return he came to Ghent about mid-day, the townsmen, who were informed of the hour he was expected, had assembled in the street he was to pass through; as soon as they saw him, they began to murmur, and put their heads close together, saying, 'Here comes one who is too much the master, and wants to order in Flanders according to his will and pleasure, which must not be longer borne.' With this they had also spread a rumor through the town, that Jacob von Artaveld had collected all the revenues of Flanders, for nine years and more, that he had usurped the government without rendering a return, that for he did not allow any of the rents to pass to the earl of Flanders, but kept them securely to maintain his own state; and had, during the time above mentioned, received all fines and forfeitures, of this great treasure he had sent part into England. This information inflamed those of Ghent with rage, and, as he was riding up the streets, he perceived that there was something in agitation against him, for those who were wont to salute him very respectfully, now turned their backs, and went into their houses. He began therefore to suspect all was not as usual, and as soon as he had dismounted and entered his hotel, he ordered the doors and windows to be shut and fastened.

"Scarcely had his servants done this, when the street which he inhabited was filled from one end to the other with all sorts of people, but especially by the lowest of the mechanics. His mansion was surrounded on every side, and broken into by force. Those within did all they could to defend it, and killed and wounded many, but it cost them could not hold out against such vigorous attacks, for three parts of the town were there. When Jacob von Artaveld saw what efforts were making and how hardly he was pushed, he came to a window, and, with his head uncovered, began to use humble and true language, saying, 'My good people, what avenge you? Why are you so enraged against me? by what means can I have incurred your displeasure? Tell me, and I will conform myself entirely to your wills.' Those who had heard him made answer, as with one voice, 'We want to have an account of the great treasures you have made away with, without any title or reason.' Artaveld replied in a soft tone, 'Gentlemen, be assured that I have never taken any thing from the treasures of Flanders, and if you will return quietly to your homes, and come here to-morrow morning, I will be prepared to give so good an account of them that you must reasonably be satisfied.' But they cried out, 'No, no, we must have it directly; you shall not thus escape from us, for we know that you have emptied the treasury, and sent it into England, without our knowledge; you therefore shall suffer death.' When he heard this, he clasped his hands together, began to weep bitterly, and said, 'Gentlemen, such as I am, you yourselves have made me; you formerly swore you would protect me against all the world; and now, with out any reason, you want to murder me! You are certainly masters to do if you please; for I am but one man against you.' 'Think better of it for the love of God,' cried some former times, and consider how many favors and kindresses I have conferred on you. You wish to give me a name, recompense for all the great services you have experienced at my hands. You are not ignorant that when a countess was dead in this country, it was I who restored it. I afterwards governed you as a peaceable man, so that under my administration you had all the goods according to your wishes, corn, cattle, riches, and all sorts of merchandise which have made you so wealthy.' They began to shout out, 'Come down and do not speak to us from such a height; for we will have an account and satisfaction of the great treasures of Flanders, which you have governed us with, without rendering a return; and if it is not proper for any officer to force us to this, we will do it of our own accord, without accounting for them.' When Jacob von Artaveld saw that he could not appease or calm them, he shut the window, and intended getting out of his house by the back way, to take shelter in a church; but he had not gone far, when a great multitude of four hundred were there, coming out for him. As yet he was not met by them, and slon without money, his death stroke was given him by a soldier, a weaver,\* called Thomas Iseya. In this manner did Jacob von Artaveld end his

Edward had missed Flanders, as well as Brittany. His attacks on the two wings having failed, he directed one against the centre; and this, guided by a Norman, Godefroi d'Harcourt, was much more fatal to France.

Philippe de Valois had collected all his forces into one great army, in order to recover from the English their conquests in the south. And, indeed, this army, which is said to have numbered a hundred thousand men, recovered Angoulême, and then sat down to spend itself before the insignificant town of Aiguillon, where the English defended themselves all the more stoutly from the conduct of the king's son, who commanded the French, in having given no quarter to the other places he had taken.

According to Froissart's improbable account, the king of England had set out to succor Guyenne; when, driven back by contrary winds, he lent an ear to the counsels of Godefroi d'Harcourt, who prevailed on him to attack Normandy, which happened to be without defence.\*

The advice was only too good. The whole country was unarmed; and this was the work of the kings themselves, who had prohibited private wars. The people, busied with agricultural or mechanical employments, had become altogether pacific. Peace had borne its fruits; and the flourishing and prosperous state in which the English found the country, should induce us to make large deductions from what historians say against the administration of the crown in the fourteenth century.

One's heart bleeds to see in Froissart the savage apparition of war in a peaceful country, already rich and industrious, and whose progress was about to be stopped for centuries. Edward's mercenary army, with its Welsh and Irish plunderers, burst into the midst of a defenceless population. They found sheep in the pastures, the barns full, the towns open.† The

days, who in his time had been complete master of Flanders. Poor men first raised him, and rich men slew him." Froissart, b. i. c. 115.

"When they embarked, the weather was so favorable, that the king could wish to carry him to Gascony; but on the third day, the wind was so contrary, that they were driven upon the coasts of Genoa. During this time the king altered his mind with respect to going towards Gascony, through the advice and representations of Sir Godfrey de Harcourt, who convinced him that it would be more for his interest to land in Normandy, by such words as these, 'See that place is one of the most fertile in the world.'

"You will find in Normandy rich towns and handsome castles, without any means of defence, and your people will gain wealth enough to suffer them for twenty years to come." Froissart, b. i. c. 120.

"The king proceeded through the Cotentin. It was no wonder that the people of the country were terrified and astonished, since they had never seen men at arms, and knew not what war or battle meant. They fled before the English as long as they heard speak of them." Froissart, b. i. c. 122.

"He made Sir Godfrey march on, and the whole army marched under his guidance, because he was well acquainted with every part of Normandy. They found there corn, rich and good pastures, and a large number of towns, castles, and every sort of riches, and the houses with riches; the inhabitants at the same time having cattle, horses, swine, sheep, and every thing in abundance which the country afforded." Froissart, b. i. c. 121.







The English king, who surveyed the battle from an eminence near a windmill, perceived that the French were on the point of being overpowered.\* Some had got entangled in the first confusion, among the Genoese; others, after cutting their way to the heart of the English army, found themselves surrounded. The heavy armor, which began to be worn about this time, would not admit of a knight's rising, when once he was down. The Welsh and Cornish dagmen (couteillers) flung themselves on the unhorsed knights, and slew them with their knives without mercy, no matter how highly born. Philippe de Valois was a witness of this butchery. His horse was slain under him. He had no more than sixty men around him, but could not be torn from the field of battle. The English, astonished at their victory, did not budge a step; otherwise they would have taken him. At last Jean de Hainaut (John of Hainaut) seized his horse by the bridle and drew him off.

On the English reviewing the field of battle and numbering the dead, they found amongst the slain, eleven princes, eighty lords-banneret, twelve hundred knights, and thirty thousand common men. While they were numbering the dead, there came up the commons of Rouen and Beauvais, and then the troops of the archbishop of Rouen, and of the grand prior of France. These poor people, who knew nothing of the battle, came to swell the number of the dead.†

This overwhelming blow only led the way to a greater. The Englishman settled in France. The seaports of England, exasperated by the depredations of our Calais corsairs, furnished Edward with a fleet. Dover, Bristol, Winchester, Shoreham, Sandwich, Weymouth, and Plymouth, fitted out each from twenty to thirty vessels; and Yarmouth alone forty-three.‡ The English merchants, who were being ruined by this war, had made a last and a prodigious effort to become masters of the strait. Edward proceeded to lay siege to Calais, and fixed himself there as at a post where he would live or die. After the sacrifices which had been made for this expedition, he could not face his commons until he had brought it to a successful issue. "He built between Calais and the river and bridge, houses of wood: they were laid

out in streets, and thatched with straw or broom; and in this town of the king's there was every thing necessary for an army, beside a market-place, where there were markets every Wednesday and Saturday, for butcher's meat, and all other sorts of merchandise: cloth, bread, and every thing else which came from England and Flanders, might be had there, as well as comforts, for money."<sup>§</sup>

The Englishman, well posted, and in the enjoyment of plenty, left these outside and inside of the town to do what they liked, he would not give them the chance of a battle. He preferred starving them out. Five hundred persons, men, women, and children, put out of the town by the governor, died of cold and hunger between it and the camp: such, at least, is the statement of the English historians.†

Edward had struck root before Calais. Even the pope's mediation could not tear him away. Word was brought him that the Scots were on the point of invading England. He did not stir. His perseverance had its reward. He soon heard that his troops, encouraged by his queen, had made the king of the Scots prisoner. The following year, Charles of Main was also taken, while besieging Roche-de-Rien. Edward might fold his arms; fortune labored for him.

There was great and urgent necessity for the French king to relieve Calais.‡ But so great was his penury, and so inert and embarrassed his semi-feudal government, that he could not put himself in motion until the siege had gone on for ten months, and the English had fortified and even intrenched themselves with palisades and deep ditches. Having picked up a little money by an alteration in the coinage,§ by the gabelle, by the ecclesiastical tenths, and by the confiscation of the property of the Lombards, he at last set out with a large, cumbersome army, like that which had been defeated at Crécy. The only road to Calais was through marishes, or across the downs. To take the first was to perish, for the passes had either been broken up or were strongly guarded; nevertheless, the men of Tournay bravely carried a tower, without machine, and by the strength of their arms.¶

\* "He built it," says Froissart, "as if he were to dwell there ten or twelve years, and it was his intention to live in it winter and summer, until he had reduced the town." Froissart, II. p. 365, ed. Buchan.

† Knyghton, De Event. Ang. I. iv.—On the contrary, Froissart says that he "allowed them to pass in safety, ordered them a hearty dinner, and gave to each two shillings, as charity and alms." b. I. c. 124.

‡ The English having given chase to two vessels that attempted to slip out of the harbor, intercepted a letter from the governor to Philippe de Valois, in which was the following passage:—"We are agreed, that if we are not quickly relieved, we will sail forth to live or die, for we prefer honorable death in the field to eating one another." Froissart, II. p. 444, note, ed. Buchan.—The Countess of Nangis states, that Philippe had continually tried to steal in provisions, both by land and sea, but that they had been intercepted, p. 109.

§ Ord. II. pp. 254.

¶ When the French hill of Sangatte, there is

\* "King Edward then came down from his post, who all that day had not put on his helmet. . . ." Id. *ibid.* c. 130.

† "There were slain in this fight in the open fields, under hedges and bushes, upwards of seven thousand. . . . In the course of the morning, the English rode forth seeking adventures, and found many Frenchmen who had lost their road on the Saturday, and had lain in the open fields, not knowing what was become of the king, or their own leaders. The English put to the sword all they met; and it has been assured to me for fact, that of foot soldiers, sent from the cities, towns, and municipalities, there were slain, this Sunday morning, four times as many as in the battle of Saturday." Id. *ibid.*

‡ Some towns of the interior likewise contributed, but in very different proportion. The powerful city of York led one vessel and nine men. Anderson's *Annals of Scotland*, vol. I. p. 222.

their quarters on the  
which might amount to

On the side of Boulogne, the downs were commanded by the fire of an English fleet; on that of Gravelines, they were guarded by the Flemings, whom the king could not gain over. He offered them mountains of gold, to give them up Lille, Bethune, and Douai; he offered to enrich their burgomasters, and to make their young men knights and barons.\* Nothing touched them. They were in too great dread of the return of their count, who, after a false reconciliation, had again just escaped out of their hands.† Philippe could do nothing. He negotiated, he sent defiance. Edward remained quiet.‡

The despair of the starving townsmen was fearful, when they saw these numerous French banners and this vast army on the retreat, and deserting them. They were in too great dread only to give themselves to the enemy, if he would have them. But the English hated them with a deadly hate, both as seamen and corsairs.§ To comprehend the excess of irritation arising from the daily hostilities of such a neighborhood, from the sidelong look of detestation which the two coasts cast on each other, one must read the deeds and exploits of Jean Bart, the lamentable demolition of the port of Dunkirk, and the closing of the docks of Antwerp.

It was probable enough that the king of England, who was sick of his long detention before Calais, having remained there a year, and who, in a single campaign, had spent the sum, enormous at the time, of nearly ten millions of our

money, would do himself the pleasure of putting all the inhabitants to the sword, and which, certainly, would have been highly satisfactory to the English merchants. But Edward's knights told him plainly that if he treated the besieged thus, his own men would not dare in future to sustain a siege for fear of reprisals. He gave way, and promised to spare the city, provided some of the principal citizens would come, according to custom, to present him with the keys, bare-headed, bare-footed, and ropes round their necks.

There was danger for those who should first appear before the king. But these men of the coast, who daily brave the wrath of ocean, fear not that of man. Out of this small town, depopulated by famine, six men instantly and cheerfully stepped forward to save the rest. As many or more will any day risk themselves, in tempestuous weather, to save a vessel in danger. This great action, I feel sure, was performed as a thing of course, and not with grief, tears, and long speeches, as the canon Froissart imagines.\*

It required, however, the prayers of the queen and of his knights, to restrain Edward from hanging these brave men. No doubt it was suggested to him that they had fought for their town and trade, rather than for king or kingdom. He reaped the town with English, admitting, nevertheless, many of the old Calesians, who turned English; among others, Eustache de Saint-Pierre, the leader of the heroic six who brought him the keys of the city.†

These keys were those of France. Calais,

about fifteen hundred men, right cheerfully advanced to wards this tower. The garrison shot at them, and wounded some, at which the men of Tournay waded wroth, crossed the ditches, and fell with pikes and bare fury on those English. The argument when they reached the foot of the tower was very sharp, and many of the Tournaymen were killed and wounded. But, in the end, the tower was taken and thrown down and all that were within it put to the sword. The Frenchmen accounted this one of the bravest actions performed.† Froissart, vol. i. b. i. c. 144.

\* He allowed to have the interest which had been lent on Flanders removed to keep up a supply of corn in the country for six years at a very low price, to import wool from France with the exclusive privilege of selling in France the cloths made from such wool as long as they could supply them. See Robert of Avesbury, p. 153.

† To constrain him to marry the English king's daughter, the Flemings led him in courteous restraint. He was wearied of confinement, he missed it, and was allowed to go out under good guard. One day that he went haunting by the river he threw off his falcon robe after it, and when at some distance struck upon his horse, and sought refuge in France.† Froissart, p. 640 ed. Buchon.

‡ Froissart says that the king, coming to the relief of Edward sent a challenge to Philip, in which the latter refused Edward, on the contrary sides, in a letter to the archbishop of York, that he had accepted the challenge, and that the reason the combat did not take place was Philippe's private departure before the day, after having set fire to his camp. Id. ibid. p. 642.

§ A. Plantagenet, who must have been well acquainted with French affairs through the Flemings and Lombards merchants, expressly says that Edward had promised on his going the Tournaymen to give them the town, which was taken by the English, of see. A. Plant. 12. c. 25. M. B. 1. c. 12. has suggested, and even cited the accounts of the different historians, from which it is to be seen that Edward, by the M. B. 1. c. 12. was not the security of Antwerp, but the return.

\* See, as far as I am aware, has left the full import of the passage just quoted from Villain.

\* This, perhaps, is the reason that the contemporary historians do not give the names of Eustache de Saint Pierre and his companions, when they relate the circumstance — "Burgenses precelestent cum sumis formis habentes tunc singuli in manibus suis in signum quod rex eis iniquum superdiderit vel salvat ad voluntatem suam." The burgesses walked in like fashion, each having a cord in his hands, in sign that the king might have or spare them at his pleasure. Knighton. Thomas de la More's account agrees with that of this writer. A. Plant. says that they came both naked to their shirts, and Robert of Avesbury that Edward contented himself with retaining the most considerable of them prisoners. These details altogether constitute the elements of Froissart's dramatic narrative.

† Froissart's words are: They sent out of the town all ranks of people great and little. All the French were not driven forth," says M. de Bequigny. (Mém. de l'Acad. 1. 37.) On the contrary, I have seen numerous French names among those to whom Edward granted houses in his new conquest, and Eustache de St. Pierre was of the number. His letters of the 21st October 1347, two months after the surrender of Calais, Edward grants Eustache a considerable pension until such time as he shall be able to provide for himself more amply. The reasons for this favor are the services he is to render, either in maintaining good order in Calais, or providing for the security of the town. By other letters of the same date, he is put in possession of most of the houses and holdings that formerly belonged to him, with the addition of some others. See Froissart, p. 672. ed. Buchon. Philippe did all that lay in his power to remunerate the inhabitants of Calais. He granted all to rent offices, to purchase the 21st month after the surrender, to those who chose to accept them. In this and other respects, it is made to another by which he had bestowed on these Calaisians who had been expelled from the city all goods and herbage that should in any way accrue to him. (See on the 10th of the same month he grants them no serious privileges and franchises. See confirmed under our preceding reigns. Note by M. Buchon, ibid. p. 673.)

turned English, was, for two centuries, a gate opened to the stranger. England was, as it were, rejoined to the continent. The straits had disappeared.

Let us retrace these sad events, and search their true results: it will afford some comfort.

The battle of Crécy is not merely a battle, the taking of Calais is not simply the taking of a town,—these two events involve a great social revolution. The entire chivalry of the most chivalrous nation in the world had been exterminated by a small band of foot-soldiers. The victories of the Swiss over the Austrian cavalry at Morgarten and Laupen were analogous; but they had not the same important effect, they did not cause the same vibration throughout Christendom. A new system of tactics arose out of a new state of society, and which was the work neither of genius nor of reflection. Edward was neither a Gustavus Adolphus, nor a Frederick. For lack of cavalry he had employed infantry. In his first expeditions, his armies had consisted of men-at-arms, of nobles, and of their followers. But the nobles had become wearied of these long campaigns. A feudal army could not be kept together such a length of time. With all their liking for emigration, the English, nevertheless, love home. The baron required to return after a few months' service to his *baronial hall*, to revisit his woods and dogs, and indulge in the fox-hunt.\* The mercenary soldier, so long as he was paid, and shodless, and stockless, like the Irish and Welsh whom Edward took into his pay, did not set his heart on return, but heartily followed up a good war which fed and clothed him, not to speak of filling his purse. The foregoing will account for the English army's consisting almost wholly of a mercenary infantry.

The battle of Crécy revealed a secret unsuspected by all: the powerlessness, in a military point of view, of those feudal warriors, who had believed themselves the whole warlike world. No private wars of the barons, or of canton with canton, during the primitive isolation of the middle ages, could teach the lesson; in the sixteenth century, men were conquered by gentlemen only. Their reputation had not been damaged by two centuries of defeat during the crusades. An Christendom was interested in concealing from itself the advantages gained by the mercenaries. Besides, the wars with them took place at such a distance, that there was even some excuse ready to account for reverses, and all was redeemed by the heroism of a Geoffrey or a Richard. In the thirteenth century, when the feudal banners were wont to fly over the royal standard to the field, when so many baronial counts united to form one army, and went beyond all the fictions of

romance, the nobles, as their power waxed in pride; lowered in themselves, they felt exalted in their king. They valued themselves in proportion as they shared in the honours and profits. He who won most applause in the tourney, deemed himself, and was deemed by others, the most valiant in battle. Flourishes of trumpets, the approving countenance of royalty, and favoring glances from brigades, intoxicated the brain more than real victory. So overpowering was this intoxication, that they suffered Philippe-le-Bel to destroy his brothers, the Templars—usually, the younger sons of noble houses—without a word of remonstrance. They held these knightly deeds just as cheap as they did the other modes of priests. Their aid was ever ready for the monarch against the pope. The nobles had a good share of the tithes that were exacted from the clergy, under cover of a crusade of some other pretext.† The time, however, was approaching, when the noble, after having helped the monarch to fleece the priest, was to take his own turn.

An palliation of their defeat at Courtrai, the nobles alleged their heroic thoughtlessness, and the fosse which stood the Flemings in the stead; and their reputation was restored by the two easy massacres of Mons-en-Picardie and Cassel. For many years they accused the king of keeping them from victories. At Crécy, they might have conquered their king; all the chivalry of the kingdom was then collected, every banner given to the wind with its haughty blazon,—lion, eagle, tower, bezant, and the crusades, and all the proud symbolism of heraldry. There stood before them,—three thousand men-at-arms excepted—only the footed English commons, rude Welsh mountaineers, and Irish swineherds; reckless, and savage races; ignorant alike of French, English, or the laws of chivalry. Their blows at the noble banners were not less true; and they but slew the more. There was no touch of common between the combatants, in whom to sue for quarter. The Welshman or Irishman did not understand the dismounted banner whose offered ransom would have cured him for life—he answered with his knife.

Despite the romantic bravery of John of Bohemia, and of many another, the royal banners were on that day besmudged. They have been dragged in the dust, not by the

\* "In those days," c. n. 1306, our lord the king, with consent of the pope, levied tithes from the churches, and innumerable sums of money were raised on all these prelates; but in truth, the more that was thus exacted, the poorer grew our lord the king. The money was used to maintain a numerous and noble soldiery, for the defence of the throne and country, but it was not judiciously wasted on idle shows, games, and what is called revels." Cont. n. G. de Norg. c. p. lxx.

† Of the thirty-two thousand men of whom Edward's army consisted, Froissart expressly says that there were only fourteen thousand English, four thousand new recruits, and ten thousand archers. The others gathered there, and were Welsh and Irish, twelve thousand Welsh, and six thousand Irish.

See Froissart, c. lxxv. c. lxxvi. by no means a modern character. See also Froissart, book iv. c. 3, the description of the king's entry into Paris.

gauntleted hand of the noble, but by the horny fist of the peasant, was a stain not easily washed out. From that day, worship of the nobility met with more than one unbeliever; armorial symbolism lost all its effect. Men began to doubt whether the lions could bite, or the silken embroidered dragons vomit fire and flame. The Swiss and the Welsh cow seemed quite as good arms to bear as any other.

For the people to be aware of all this required much time and many defeats. Nor Crecy, nor Poitiers was enough. That reprobation of the nobles which found bold utterance after the battle of Agincourt, is still mute and respectful in Philippe de Valois' day. There is neither complaint nor revolt; but suffering, languor, torpor under misery. There is little hope upon earth, little elsewhere. Faith is shaken; feudalism, that second faith, still more so. The middle age lived in two ideas, the emperor and the pope. The empire falls into the hands of a servant of the French king's; the pope sinks, from Rome down to Avignon, into the valet of a king—thus king extinguished, and his nobility humbled.

No one said these things, or, indeed, clearly perceived them. Human thought was not so much shocked as discouraged, beaten down, extinguished. Men longed for the end of the world; some fixed this end for the year 1365. And what was left but to die!

#### THE BLACK PLAGUE.

Epochs of moral depression are those, too, of great mortality. This is inevitable; and it is man's glory that it is so. He suffers life to pass away as soon as it ceases to appear grand and divine to him. *Vita prope perit per se invisa.* In the last years of Philippe de Valois' reign, the depopulation was rapid. The misery and physical suffering which prevailed were insufficient to account for it, for they had not reached the extreme at which they subsequently arrived. Yet, to adduce but one instance, the population of a single town, Narbonne, fell off in the space of four or five years from the year 1339, by five hundred families.\*

Upon this too tardy denunciation of the human race followed extermination, the great *Black plague*, or *pestilence*, which at once heaped up mountains of dead throughout Christendom. It began in Provence, in the year 1347, on All Saints' Day, continued sixteen months, and carried off two-thirds of the inhabitants. The same wholesale destruction befell Languedoc. At Montpellier, out of twelve consuls, ten died. At Narbonne, thirty thousand persons perished. In several places, there remained

only a tithe of the inhabitants.\* All that the careless Froissart says of this fearful visitation, and that only incidentally, is—"For at this time there prevailed throughout the world generally a disease called epidemic, which destroyed a third of its inhabitants."

This pestilence did not break out in the north of the kingdom until August, 1348, where it first showed itself at Paris and St. Denys. So fearful were its ravages at Paris, that, according to some, eight hundred, according to others, five hundred, daily sank under it.† "There was," says the continuator of Nangis, "a fearful mortality of men and women, and still more of the young than the old, in such numbers that one could hardly bury them. They were seldom more than two or three days sick, being struck, as it were, in the midst of health by death. He who was to-day well, the next was borne to his grave. A swelling would suddenly rise in the groin or under the arm-pits; it was an infallible sign of death. They fell sick, and died through force of the imagination, and through contagion. The visitor of a sick person rarely escaped death. So, in many towns, great and small, the priests fled, leaving to the bolder monks the office of administering to the sick. The holy sisters of the Hotel Dieu, casting aside all fear of death and human considerations, of their sweetness and humility would touch and handle the sick. As fast as they were cut off, others of the sisterhood took their place, and they rest, we must piously believe, in Christ's peace.‡

"As there was neither famine at the time nor want of food, but, on the contrary, great abundance, this plague was said to proceed from infection of the air and of the springs. The Jews were again charged with this, and the people cruelly fell upon them, especially in Germany, and they were slain, massacred, and burnt indiscriminately."§

The plague found Germany in one of her gloomiest fits of mysticism. The greater number of the population had long been without the consolation of the sacraments of the church. To please the king of France, our popes of Avignon had coldly and lightly plunged Germany into despair. All the countries which acknowledged the title of Lewis of Bavaria, had been put under interdict. Many cities, Strasburg in particular, remained faithful to their emperor, even after his death, and knew no remission of the pontifical sentence. They heard no mass, received no viaticum. The plague carried off in Strasburg sixteen thousand persons, all of whom believed them.

\* Hist. p. 267.

† Froissart, *de Nangis*, p. 110, and the contemporary French text of the latter chronicler, St. Denis, MS. C. 100, folio N. 110. Hist. Reg. A. 14, folio 100, and MS. C. 100, folio 110. Froissart, *de Nangis*, p. 110, and the contemporary French text of the latter chronicler, St. Denis, MS. C. 100, folio N. 110, and MS. C. 100, folio 110.

‡ Froissart, *de Nangis*, p. 110.

§ Ibid.

¶ See, among other works, a remarkable treatise by M.

\* Nangis says that the worst attack was to be made it April, 1348, and that it was made it. We have seen, however, that the plague broke out in the south of France, and that it was not until August, 1348, that it reached the north. The number of deaths has been estimated by five hundred, in a city of 100,000, and has been reduced to 100,000. See D. Valart, *Hist. de Lang.* (1710), p. 121.

selves lost to all eternity. At length, the Dominicans, who had persisted in officiating for some time, departed like the rest. Three men only, three mystics, paid no attention to the interdiction, and remained to console the dying,—the Dominican, Tauler, the Austin friar, Thomas of Strasburg, and the Carthusian, Ludolph. This was the flourishing period of the mystics. Ludolph wrote his *Life of Christ*; Tauler his *Imitation of the Poor Life of Jesus*; Suso his book of the *Nine Rocks*. The great Tauler himself went to consult, in the forest of Soigne, near Louvain, the aged Ruysbroek, the *ecstatic doctor*.

But among the people at large, ecstasy was fury. Abandoned as they were by the church, and filled with contempt for the priests,\* they did without sacraments, substituting for them bloody mortifications and frantic processions. The whole population of a place would set out, they knew not whither, as if urged by the breath of the Divine vengeance. They wore red crosses, and would scourge themselves, half naked, in the public places, with whips whose lashes were pointed with iron, and singing canticles unheard before.† They remained in each

town they came to only a day and a night, and scourged themselves twice a day. When they had gone on in this fashion thirty-three and a half, they believed themselves to be as pure as on the day of baptism.\*

The flagellants proceeded first from Germany into the Low Countries. Then the plague reached France through Flanders and Picardy, passing no further than Reims. The pope denounced them; and the king gave the word to fall upon them. Nevertheless, by Christmas, 1349, they amounted to nearly eight hundred thousand,‡ and these not from among the people only, but including gentlemen and ladies. Noble dames hastened to follow the example.

There were no flagellants in Italy. The sombre enthusiasm of Germany and of Northern France, that war declared against the deities, forms a strong contrast with the picture which Boccaccio has left us of Italian manners at the same epoch.

The prologue to the Decameron is the principal historic evidence we possess with regard to the great plague of 1348. Boccaccio asserts that at Florence alone, a hundred thousand perished. The contagion spread with terrible rapidity. "I have seen," he says, "two hogs in the street shake with their tusks the rags of a dead body; a short hour afterwards, they turned, and turned, and fell—they were dead. Friends no longer bore the coffin."

England escaped this calamity. It was deluged from the month of June to December with almost incessant rains. In the first week of August the plague made its appearance at Dorchester; in November it reached London, and thence gradually proceeded to the north of the island. . . . When historians tell us that one half, or one third, of the human race perished, we may suspect them of exaggeration; but it is easy to form some idea of the mortality. The fact, that all the cemeteries in London were so full, that Sir Walter Manny purchased for a public burial place a field of thirteen acres, where the Charter-house now stands; and that the bodies deposited in it during seven weeks, amounted to the daily average of two hundred; it is observed, that though the malds assailed the English in Ireland, it spared the natives. The Scots too were exempt for several months; and the circumstance afforded them a subject of triumph over their enemies, and introduced among them a popular oath, 'by the foul death of the English.' They had even assembled an army to invade the neighbouring counties, when the contagion insinuated itself into their camp in the forest of Selkirk: five thousand died before they disbanded their forces, and the fugitives carried with them the infection into the most distant recesses of Scotland.

. . . . "A colony of flagellants reached England and landed in London to the amount of one hundred and twenty men and women. Each day at the appointed hour they assembled, ranged themselves in two lines, and moved slowly through the streets, scourging their naked shoulders, and chanting a sacred hymn. At a known signal all, with the exception of the host, threw themselves flat on the ground. He, as he passed by his companions, gave each a lash, and then also lay down. The others followed in succession till every individual in his turn had received a stroke from the whole brotherhood. The citizens gazed in amazement, pity and commended; but they ventured no further. Their faith was too weak, or their feelings were too sensitive, and they allowed the strangers to monopolize to themselves their novel and extraordinary grace. The foreigners made not a single proselyte, and were compelled to return home, with the barren satisfaction of having done their duty in the face of an unbelieving generation."—*Transactions.*

\* MS. des Chroniques de St. Denys, quoted by M. Mazure.

† Ibid.

‡ Contin. G. de Nangis, li. III.

Schmidt, of Strasburg, on the mystics of the fourteenth century.

\* Johannes Vitorianus, p. 49, ap. Gieseler, li. 2, p. 65.

† Novitque inventas. Contin. G. de Nangis, li. 1. A very remarkable canticle, which the Brothers of the Cross were accustomed to sing during their ceremonies, has been published by M. Mazure, bookseller, of Poitiers. The following is a specimen:—

"Or ayant, entre nous tous freres  
Battons nos charognes bien fort  
En remembrant le grant misere  
De Dieu et sa piteuse mort.  
Qui fut pris en le gent misere  
Et vendus et trais a tort  
Et battu sa char verge et clere  
Au nom de dieu, battons plus fort, &c."

(Now on, brothers all together, let us strenuously lay it on our carnally carcases, remembering the great misery of God and his piteous death, who was taken by the hard-hearted ree, and sold and dragged to death, and his pure and fair flesh scourged. . . . In his name, let us lay it on harder, &c.)

Dr. Langard gives the following free version of the above stanzas:

"Through love of man the Saviour came,  
Through love of man he died.  
He suffered with reproach, and shame,  
Was scourged and crucified.  
Oh! think then on thy Saviour's pain,  
And lash thy carcase, lash again."

This canticle is cited by M. Levesque in his *Histoire des cinq Levesques*, li. 1, pp. 530, 531.—Lord Hailes dates the ravages of this plague in 1190, observing:—"The great pestilence, which had so long desolated the continent, reached Scotland. The historians of all countries speak with horror of this pestilence. It took a wider range and proved more destructive than any calamity of that nature known in the annals of mankind."—Burnes, pp. 428-441, has collected the accounts given of this pestilence by many historians, and he has, unknowingly, furnished material for a new source of misery into the population of Europe in the fourteenth century.

The plague, says Contin. G. de Nangis, li. 1, p. 46, "We first discovered the contagion in Sicily; thence we may trace its progress among different countries of Asia to the Delta and the Nile, whence it was transported into Greece. Greece was invaded from which it swept the coasts of the Aegean Sea, and crossed the bar. . . . The plague, a succession of earthquakes, took the continent of Europe from Calabria to the island, ushered in the fatal year 1348; and though

on their shoulders to the church indicated on the death-bed. Poor porters, wretched undertakers' men, hurried off the body to the nearest church. Many died in the streets; others, left alone in their houses—but the fact of their death was known by the smell. Often, husband and wife, son and father, were laid on the same bier. Large ditches had been dug, in which the corpses were heaped by hundreds, like bales in a ship's hold. Each carried in his hands strong smelling herbs. The air stank with the dead and dying, or with infectious drugs. Alas! how many fine houses remained empty! how many fortunes without heirs! how many lovely ladies, how many amiable young persons died in the morning with their friends, who, when evening came, supped with their ancestors!"\*

There runs throughout Boccaccio's whole narrative a something more sickening than the tale of death—the icy egotism which is openly confessed in it. "Many," he says, "shut themselves up, lived temperately on the choicest aliments and best wines, avoiding all news of the progress of the pestilence, and diverting themselves with music and other amusements; with, however, complete moderation. Others, however, maintained that the glass, the song, and reckless jollity, were the only medicines; and they acted up to what they preached, for they went about, day and night, from house to house, and this the more easily, since all, despairing of life, grew careless of this world's goods as well as of themselves, and their houses were open to all. The authority of all laws, divine and human, was utterly gone, for there were none to enforce them. It was the cruel, perhaps, all the more prudent idea of some, that the only remedy was flight. Thinking of themselves alone, they deserted their city, house, and relatives, and plunged into the country, as if God's wrath could not be beforehand with them.† The denizens of the country, expecting death and regardless of the future, strove and racked their ingenuity to consume all they had. The cattle, asses, goats, nay, the very dogs wandered around, roaming over the teeming fields, and, like rational beings, returned of their own accord, when they had satisfied themselves, each evening contented to their homes.‡ In the city, relations ceased to visit. Fear had struck such root in the human heart, that the sister deserted the brother, the wife the husband; and, almost incredible, parents shunned attendance on their children. The innumerable sick had no other dependence than the pity of their friends, (and friends were few,) or the avarice of the domestics, the latter being

mostly of coarse unfeeling minds, unaccustomed to a sick bed, and only fit to give notice when the sufferer had breathed his last. From this universal desertion there resulted a thing hitherto unheard of—to wit, that a sick female, no matter how lovely, noble, or distinguished she might be, did not hesitate to accept the services of a man, even of a young man, or to expose herself, if constrained by the necessities of disease, just as she would have done to a woman,—and the character of those who recovered under such circumstances was, it is not unlikely, deteriorated."\*

Boccaccio, both as regards good-natured malice as well as recklessness, is Froissart's own brother. But in the foregoing, the storyteller tells more than the historian. By its form even, its transition from the tragic to the witty, the Decameron images but too clearly the selfish indulgences which accompany great calamities.† His prologue conducts us through the funeral vestibule of the plague of Florence to the delightful gardens of Pampinea, and that life of laughter, of the *far niente*, and of calculating oblivion of all around, led by his tale-tellers at the side of their mistresses, by rule and on hygienic principles. Machiavel, in his account of the pestilence of 1527, treats his subject with still less reserve. In none of his writings does the author of "The Prince" appear to me more coldly fiendish. He takes love and the compliments of gallantry into a church, hung with black, where his characters meet with surprise, as if from another world, congratulate each other on their still being flesh and blood, and plunge into revelry. Here, death is the go-between.

According to the continuator of Guillaume de Nangis, "the survivors, men and women, married in crowds, and the births were in excess. Not one woman who survived proved sterile. Pregnant women were met with at every town, and two or three children at a birth were common."‡

As occurs after every great scourge,—after the plague of Marseilles—after the Reign of Terror, men felt a savage joy in life, and madened for heirs. § The king, widowed and a free man, was going to marry his son to his cousin Blanche, but when he saw the young girl, he thought her too lovely for his son, and kept her for himself. ¶ He was fifty-eight years of age, she eighteen. The son married a widow

\* *Ibid.* c. 1. *En face de mortelle crainte* . . . *egotisme*.

† Thus, it does not differ but the same effect on his account of the plague of Africa. He says, "she was the remarkable pregnant, which was common before the plague, but the inter-pretation given to the words of the article 'lack, hunger, for heads' just once."

‡ But what a curious instance is it that the world should have been after the plague, more and more fertile, when the cause is the opposite of breeding, had in general only two to three children, and in the worst districts, whereas previously thirty and more were common. Cf. *Contes de la Nouvelle France*.

§ *Matteo Valenti ap. Muratori, cit. p. 22*  
¶ *Ibid.* *ibid.* *ibid.* p. 22.

\* *« Che più la sera seguente appresso nell' altro mondo cenarono col loro parente. »* G. Boccaccio, *Decameron*, *Primo*.

† *Matteo Valenti blames those who thus withdrew.* Ap. *Muratori, cit. p. 14*.

‡ *Le note alle lor case, senza alcuno corteggiamento di parente, si tornavano molti.* *Ibid.* *ibid.*

of four-and-twenty, the heiress of Boulogne and of Auvergne, and who brought him, together with the guardianship of her infant son, the government of the two Burgundies. The kingdom was suffering, but its bounds extended. The king had just bought Montpellier and Dauphiny.\* The king's grandson married the duke of Bourbon's daughter, and the count of Flanders the duke of Brabant's. Nuptials and fetes thronged upon each other.

These fetes derived a fantastic brilliancy from the new fashions which had been for some years introduced into France and England. The courtiers, perhaps for the sake of greater contrast to the *knights-at-law*, the men of the long robe, had taken to close-fitting garments, often parti-colored; and these, with their hair tied up *en queue*, their bushy beards, and shoes with long turned-up points,† gave them a whimsical appearance, something like a devil or a scorpion. The women loaded their heads with an enormous mitre, from the summit of which ribbons floated in the air like the streamers from the head of a mast. They disdained the use of a palfrey, and must be mounted on spirited couriers. They wore two daggers at their girdle. The church vainly denounced these profane and immodest fashions. The severe chronicler denounces them in rough terms: "They (the men) began," he says, "to wear a long beard, and short robes, so short as to show their breech. All this gave rise to no small derision among the people. As the event proved, they were in a much fitter state to race from the enemy."‡

The ceremonies announced others. The world was about to change factors as well as dress. These fetes in the midst of miseries, these nuptials, hurried on the morrow of the plague, were to have their obsequies as well. The aged Philippe de Valois soon drooped away by the side of his young queen, and left the crown to his son, (A. D. 1350.)

## CHAPTER II.

JOHN.—THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.—A. D. 1350-1356.

AVIGNON, other celebrated personages, the presence of 1348 carried off the historian John Villani, and the beautiful Laura de Sade, who, living and dead, was the object of Petrarch's love.

The younger sister of Messire Aubert, syndic of the town of Nîmes near Avignon, had married

ried Hugues de Sades, of an ancient noble family of this city. She lived twenty years at Avignon with her husband, by whom she had twelve children. It was, undoubtedly, a serious and faithful union, this beautiful family being in a town so obnoxious to the charge of immorality as Avignon, which touched Petrarch's heart. She appeared to the young Petrarch in exile for the first time, on the 6th of April, 1327, or Good Friday, in church, and, probably, with her husband and children on her side. From that moment, this noble and youthful matronly grace was ever present to his eyes.

Let not the little I have to say of a French woman who made so lasting an impression on the greatest poet of the age, be objected to as a digression. The history of man is above all, that of woman. We have space of Heloise and of Beatrice. Laura is not, like Heloise, a loving and self-sacrificing woman. She is not Dante's Beatrice, in whom the good prevails, and who is at last lost in eternal beauty. She does not die young; she has not the glorious transfiguration of death. She knows her destiny on earth. She is wife, mother, and aged; yet is still adored.\* So true, so disinterested a passion at this epoch of gross sensuality, was deserving of the perpetuity it has gained among the most tender remembrances of the fourteenth century. We love to desery, in these deathly times, a true soul, a true and pure affection which endures a passion that endured thirty years. We grow young again when contemplating this true and immortal youth of the soul.

He saw her for the last time in September, 1347. It was in the midst of a circle of females. She was serious and pensive, with a pearl or chaplet. Dread of contagion kept her around. The poet withdrew, full of emotion, to restrain his tears. . . . In the course of the following year he heard of her death at Verona, and wrote the touching note which is still to be read in his Virgil, and in which he observes that she died in the same month of the same day, and at the same hour on which he had first beheld her twenty years before.

\* "It was not the form I so loved, as the more she waxed in years . . . the deeper grew her worship; and if the spring flower visibly drooped as it went on, the graces of her mind improved." . . . A later period, he seems to have recognised the vanity of his love. "How often hast thou not . . . in this city, where I will not term the cause, but the occasion of my woes, after thanking myself whole once more . . . walking through the well known no globerous, and now rise to the more aspect of the well known spots of former seasons, suddenly stopped, stupefied, and with a sigh retired from tears. Then, the old wounds opened, and fast flowing to thy side I laid in my heart the wounds of my ancient enemy, death hovers here." . . . 1347. Alphon, p. 304, ed. Brunet, 1814.—See also some of the works relative to Petrarch, the Metamorphoses of the Laura de Sades, the Virgils of Petrarch, and M. Fossati's excellent article in the *Biographie Universelle*.

† Laura, illustrious by her own virtues, and the theme of my song first appeared to my eyes, in my spring of life, the 6th of April, the first hour of the day, (on the morning,) in St. Clara's church, Avignon, in the year 1327.

\* Petrarch, *Œuvres complètes*, t. VII. Hist. du Dauphiny, Preface, p. 10.

† Guichard, *Œuvres complètes*, t. II, p. 118. Legend, vol. I, p. 118.

‡ *Annales de la France*, t. III, p. 103. Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 103.





lable asylum, begirt by the sea, was at the time the only spot to which the pious hand of the poet could with safety intrust, in his dying hour, the erring gods of antiquity.

This duty fulfilled, he went to warm his aged veins for a time in the sun of Arqua. Here he died in his library, his head resting on a book.\*

These vain regrets, this obstinate fidelity to the past, which led the poet all his life in pursuit of shadows, and tempted him credulously to hope in tribune and in emperor, are not Petrarch's weakness alone, but that of the age. France herself, which seems to have so roughly repudiated the middle age by sacrificing the Templars and Boniface, turns back to it in her own despoil, and hardens herself in her belief. The defeat of the feudal armies, and the great lesson taught by the battle of Crécy, which should have opened her eyes to the fact that another world had begun, only serve to awaken her regrets for her mounted knights. She learns nothing from the English archers. She understands not the modern genius which dashed her to the ground at Crécy with Edward's artillery.

Philippe de Valois' son, king Jean, is the king of gentlemen. More chivalrous still, and more luckless than his father, he takes for his model the blind John of Bohemia, who fought, fastened to his horse, at Crécy. Not less blind than his model, king Jean, at the battle of Poitiers, dismounted from his horse in order to receive the charge of horsemen. But he had not the happiness to be killed, like John of Bohemia.

On his accession, Jean, to please the barons, issued an ordinance, empowering them to defer the payment of their debts.† He created a new order for them, that of the Star; which offered a place of retreat to its members, and might be styled the *Invalides* of chivalry. A sumptuous mansion, destined to this purpose, was begun in the plain of St. Denys, but was never finished.‡ The members of the order swore never to give ground four acres' length, except as dead or prisoners. And prisoners they became.

This chivalrous prince signalizes his accession by brutally slaying, on mere suspicion, the constable d'Eu, his father's chief adviser, and

throws every thing into the hands of a favorite. a Southern, a cunning, grasping man, Charles d'Espagne, for whom he had "a disheated affection."<sup>\*</sup> This favorite is made constable, and procures, besides, a county belonging to the young king of Navarre, Charles, whom Jean had already stripped of Champagne.† Charles, descended from a daughter of Louis Hutin's, believed himself, like Edward III., wronged of the crown of France. He assassinated the favorite, and attempted Jean's life: who threw him into prison, and made him retreat pardon on his knees.‡ This disheated man will be the demon, the evil genius, of France. His surname is, *the wicked*. Now Jean slays the constable, slays d'Harcourt, and others, besides; but he remains *Jean the good*.

By good, we must understand the confident, giddy, and lavish. No prince had lavished his people's money with such rapidity. He was about, like the man in Rabelais, eating his grapes sour, and his corn in the blade. He turned all into money, eating up the present and pledging the future. One would have said that he foresaw he had but a short time to remain in France.

His chief resource was altering the currency.§ Philippe-le-Bel, and his son, Philippe de Valois, had largely employed this form of bankruptcy; but their doings were forgotten in Jean's, who went beyond all possible royal or national bankruptcy. To read the abrupt and contradictory ordinances issued by this prince in so few years seems a dream. It is the law run mad. At his accession, the mark of silver was worth five livres, five sous; at the end of the year, eleven livres. In February, 1332, it had fallen to four livres, five sous; a year after, it was raised to twelve livres. In 1334, it was fixed at four livres, four sous; in 1335, it was worth eighteen livres. It was reduced to five livres, five sous; but the coin was so adulterated, that in 1350 it rose to the rate of a hundred and two livres.¶

\* Such, says Villani, was the common rumour, H. c. 11. p. 219.

† Charles had also to complain of the treachery of the constable, who called him *l'homme-moulin* (the miller). ‡ Froissart, append. t. III. c. 325, pp. 427-428, ed. Buchon; and Séconne, Hist. de Charles le Mauvais, t. p. 35.

§ On many of these coins the king of England was represented under the figure of a lion or a dragon, stamped upon by the king of France. Lobineau, Traité des Monnoies, pp. 943, 944.

¶ Ibid. p. 951. At first, John endeavored to keep these shameful falsifications secret. He charged the officers of the mint—"On your oath to the king, observe the profoundest secrecy as to this matter . . . so that neither the money-changers nor others may entertain any suspicion of it through you; for if it once so punished as to be an example (1330). . . . "Should you be a coin, pretend that it is six deniers; imitate the older coins scrupulously; and do not detect the being proclaimed traitors."—had used similar means—holder, and concealed his father.

\* A few days before, Boccaccio had sent him his Decamerion. The aged poet learned the *Patience Griselda* by heart—that beautiful tale which purifies the rest of the work.

† Ord. II. p. 391, (March the 30th, 1331.) and p. 447, (September.)

‡ "At this time king John appointed a fine company after the manner of the Round Table, which was to consist of three hundred noble knights, and king John covenanted to build a fine large mansion for the companions, at his own cost, at St. Denys, and the companions were to repair thither at all the solemn festivities of the year . . . the house was nearly finished, and still stands near St. Denys; and if it should chance that any of the companies should in their old age need relief, be weak of body, and wanting in worldly goods, the expenses for himself and two knaves (*varlets*) were to be well and honorably defrayed in the mansion, if he chose to remain there." Froissart, II. 53-55, ed. Buchon.

These royal bankruptcies are at bottom the spoliation of the burghesses by the nobles. The barons and noble knights lay siege to the good king, and take from him all that he takes from others. His queen Blanche obtained for her own single share the confiscation of the Lombards, and forced payment to herself of whatever was owing to them over the whole kingdom.\*

The nobility, beginning to live at a distance from their castles, and sojourning at great expense at court, became daily more rapacious. They would no longer give their service; but required to be paid for defending their lands from the ravages of the English. These haughty barons descended with a good grace to the rank of mercenaries,† appeared under arms on occasion of grand musters (*montres*, shows) and royal reviews, and held out their hands to the paymaster. Under Philippe de Valois, the knight contented himself with ten sous a day. Under Jean, he required twenty, and the knight-banneret had forty. The enormous expense thus entailed on him, forced king Jean to assemble the States oftener than any of his predecessors. So the nobles contributed, indirectly and unwittingly, to raise the States, especially the third estate, (*le tiers-état*), the State which found the money, to an importance unknown before.

As long previously as 1313, his wars had forced Philippe de Valois to ask the States to impose a duty of four deniers in the livre upon merchandise, to be paid each time of sale. This was not a duty merely, it was an intolerable tax and grievance; it was to declare war against trade. The collector pitched his tent in the market-place, played the spy on dealer and buyer, put his hand into every pocket, and demanded (as it happened in Charles the Sixth's reign) his share out of a halfpenny-worth of grass. It is this duty, which is no other than the Spanish *alcavala*, then recently imposed on occasion of the wars with the Moors, that has struck the death-blow of Spanish industry. By way of indemnification, Philippe de Valois promised to coin good money, as in the days of St. Louis.‡

With new wants come new promises. In the crisis of 1346, the king promised the States of the North to restrict the right of *prize*,

"to what would suffice for the maintenance of his hotel, of his dear companion the queen, and of his children." He suppressed some sergeants' places, abolished contradictory jurisdictions, and called in the letters allowing the barons to adjourn the payment of their debts.\* The States of the South granted him ten sous on each hearth or family, on the faith of his promise to suppress the *gabelle*, and the duty on sales.†

In 1351, Jean, on seeking from the States the customary gratification on a new king's mounting the throne, (*son droit de joyeux avènement*), received their reclamations, no matter how clashing and contradictory, with the utmost graciousness. He promised the nobles of Picardy to tolerate private wars;‡ the Norman burghesses, to interdict them.§ They both granted him six deniers on all sales. He gave the manufacturers of Troyes a monopoly of narrow cloths or *couvre-chefs*;|| and fixed the salaries which the Paris masters were to pay their workmen, and which had risen to an extravagant height through the decrease of the population and the plague.¶ The burghesses of Paris, who were consulted in person, and not through the medium of their deputies, granted in their assembly, held at their common hall, (*parleur aux bourgeois*), the duty on sales.\*\* They are summoned by the king to the *parleur*; they will soon find their way there without him.

In 1346, the king had promised reforms; and the States, believing him, had voted with the utmost docility. They got through their business in one day. In 1351, the Picard nobles refuse to allow their vassals to pay taxes, except they themselves enjoy an exemption, and except the king's vassals and those of the princes are made liable as well as their own.

In 1355, the English lay waste the South, and it behooved to ask for more money. The States of the North, or of the *langue d'Oïl*,†† convened on the 30th of November of the same year, showed little docility. It was necessary to promise them the abolition of the direct robbery called *prize*, (*droit le prize*), and of the indirect robbery committed by tampering with the currency.‡‡ The king declared that the new tax should extend to all, both clerks and nobles, and that he would himself pay it, as should the queen and the princes.

The States had no confidence in these fair words. They would neither trust the king's promise, nor his receivers. They chose to re-

alone, and of our royal right, it belongs to make such money as we please throughout our kingdom and to give it our name." (*ibid.* pp. 343-44.) And as it were not the people who suffered, he used this resource as a private revenue, which he applied to the public expenses, "which we could not well discharge without oppressing the people of the said kingdom, were it not for the domain and revenue arising to us from the profit of our mint." (*ibid.* pp. 344-45.)

\* The States of 1343 required these prosecutions to be suspended. (*ibid.* p. 30.)

† In 1329 the nobles of Langueoche complained that the wages which they had been paid during the wars of Jean were not proportioned to those which they had received in the other wars waged there. This was just at the part of the war was resumed with the English. The king granted the prayer of the petition. *Hist. de Langueoche*, iv. 226.

‡ *Id.* i. xxi. c. 1, p. 208.

\* *ibid.* ii. pp. 239-241.

† *Hist. de Langueoche* i. xxi. c. 1, p. 208.

‡ *ibid.* ii. pp. 265-157, and 447-448.

§ *ibid.* pp. 266-270.

|| *ibid.* p. 320.

¶ *ibid.* pp. 422-423-434. Letters in which the king forbade his domestics carrying off the mattresses and cushions from the houses in Paris where he shall stay." *Annales* *ibid.* pp. 435-437.

\*\* Of the *Langue d'Oïl*, or French proper, as distinguished from the *Langue d'Oc*, or Romance language.) Translation.

†† *ibid.* iii. pp. 25-26.

ceive themselves, through receivers of their own appointing, have the accounts brought before themselves, meet again on the first of March, and then a year after on St. Andrew's day.\*

To vote taxes and to receive them, is to reign. None of that day were conscious of the whole bearing of this bold demand of the States: not even Marcel, the celebrated provost of the merchants, whom we see at the head of the deputies from the towns.†

The assembly purchased this sovereignty by the enormous grant of six millions of *livres Parisis*, to go to the pay of thirty thousand men-at-arms. This sum was to be raised by two taxes; the one on salt, the other on sales: bad taxes, doubtless, and pressing on the poor; but how devise any other in a time of urgent need, and with the South a prey to the spoiler!‡

Normandy, Artois, and Picardy, sent no representatives to these States. The Normans were encouraged by the king of Navarre, the count d'Harcourt, and others, who declared that the gabelle should not be levied on their lands, saying—"That no man shall be found bold enough to enforce it in the name of the king of France, or sergeant to levy fines in default, but shall pay for his temerity with his body."§

The States gave way. They repealed the two taxes, and substituted in their stead an income tax of five per cent. on the poorest, four on those of moderate means, and two per cent. on the wealthy. The richer one was, the less one paid.

The king, mortally offended by the opposition of the king of Navarre and his friends, had said, "that he should never know happiness as long as they were alive." He started from Orleans with a few knights, rode thirty hours without drawing bridle, and surprised them in the castle of Rouen as they were sitting down to table. They were the dauphin's guests. Jean beheaded d'Harcourt and three others. The king of Navarre was thrown into prison, and threatened with death. A report was spread that they had tempted the dauphin to escape to the emperor, and make war on his father.¶

The opposition to the taxes voted by the States, laid the kingdom at the mercy of the English. The prince of Wales overran our southern provinces at his ease, with a small army, consisting this time mostly of men-at-arms and knights. The war was not carried on in a more knightly manner for it; for they burned and destroyed like brigands, who leave the

track they never mean to retrace a desert. First, they traversed Languedoc, an untouched country which had not yet suffered,\* and which they sacked and harried just as Normandy had been in 1346. They brought back to Bordeaux five thousand wagon loads of spoil.† Then, after depositing their booty in safety, they methodically resumed their cruel expedition through Rouergue, Auvergne, and the Limousin, entering everywhere without a blow being struck, burning and pillaging, loaded like pedlars, and glutted with the fruits and wines of France. They next made a descent upon Berry, and traversed the banks of the Loire. However, three knights, who had thrown themselves into Remorantin with a few men, sufficed to check their progress. They were thunderstruck at such resistance; and the prince of Wales swore he would force the place, and lost many days there.‡

King Jean, who had begun the campaign by seizing on those strongholds belonging to the king of Navarre, into which the latter might have introduced the English, at last made his appearance with a large army, as numerous as any France has lost. The whole face of the country was covered by his foragers; so that food failed the English. Each, too, was ignorant of the exact position of his enemy. Jean, believing the English to be before him, hurried after them, while he was in reality leaving them behind. Equally well informed, the prince of Wales believed the French to be behind him.§ It was the second time, and not for the last time either, that the English had blindly entangled themselves in the midst of the enemy's country. Without a miracle they were lost; and Jean's thoughtlessness served them for one.

The prince of Wales's army, half English, half Gascon, was composed of two thousand men-at-arms, four thousand archers, and two thousand *brigands*, hired in the South, light troops. Jean was at the head of the great feudal mass of the ban and arrière-ban, which made up full fifty thousand men. He had with him his four sons, twenty-six dukes or counts, and a hundred and forty knights-bannermen, with their banners given to the wind—a magnificent spectacle; but the army was not worth the more for all this.

\* "Know that this country of Cevennes, the Rhodanese, and the Toulousain, where the English were at this time, was one of the very richest countries in the world, inhabited by good and simple people who knew not what war was, for they had never been warned upon before the prince of Wales turned his steps thither." Froiss. iii. p. 123, ed. Buchon.

† "Nor did the English set any store on velvet, or on any thing save silver plate and good fustian." Id. t. ii. p. 103, 19th addit. "So was it burned and destroyed by the English, that there scarcely remained a place to stable a horse in; nor could the heirs, or the burgesses, fix or say to a certainty, 'This is my property.'—So was it treated." Id. t. iii. p. 190, ed. Buchon.

‡ He was accompanied by knights all the way.

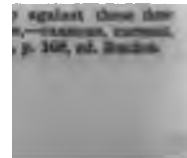
§ Id. c.

\* Ibid. p. 22, et seq.—Froiss. iii. c. 346, p. 450, ed. Buchon.

† "The citizens answered by Stephen Marcel, provost of merchants in the good town of Paris, that they were willing to live or die for the king." Froissart, b. i. c. 154, who gives a minute account of the assessment made by the States.

‡ Froiss. iii. p. 123, ed. Buchon.

§ Id. Ibid. Addit. p. 121, and c. 341, p. 457.—Édouard, Preuves de l'Hist. de Charles-le-Mauvais, li. p. 47.



Two cardinal legates, one of whom was named *Talleyrand*, interfered in order to hinder the effusion of Christian blood.\* The prince of Wales offered to surrender all he had taken, places and men, and to take an oath not to carry arms against France for seven years. Jean refused, as was natural. It would have been disgraceful to suffer these plunderers to escape. He demanded the surrender of the prince of Wales, together with a hundred knights.

The English had intrenched themselves on the hill of Manpurtuis, near Potters; a stiff hill, planted with vines, and enclosed by hedges and thickets of thorn. Its side bristled with English archers. There was no need to attack them. To keep them there was all that was wanted. Hunger and thirst would have tamed them down in two days' time. Jean thought it more chivalrous to force his enemy.

There was only one narrow path by which the hill could be scaled. The French king employed his knights on this service. The scene was almost that of the battle of Morgarten. The archers rained down their arrows, riddled the horses, terrified them, and forced them back one over the other.† The English seized the moment to sweep down.‡ A panic seized the vast army; and three of the king's sons withdrew from the field of battle by their father's orders.§ taking with them for escort a body of eight hundred lances.

The king, however, kept his ground. He had employed knights to force the mountain ; with the same good sense, he ordered his men-at-arms to dismount, to receive the charge of the English on horseback ! Jean's resistance

was as fatal to his kingdom as the retreat of his sons. His companions of the order of the Star were, like him, faithful to their vows. They did not yield one step backwards. "They fought in troops and companies, just as they came together." But the multitude fled towards Pontiers, which closed its gates against them; "upon which account, there was great butchery on the causeway before the gate, where such numbers were killed or wounded, that several surrendered themselves the moment they saw an Englishman." . . . .

The day, however, was still disputed:—"King Jean did wondrous deeds of arms with his own hand, and with his axe defended himself, and fought only too well." By his side, his youngest son, who deserved his surname of Hardi, (the hardy or bold,) directed his blind courage, crying out to him on each fresh assault, "Father, guard your right, guard your left." But their assailants thickened around them, eager for so rich a prey. "The English and Gascons poured so fast on the king's division, that they broke through the ranks by force; and the French were so intermixed with their enemies, that at times there were five men-at-arms attacking one gentleman." The press was greatest around the king, "through eagerness to take him; and those who were nearest to him, and knew him, cried out, 'Surrender yourself! Surrender yourself!' or you are a dead man." In that part of the field was a young knight from St. Omer, who was engaged by a salary in the service of the king of England, his name was Denys de Morbique, who for five years had attached himself to the English, on account of having been banished from his younger days from France for a murder committed in an affray at St. Omer. It fortunately happened for this knight that he was at the time near to the king of France, when he was so much pulled about; he, by dint of force, for he was very strong and robust, pushed through the crowd, and said to the king in good French, "Sire, sire, surrender yourself." The king, who found himself very disagreeably situated, turning to him, asked, "To whom shall I surrender myself? to whom? Where is my cousin, the prince of Wales? if I could see him, I would speak to him." "Sire," replied Sir Denys, "he is not here, but surrender yourself to me, and I will lead you to him." "Who are you?" said the king. "Sire, I am Denys de Morbique, a knight from Artois; I but I serve the king of England because I cannot belong to France, having forfeited all I possessed there." The king then gave him his right-hand glove, and said, "I surrender myself to you." There was much crowding and pushing about, for every one was eager to cry out, "I have taken him." Neither the king nor his

those slight who were on horseback and jostling himself at the head of his knights, a battle axe in his hand he ordered the banners to advance in the name of God and of St. Denis." Froissart, c. 308, p. 211, ed. Buchon.

• Präsident, b. 1. 1. 1934

• The engagement now began on both sides and the intention of the marshals was to drive each other. Some were intended to break the intention of the archers and had entered the line where the bridges on both sides were used by the archers, who as soon as they saw them fairly entered began shooting with the bows in such an excellent manner from each side of the bridge that the horses smarting under the point of the wounds made by the broad-headed arrows would not advance but turned about and by their numbers threw the numbers who could not man the line, and so that they could not get up again for the continuation. Id. is. 161. For the truth, the English archers were of such a service to their army, for they shot so thickly and so well that the French did not know which way to turn their eyes, they could not at all. Id. id.

[illegible]

I have been the administrator of the "Union de Naga" in reference to Dr. Smith. Another important letter written by the United States Attorney General, Mr. M. L. S. Stone, in his capacity as Chief of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

He never may be on at the eleven o'clock sale. And showed no appearance of flight or of giving ground when he said to his men, "On land, on land." And he made all

youngest son Philippe were able to get forward, and free themselves from the throng."<sup>a</sup>

The prince of Wales did honor to the unheard-of fortune which had placed such a hostage in his hands. He took good care not to treat his captive as if he himself not Jean were king; to treat him not as "John of Valois," as the English were in the habit of styling him, but as the true king of France. It was of too much consequence to him that John should be really king, in order that the kingdom might appear captured in the person of its monarch, and might ruin itself to pay his ransom, to act otherwise. He waited on John, at table, after the battle. On making his public entry into London, he mounted him on a large white horse, (the sign of suzerainty,) while he himself followed on a small black hackney.<sup>†</sup>

The English were no less courteous to the other prisoners, who were twice as numerous as the men they had to guard them. For the most part, they set them free on parole, requiring them to pledge their words to be in England by the festival of Christmas, with the enormous ransoms which they were held to pay. The French were too good knights to forfeit their pledge. In this war between gentlemen, the worst that could befall the conqueror was to take a share in the fêtes of the conquerors, to partake the amusement of the chase or tourney, and to enjoy in good faith the ostentatious hospitality (*l'insolente courtoisie*) of the English,<sup>‡</sup>—a noble war, no doubt, which immolated the villain alone.

Great was the consternation at Paris when the fugitives from Poitiers, with the dauphin at their head, came with the news that France had no longer king or barons, that all were either taken or slain. The English, who had withdrawn for a moment in order to ensure the safety of their prize, would be sure to return. And when they did, it was to be expected that they would take possession not of Calais only, but of Paris and the whole kingdom.

### CHAPTER III.

CONTINUATION OF THE PREVIOUS CHAPTER.—  
THE STATES-GENERAL.—PARIS.—THE JAC-  
QUERIE.—THE PLAGUE.—A. D. 1356-64.

THERE was not much to be hoped for from the dauphin, or from his brothers. The prince was feeble, pale, diminutive. He was but

<sup>a</sup> Froissart, b. i. c. 163.

<sup>†</sup> "The king of France, as he rode through London, was mounted on a white steed, with very rich furniture, and the prince of Wales on a little black hackney by his side. He rode through London, thus accompanied," &c. *Id. ibid.* b. i. c. 172.

<sup>‡</sup> "Shortly afterward, the king of France and all his household were removed from the palace of the Savoy to Windsor castle, where he was permitted to hunt and hawk, and take what other diversions he pleased in the neighborhood," &c. *Id. ibid.*

nineteen years of age. All that was known of him was his having invited the friends of the king of Navarre to the fatal dinner at Roan, and given at Poitiers the signal for flight.

But the city did not need the dauphin. It proceeded to put itself at once in a state of defence. Stephen Marcel, the provost of the merchants, made every arrangement. First, to prevent surprise by night, chains were forged and stretched across the streets. Next, the walls were raised by parapets, and balists and other engines put upon them, with whatever cannon could be got. But the old walls of Philippe-Auguste no longer contained Paris: it had overflowed on every side. Other walls had been built, which protected the university; and which, on the opposite side, extended from the church of Ave Maria to the gate of St. Denys, and thence to the Louvre. The island even was fortified; and seven hundred and fifty sentry-boxes placed on the ramparts. All these vast preparations were completed in three years.\*

I cannot explain the revolution which is about to follow, and the part which Paris played in it, without explaining what Paris is.

The arms of Paris are a ship. Primatively, Paris is itself a ship, an island, which floats between the Seine and the Marne, already united, but not confounded.<sup>†</sup>

On the south is the learned, on the north the commercial town;‡ in the centre, the City, the cathedral, the palace,—authority.

The beautiful harmony produced by a city thus floating between two different towns which gracefully close it in, would alone make Paris unique, and render it the most lovely of all cities, ancient and modern. Rome and London present nothing like it; they are cast on one side of their rivers alone.§ Not only is the form of Paris beautiful, but it is truly organic. The city is the primitive rudiment, the individual germ, round which the two universalisms of commerce and science have grouped themselves—the whole constituting the true capital of human sociability.

The ruling power, the City, was the island. But on the two banks were two asylums opened to independence. The University had its jurisdiction for scholars; the Temple its jurisdiction for artisans.||

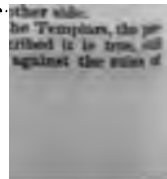
When Guillaume de Champeaux, wrested by Abelard in the schools of Nôtre-Dame, took

\* To complete these fortifications it was necessary to pull down many large and fine houses, both within and without the city. Charles V. had the streets widened and deepened, and added houses behind the walls, as well as walls flanked with towers. *Félibien, Hist. de Paris, p. 28.*

† By the island of Louviers, the two rivers are often distinctly marked by the different color of their waters.

‡ On this side, as early as Charles the Bold's time, we meet with the fair of Landit, between St. Sulpice and la Chapelle. *Félibien, p. 97.*

§ They have only a suburb on the other side. The Temple, the jurisdiction is in, is still against the river of



refuge in the abbey of St. Victor, the conquering logician pursued him thither, and pitched his tent at St. Geneviève.\* This war, this *secessio* to another Aventine, was the origin of the schools of the Mountain. Abelard, whose word sufficed to create a city in the desert,† was thus one of the founders of our southern Paris. The crisscross town had its birth in dispute.

Westwards, it could not extend itself. On this side it hurried against the unmoveable wall of St. Germain-des-Prés. The old abbey, which had remembered the town in its infancy, and had at first assisted it in its growth, was surrounded and besieged by it. But the abbey held out. Born of the Seine, this town extended itself on the other bank at least. There, were its markets, its slaughter-houses, its burial-place,—Innocents' cemetery, (*cimetière des Innocents*.) But once hemmed in on this side between the Louvre and the Temple,‡ it belled out, being prevented from stretching itself lengthwise, and acquired that paunch which fills the space between the Châtelet and the gate St. Denys.

The ecclesiastical jurisdictions, those of Notre-Dame and St. Germain, found rude adversaries in our kings. It is known that queen Blanche herself forced the prisons of the canons, in order to release their debtors.§ The first royal provost, (a. d. 1302,) a Stephen, had also wished to force St. Germain's; but for the purpose of taking out of it, to meet a pressing want of the king's, Childbert's valuable cross.¶ These provosts would seem to have reserved their devotion for the king only. Another Stephen, (Etienne Boileau,) obtained St. Louis's permission to hang a robber on a Good Friday. Our fifth Charles's provost was persecuted by the clergy, as being friendly to the Jews.

The university was often at war with the Notre-Dame and St. Germain-des-Prés. The monarch abetted it. He almost invariably aided with the scholars against the burgesses, and even against his provost, who had commonly to make reparation for having done justice.® The king had need of the university, and was pleased to rely on this formidable instrument, without entertaining a suspicion that it might turn against him. Philippe-le-Bel summoned to the Temple the masters of the university, in order to have read to them the charge against the Templars. Philippe-le-Long, for the support of his disputed succession, invited their presence on the occasion of his barons taking the oath which he required of them, and obtained their *approbation*. Thus the daughter of kings bears herself as judge of kings. Philippe de Valois makes her judge the pope, and the pope who has so long supported

the university against the bishop of Paris, is threatened by her with condemnation.\* Soon the pride of the university will be swelled to the utmost by the occurrence of schism: it will choose between popes, govern Paris, and lord it over the king.

The university constituted a people of itself. When the rector, at the head of the faculties of the nations, led the university to the fair of Landit, between St. Denys and La Chapelle, when he repaired with the parchment-makers of the university to sit in despotic judgment on the parchments for sale within the city liberties, (*la banlieue*,) the burgesses would remark with pride that the rector had reached the plain of St. Denys, while the tail of the procession was at the Mathurins-Saint-Jacques.

But northern Paris was still more populous, as may be judged by two grand reviews which were held in Paris in the course of the fourteenth century, and in which the university, which was composed of priests, scholars, and foreigners, bore no part. In the first review, (a. d. 1313,) commanded by Philippe-le-Bel, in honor of his son-in-law, the king of England, the numbers present were estimated at twenty thousand horsemen and thirty thousand foot soldiers.† The English were thunderstruck. In 1383, the Parisians marched out by way of Montmartre and ranged themselves in battle array, in order to welcome Charles VI. on his return from Flanders. They mustered in several divisions, one of crossbow-men, one of buckler-men, (*paveschiens*,) and another, armed with mallets or maces, which alone consisted of twenty thousand men.‡

The population of Paris was not only very large, but very intelligent, and much superior to the France at large of that day. Not to dwell upon its connection with so great a university, commerce, banking, and the Lombards, must have extended their ideas. The parliament, whither were brought appeals from all the courts of justice, baronial or others, in the kingdom, attracted a host of counsellors to Paris. The Chamber of Accounts, that great financial tribunal, the *Empire of Gaullee*, as it was termed,§ could not fail to attract numbers at this fiscal epoch. Burgesses filled the most important offices. Barbet, master of the mint under Philippe-le-Bel, and Poulvain, king Jean's treasurer, were burgesses of Paris. The king made a show of confidence in the good city. Notwithstanding the revolt on account of the coinage in 1306, he himself summoned the townsmen to his royal garden, at the time of the prosecution of the Templars.¶

The natural head of this large population was, not the royal provost, a police magistrate

\* *Royaume de France* ann. 1331 par 43.

† *Chron. de St. Victor* p. 461.

‡ *Procès-verbal* p. 277 ed. Buchon. See further on p. 439.

§ An allusion to the street of Gennève near which the Chamber was situated.

¶ See, above, p. 374.

\* *Ibid.* p. 144 sqq.

† See above p. 226.

‡ *Chron. de St. Victor* p. 461. Philippe Auguste suspected the revolt, and in the year 1204

§ *Ibid.* p. 144.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 122.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 226.

and almost always unpopular, but the provost of the merchants, the natural president of the aldermen (*échevins*) of Paris. In the deserted condition of the kingdom, after the battle of Poitiers, Paris took the initiative; and, in Paris, the provost of the merchants.

Four hundred deputies from the good cities, and, at their head, Etienne Marcel, provost of the merchants, met and constituted the States of the north on the 17th of October, a month after the battle. As the barons were mostly prisoners, they could only appear there by proxy, and so with the bishops. All the power rested with the deputies from the towns, and especially with those from Paris. In the memorable result of the meeting of these States,—the ordinance of the year 1357,—the revolutionary spirit, and, at the same time, the administrative genius of the great commune, are striking. The clearness and unity of the views which characterize this act, are susceptible of no other explanation: France would have done nothing without Paris.

The States, who at first assembled in the parliament-house, and then, at the Franciscan convent, nominated a committee of fifty deputies to inquire into the state of the kingdom. They desired "to have further information as to what had become of the immense sums levied on the kingdom in time past, by tenths, maltoltes, subsidies, and minting of coin, and extortions of every kind, with which their folk had been vexed and harassed, and the soldiers ill-paid, and the kingdom badly guarded and defended,—but no one could render an account of it."<sup>\*</sup>

All that was known was, that there had been monstrous prodigality, malversation, and shock to general credit. When the public distress was at its height, the king had given fifty thousand crowns to one of his knights.† Not one of the royal officers had clean hands. The committee gave the dauphin to understand that in full assembly they would demand of him to prosecute his officers, to set the king of Navarre at liberty, and to associate with himself thirty-six deputies of the States, twelve from each order, in the government of the kingdom.‡

The dauphin, who was not king, could hardly place the kingly power in the hands of the States on this fashion. He adjourned the sitting of the States, alleging letters that he had received from the king and emperor, and then recommended the deputies to return and consult their fellow-townsmen, while he would advise with his father.§

The States of the south, assembled at Toulouse, close to the seat of danger, were more

tractable, and readily voted money and troops. The provincial States, those of Auvergne for instance, voted grants as well, but still reserving to themselves the right of checking the expenditure.\* All this time the dauphin was at Metz, in order to receive his viceroy, the emperor, Charles IV.; a poor dauphin, and a poor emperor, who could do nothing the one for another. On her side, the queen had gone to Dijon to marry her little duke of Burgundy, her son by her first marriage, to the little Margaret of Flanders; an expensive journey, which had the distant advantage of approximating Flanders and France. What was to become of Paris, thus abandoned, and without king, queen, or dauphin? The peasants, with their families, and scanty goods, crowded into it through every gate; and then, in long and mournful files, the monks and nuns of the convents. All these fugitives had fearful tales to tell of the scenes that were taking place in the country, where the barons, taken prisoners at Poitiers, and released on parole, had hastened to raise their ransom-money, and ruined the peasantry on their domains. To complete the general ruin came the disbanded soldiers, who pillaged, ravished, murdered; and who had been known to put to the torture those who had no longer any thing, in order to force them still to give.† They were the terror of the country, like the *warrens* (*chanfreux*)‡ of the Revolution.

The States being again assembled on the 1st of February, 1357, Marcel and Robert le Coq, archbishop of Laon, laid before them a schedule of grievances, and it was resolved that each deputy should communicate the same to the province which sent him; and this communication, which was made with exceeding rapidity for that age, especially taking into account the season of the year, occupied no longer than a month. The schedule was handed in to the dauphin on the 3d of March, by Robert le Coq, formerly a lawyer of Paris, and who, having filled the offices of counsellor to Philippe de Valois, and president of the parliament, had become bishop-duke of Laon, and enjoyed the independence of the great dignitaries of the church. Le Coq, at once the king's man and the commons' man, mediated between the two, and was counsellor to both parties. He was likened to the carpenter's twill, (*bonique*) *bis-acuta, which cuts at both ends.*§ After he

\* Sécouze, Préf. p. 57.

† Duce Normande, qui Regem suo humiliter . . . defendere et regere tentavit, nulla remedia opposuit, magna pars populi rusticum . . . ad civitatem Parisiensem . . . cum uxibus et fidei . . .

Nec percubatur in hoc Religiosis quibusdamque. Propter quod monachi et moniales . . .

Longo Campo, &c. Contis. G. de Nang. p. 116.—"Anstet band plundered the whole country between the Seine and the Loire, so that no one durst travel from Paris to Vendôme, Orléans, or Montargis; and no one durst march there, but all the labourers or to Orléans." Froissart's Memoirs. The

§ Sécouze, l. III.

\* Froiss. lib. c. 372, p. 254, ed. Buchon.

† Sismondi, t. x. p. 430.

‡ Sécouze, Préf. pp. 50, 51.

§ In dismissing them to their respective provinces, he relied, no doubt, on the innumerable divisions that must arise among so many different interests, on the jealousy felt by the nobles of the towns, and by the towns of Paris—whose influence had brought about the last revolution.





chamber of accounts are accused of negligence. "*Decrees, which ought to have been pronounced twenty years ago, are still to pronounce.*"\* The counsellors assemble late, their dinners are long, their afternoons (*après-dinners*) unprofitable. The officers of the chamber of accounts are to swear on God's holy gospels, that they will expedite the causes of the good people well, loyally, and in due order, *without keeping them waiting*, (*sans eux faire muser.*)† The grand council, the parliament, and chamber of accounts, are to meet at *sunrise*.‡ Those members of the grand council also who shall not be present *betimes in the morning*, (*bien matin*), shall lose their day's salary. Notwithstanding their high office, these members are treated unceremoniously by the burgess legislators.

This great ordinance of 1357, which the dauphin was compelled to sign, was much more than a reform. It effected a sudden change of government. It placed the administrative power in the hands of the States, and substituted a republic for the monarchy. It gave the supreme authority to the people, while there was as yet no people. To construct a new government in the midst of such a war, was as singularly perilous an operation, as for an army to change its order of battle in the presence of an enemy. The odds were that France would perish in thus putting about.‡

The ordinance destroyed abuses. But it was on abuses the crown lived. To destroy them was to destroy authority, to dissolve the state, to disarm France.

Did France really enjoy a political personality; could one attribute one common will to it? All that can be affirmed is, that authority seemed to it wholly vested in the crown. It desired only partial reforms. In all probability the ordinance approved by the States was only the work of one commune, of one great and intelligent commune, which spoke in the name of the kingdom at large, but which would be abandoned by the kingdom in the hour of action.

The dauphin's noble counsellors, full of baronial contempt for the burgesses, and of provincial jealousy of Paris, instigated their master to resistance. It was March when he signed the ordinance presented to the States; and, by the 6th of April, he forbade payment of the aid which the States had voted. On the 8th, on the representations of the provost of the merchants, he revoked this prohibition.§ Thus the young prince fluctuated between two impulses, following the one to-day, the other the

day after; and both, perhaps, sincerely at the time. There was large room for doubt at this obscure crisis. All doubted; none paid. The dauphin was left disarmed; the States as well. Public authority was defunct; there was no king, nor dauphin, nor States.

Without strength, expiring as it were, and losing all self-consciousness, the kingdom lay prone like a corpse. Gangrene had set in, the worms swarmed—worms, I mean brigands, English and Navarrese. In this general decay and corruption, the members of the poor body fell away from each other. The kingdom was talked of: but there were no longer any States that could be truly termed general. There was nothing general; no communication, and no roads to carry it on. The roads were cut-throats; the country, a battle-field, the combat raging in every direction, and no possibility of distinguishing friend from foe.

In the midst of this dissolution of the kingdom, the commune remained living. But how could the commune live alone, unassisted by the surrounding country? Paris, not knowing where to lay the blame of her distress, accused the States. The dauphin, taking courage, declared that he would govern, and would henceforward dispense with a guardian. The commissioners of the States took their leave. But he was only the more embarrassed. He endeavored to raise a little money by selling offices;\* but the money did not come. He quit Paris; the country was in flames. There was no town in which he would not risk being carried off by brigands. He returned to hide himself in Paris, and throw himself into the hand of the States, which he summoned to meet on the 7th of November.†

During the night between the following 8th and 9th, a Picard, a friend of Marcel's, the lord of Pecquigny, rescued Charles-le-Mauvais from the fortress in which he was imprisoned, by a sudden and successful dash. Marcel, who saw the dauphin always surrounded by a threatening crowd of nobles, had need of a sword to oppose to these men of the sword, of a prince of the blood to oppose to the dauphin. The burgesses, in their boldest attempts for liberty, loved to follow a prince. It seemed becoming, too, and chivalrous, when chivalry had behaved so ill, for burgesses to take it on themselves to repair so great an act of injustice, and to redress the injury done by kings. The populace, ever open to generous emotions, welcomed the prisoner with tears of joy. The restoration of this bad, but unfortunate man, seemed to the people that of justice to herself. He came to Paris, escorted by the commons of Amiens, and was received at St. Denis by a crowd of citizens who had gone forth to meet him.‡ He stopped

\* Ord. iii.

† This is not in the ordinance, but in the remonstrance referred to above; in which it was also stated, "That they who chose to govern being only two or three, great delays were incurred, and that suitors—knights, squires, and burgesses—were such sufferers from these delays, as to be obliged to sell their horses and depart without any answer, dissatisfied, &c." *MS. de la Bibl. Royale, fonds Dupuy, No. 646, and Brienne, No. 276.*

‡ (Que la France périrait dans ce recitement. The metaphor is a nautical one.)—TRANSLATOR.

§ Chron. de Saint-Denis, f. 222, verso, col. 2, and f. 223.

\* Ord. iii. p. 180.

† Secousse, *Préf. des Ord. iii.* p. 70.

‡ "And even the duke of Normandy feasted him sumptuously. But it behooved; for the provost of the merchants and those of his party, recommended him so to do." *Feins. iii.* p. 260, ed. Suchon.



in his name. Perhaps, too, the committee of thirty-six, chosen by the influence of Marcel, but presenting a majority of nobles and ecclesiastics, desired to strengthen the dauphin against the citizens of Paris.

The ill-will of the burghesses had been inflamed to the utmost by the following tragical occurrence. A money-changer, named Perrin Macé, having sold two horses to the dauphin, and being unable to procure payment, arrested in the street Neuve-Saint-Merry the treasurer, Jean Baillet. The latter refused to pay; no doubt advancing in excuse the right of prisage. A dispute arose. Perrin slew Baillet, and sought refuge in the church of Saint-Jacques-la-Boucherie. The dauphin's men, Robert de Clermont, marshal of France, Jean de Châlons, and Guillaume Staise, provost of Paris, hastened to the spot, forced the asylum, dragged Perrin to the Châtelet, cut off his hand, and hanged him. The bishop loudly complained of this violation of the right of sanctuary, had Perrin's body delivered up, and gave it honorable burial in the church of St. Merry. Marcel was present; while the dauphin followed Baillet to the grave.\*

Collision was imminent. To encourage the citizens by the sight of their numbers, Marcel made them wear blue and red hoods; these were the city colors.† He wrote to the good cities to beg them to mount these distinctive signs. Amiens and Laon did not fail him. Few of the other towns complied so far.

Meanwhile, from the ravages committed in the country, the peasantry crowded into Paris in such numbers as sensibly to diminish the supply of food and raise its price. The citizens, who had their little properties in the Isle of France, from which they drew their eggs, butter, cheese, poultry, and a thousand agreeabilities, found this source of comforts fail; and thought it exceedingly hard.‡ On the 23d of February, the dauphin issued a new ordinance for a fresh alteration of the coin.

On the next day, the provost of the merchants mustered all the trades in arms at St. Eloi's. About nine o'clock, this armed mob recognised in the street one of the dauphin's counsellors, advocate to the parliament, master Regnault Dacy, who was returning from the palace to his own house, near Saint-Landry's. They began running after him. He fled into a pastry cook's, and was there killed outright be-

fore he had time to utter a cry. However, the provost, followed by a crowd of red and blue hoods, entered the dauphin's hotel, ascended to his very chamber, and sharply told him that he ought to put the affairs of the kingdom into order; that as, after all, this kingdom would be his, it was his business to secure it from the bands which laid waste the country. The dauphin, whose usual advisers, the marshals of Champagne and of Normandy, were on either side of him, answered more boldly than was his custom. "I would cheerfully do so, had I the means; but he who enjoys the taxes and profits, ought to take upon himself the defence of the kingdom as well."§ Some sharp words passed, and the provost broke out. "My lord," he said, "be not surprised at what you are about to witness; the thing must be done." Then, turning to the men in red hoods, he said, "Do quickly what you are come for."¶ On the word, they threw themselves on the marshal of Champagne, and slew him close to the dauphin's bed. The marshal of Normandy they followed into a closet, into which he had betaken himself, and put to death as well. The dauphin considered himself lost; the blood had spirted out upon his robe.‡ All his officers had fled. "Save my life!" he cried to the provost. Marcel told him to fear nothing. He changed hoods with him, thus covering him with the city's colors,§ and all the day he wore boldly the dauphin's hood. The people expected him at the Grève, and here he harangued them from a window, maintaining that those who had been put to death were traitors, and asking the people whether they would support him. Numbers cried out, that they avouched all he had done, and pledged themselves to him for life and for death.

Marcel returned to the palace with a crowd of armed men, whom he left in the court-yard. He found the dauphin, grief and terror-struck. "Distress not yourself, my lord," said the provost to him; "that which has been done, has been done to avoid greater danger, and by the will of the people."|| And he besought him to give his approval to the whole.

The dauphin had, perforce, to approve of the whole, in default of being able to do better. He found himself compelled also to give a gracious reception to the king of Navarre, who returned four days afterwards. Marcel and Lecoq reconciled them, will ye, nill ye, and made them dine together every day.

This monarch's return, only four days after the murder of the dauphin's counsellors, gave but too clear a clue to the whole tragedy. He could return: Marcel had made room for him

\* Matt. Villani, l. viii. c. 20, p. 454.

† In the first week of January, those of Paris ordered them all to wear hoods, one half red, the other blue." MS. Besides these hoods, the provost's partisans wore silver clasps, of red and blue enamel, with the motto '*à bonne fin*,' a too happy issue, in sign of agreement to live and die with the said provost against all men. *Lettres d'Abolition du 10 Aout 1356*. See also, *ibid.* p. 163.

‡ Grieved and marvelling hereat, because the evil was not remedied by the regent and the barons about him, the provost of the merchants and the citizens often besought the dauphin. . . . Who gave them fair words, but . . . Nay both then and afterwards, the citizens appeared to delight in the increasing woes and afflictions of the people." *Ann. G. de Nangis*, p. 116.

\* Froiss. iii. p. 288, ed. Buchon.

† Tunc dirigenz verba illis sic capacitate dixit: "Ea breviter facite hoc propter quod hoc vacuatis." *Cont. G. de Nangis*, p. 117.

‡ Froiss. iii. p. 289, ed. Buchon.

§ "They gave him a hood to wear, and covenanted that he would pardon the slaying of his three knights." *Ibid.*

|| *Chronique de Saint-Denis*, li. fol. 264.



to make an inventory of the peasant's property—meager cattle, wretched harness, plough, cart, and some iron tools. Household goods, he had none. He had no stock, save a small quantity of seed-corn. These things taken and sold, what remained for the lord to lay his hands upon—the poor devil's body, his skin. Something more was tried to be squeezed out of him. The boor must have some secret store in a hiding-place. To make him discover it, they did not spare his carcass: his feet were warmed for him. At any rate, they had no mercy on the fire and iron.

Few castles remain. Richelieu's edicts and the destroyers of the Revolution did their work too well. Even still, however, as we pass under the walls of Taillebourg or of Tancarville, when in the heart of the Ardennes, in the defile of Montcornet, we look up and see hanging over our heads the small, sinister casement which seems to eye our steps, our heart is conscious of a pang, and we feel a reflex of the sufferings of those who, for so many ages, languished at the feet of those towers. No need to have read old histories to feel this. The souls of our fathers still vibrate within us for forgotten griefs, almost as the maimed feels the throbbing of the limb which he has lost.

When ruined by his lord, the peasant was not yet done with. Such was the atrocious character of these wars of the English: while they held the kingdom at large to ransom, they plundered it in detail. Free companions sprang up in every direction, styled English or Navarrese. Griffith, a Welshman, laid waste the whole country between the Seine and the Loire: Knolles, an Englishman, ravaged Normandy. The first sacked to his own share Montargis, Etampes, Arpajon, Monthéry, in all more than fifteen cities or large burghs. In another direction, Audley, an Englishman, or the Germans Albrecht and Frank Hennekin, carried on the work of spoliation. One of these leaders of free companies, Arnaud de Cervoles, surnamed the archpriest, because, though a layman, he really owned an archpriesthood, turned his back on the despoiled provinces, traversed the whole of France, and pushed on to Provence, sacking Salon and St. Maximin, by way of making Avignon fear her turn was next. The trembling pope invited the brigand, received him as if he were a son of France,\* made him dine with him, and gave him forty thousand crowns, and absolution into the bargain. This did not prevent Cervoles, on quitting Avignon, from pillaging Aix; whence he proceeded into Burgundy, to do the same.†

The leaders of these bands were not, as might be supposed, upstarts, mere men-at-arms, but of noble birth, and often great barons.

The king of Navarre's brother went about plundering, just like the rest. In the passes which they sold to the merchants who supplied the towns, they expressly excepted military equipments, and other things considered the exclusive use of the nobles—"beaver hats, ostrich feathers, and sword-blades."<sup>‡</sup>

The knights of the fourteenth century felt a very different call from that of the knights of romance—their vocation was to crush the weak. The sire d'Aubrécourt robbed and killed at random to *deserve well of his lady*, Isabelle de Juliers, niece of the king of England, "for he was young, and desperately in love." He made up his mind to become, at the least, count of Champagne.† The fallen condition of the monarchy awoke the most extravagant hopes in these plunderers. Their only thought was to take, by force or stratagem, some well-guarded castle. The governors of the strongholds conceived themselves freed from their oaths. No more king, no more faith. They sold or exchanged their fortresses and garrisons.‡

After so many years' submission to their kings, the barons delighted in this life of misrule and adventure. They were like school-boys on a holiday, who go to play as if it were the business of life. Their historian, Froissart, is never tired of telling their marvellous haps. His feelings go with these marauders, and he bounds with joy at their good fortune:—"And the poor brigands were ever gaining,"§ &c. Nowhere does he seem to doubt of their honor and good faith; nay, scarcely to have a doubt of their salvation.¶

\* Froissart, iii. c. 306, p. 334, ed. Buchon.

† Id. *ibid.* c. 411, p. 357.

‡ Id. *ibid.* c. 418, p. 369.

§ "Poor rogues took advantage of such times, and robbed both towns and castles; so that some of them, becoming rich, constituted themselves captains of bands of thieves there were among them those worth forty thousand crowns. Their method was, to mark out particular towns or castles, a day or two's journey from each other; they then collected twenty or thirty robbers, and, travelling through by-roads in the night-time, entered the towns or castles they had fixed upon about day-break, and set one of the houses on fire. When the inhabitants perceived it, they thought it had been a body of forces sent to destroy them, and took to their heels as fast as they could. The town of Domere was treated in this manner; and many other towns and castles were taken, and afterwards ransomed. Among other robbers in Languedoc, one had marked out the strong castle of Colours in Limousin, which is situated in a very strong country. He set off in the night-time with thirty companions, took and destroyed it. He seized also the lord of Colours, whom he imprisoned in his own castle, and put all his household to death. He kept him in prison until he ransomed himself for twenty-four thousand crowns paid down. The robber kept possession of the castle and its dependencies, which he furnished with provisions, and thence made war upon all the country round about. The king of France, shortly afterwards, was desirous of having him near his person: he purchased the castle of him for twenty thousand crowns, appointed him his usher-at-arms, and heaped on him many other honors. The name of this robber was Bacon, and he was always mounted on handsome horses of a deep roan color, or on large palfreys, apparelled like an earl, and very richly armed; and this state he maintained as long as he lived." Froissart, b. i. c. 147.

¶ "Croquart's horse stumbled, and broke his master's neck. I know not what became of his money, or who had his soul; but I know that such was the end of Croquart." Froissart, iii. p. 453, ed. Buchon.

\* Froissart, b. i. c. 176.

† Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, called him his "gossip." Froissart styles him, "My lord," iv. c. 405, p. 233, ed. Buchon.

So great was the alarm at Paris, that the citizens had vowed to our Lady a taper as long, it was said, as the city tower was high.\* They left off ringing the church bells, except at curfew time, for fear the sentinels on the walls should suppose the enemy was upon them. What must not the terror have been in the country! The peasants no longer slept. They who lived on the banks of the Loire passed whole nights in the islands, or in boats moored in the centre of the stream. In Picardy, the affrighted inhabitants dug hiding-places for themselves in the ground. Between Peronne and the mouth of the Somme, thirty of these caves might still be seen in the last century.† Enter them, and you understood the horror of those days. They were long, arched passages, from seven to eight feet wide, with from twenty to thirty recesses or rooms at the sides, and a well in the centre, for the sake of both air and water. Round the well, were large recesses for the cattle. The care and solidity observable in the construction of these caves, prove them to have been the ordinary dwelling-places of the wretched population of that day. Here, families huddled together on the approach of the enemy; and here the women and children wasted away for whole weeks and months, while the men timidly stole to the steeple to see if the men of war had left the country.

But they did not always leave it soon enough for the poor inhabitants to sow, or gather in the harvest. In vain did they hide themselves under ground. Famine reached them there. In the Bré and the Beauvoisis, above all, the whole land was left bare.‡ Every thing was spoiled, or destroyed. Provisions were to be had in the castles alone. The peasants, maddened with hunger and misery, forced them, and cut the throats of the barons.

The latter had never dreamed of such a height of daring. How often had they laughed when seeking to arm these simple and docile

folk, and forcing them to the wars. The peasant was called in mockery, *Jacques Bonhomme*, (Jack Goodman;) just as we call our conscripts, *Jeanjean*.§ Who could fear ill-treating men who handled arms so clumsily? The barons had a saying—"Stroke the clown, he'll pummel you; pummel him, he'll stroke you."

*Jacques Bonhomme* will pay off his lord centuries of arrears. His vengeance was that of the despairing, of the damned. God seemed to have sickened him of this world. . . . Not only did the peasants butcher their lords, but they tried to exterminate the families of their lords, murdering their heirs, and slaying their honor, by violating their ladies.¶ And then would these savages trick out themselves and their wives in rich habiliments, and bedeck themselves with glittering, but bloody spoils.

Yet were they not so savage as not to march with a kind of order, under banners, and led by a captain chosen from among themselves, a crafty peasant, called Guillaume Callet.‡ "These bands consisted mostly of the meaner sort, with a few rich burgesses, and others."§ "When they were asked," says Froissart, "for what reason they acted so wickedly, they replied, they knew not, but they did so because they saw others do it; and they thought by this means they should destroy all the nobles and gentlemen in the world."||

Therefore, the great and the noble all declared against them, without distinction of party. Charles-le-Mauvais flattered them, invited their principal leaders;¶ and while pretending to treat with them, put them to the sword. Their king, Jacques, he crowned with an iron tripod, heated red-hot.\*\* He afterwards surprised them near Montdidier, and slaughtered great numbers of them. The barons took heart, armed themselves, and began killing and burning throughout the country, right and left ††

\* *Chronique de Saint Denis*, 27, V. col. 2.  
† These caves appear to have been dug at the time of the Norman invasions. They were probably enlarged from age to age. Part of the territory of *Santerre*, in which there were three of these caves, was called *Territorium Sancte Laboratorum*. The Territory of Holy Refuge. Paper by the noble Lefebvre in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, t. xiv., p. 179.

‡ "The kingdom was so full of the Normans, they were masters of all the flat countries, the rivers, and the principal towns and cities. This caused such a scarcity of provisions in France, that a small cask of herrings was sold for thirty golden crowns, and every thing else in proportion. Many of the poor died with hunger. This famine lasted more than four years." *Froissart* l. i. c. 140.

§ The churchmen themselves were great sufferers. Numbers of abbots, monks, and abbesses reduced to poverty, were compelled to repair to Paris, and other places, for succour. "Then might you see those who had been accustomed to travel with a train of well-armed men at arms, eating themselves now with a single servant on foot, and sparing diet." *Contin. de de Nangis*, c. 122. What, and the needs of the institutions. . . . I have inquired the churchmen, in their efforts to escape. . . . In one instance we find the canon de Rieux, fasting down three Normans on his fast-chaise with his horses. After this he did wonders with his staff. The bishop of Noyon kept up a fierce war on these rascals. *Chronique* l. i. p. 242, ed. Buchon. *Prologue*, l. i. p. 346, 347.

¶ *Contin. de de Nangis*. The other events of the year are ridiculous. See *Bibl. Pap. Av.* c. 331, 332.

§ *Quarantes nobles et seigneurs menèrent avec eux libidine apprenant.* *Contin. de de Nangis* 119.

|| Or Callet in the *Chronique de France*. Korte in the *Contin. de de Nangis*. *Jacques Bonhomme*, according both to Froissart and the anonymous writer of the first life of Innocent VI. *Extrait de la chronique anonyme et de son appendice Jacques Bonhomme*. . . . And they carried the sword of the wicked and raised this king Jack Goodman. *Froissart* l. i. c. 140.

¶ *Contin. de de Nangis* l. i. col. 269.

§ *Froissart* l. i. c. 140.

|| *Chronique de de Nangis* l. i. c. 140.

\*\* *Vita Philippi* l. i. c. 140.

†† *Chronique de de Nangis* l. i. c. 140.

‡ *Chronique de de Nangis* l. i. c. 140.

§ *Chronique de de Nangis* l. i. c. 140.

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¶ *Chronique de de Nangis* l. i. c. 140.

The Jacquerie was a favorable diversion, drawing off attention from the war against Paris, and Marcel was interested in keeping it up. But it was a hideous alliance, to seek support from wild beasts. The commons hesitated. Senlis and Meaux welcomed them. Amiens sent them a few men: who were soon recalled.\* Marcel, who had taken advantage of their rising up to dismantle several fortresses round Paris, ventured to send them assistance to take the Marché de Meaux. He sent them, first, five hundred men under the provost of the mint; and then a reinforcement of three hundred under a grocer of Paris.

The duchess of Orléans, the duchess of Normandy, and numbers of noble dames, demoiselles, and children, had taken refuge in the Marché de Meaux, which is surrounded by the Marne, and from which they saw and heard the "Jacks," who filled the town. They were half dead with fear; momentarily apprehending outrage and murder. Happily, unexpected succor was at hand. The count of Foix and the captain of Buch† (the latter served with the English) were on their return from the crusade in Prussia, with a body of knights. Learning at Chalons the danger of these ladies, they put spurs to their horses, and entering the Marche, (market-place,) "having opened the gate, they posted themselves in front of these clowns, dirty, little, and badly armed, and fell upon them with their lances and their swords. Those who were foremost, feeling the weight of their blows, turned about so fast in their fright, (*hudeur*), they fell one over the other. The men-at-arms then rushed out of the barriers, drove them before them, striking them down like beasts, and clearing the town of them; for they kept neither regularity nor order, slaying so many that they were tired. They flung them in great heaps into the river. In short, they killed upwards of seven thousand. . . . On their return, they set fire to the disorderly town of Meaux. . . .†

In all directions the nobles massacred the peasantry, without inquiring whether or not they had taken any share in the Jacquerie. "And," says a contemporary, "they wrought so much harm to the country, that there was no need of the English coming to destroy the kingdom. They never could have done the mischief which the barons did."‡

\* Chronicle, published by Sauvage in his edition of Froissart, pp. 196-7.

† ("The title of *captain*," says Mr. Jones in his translation of Froissart, "had anciently been affected by some of the most illustrious lords of Aquitaine. It seems that it was originally equivalent to the title of count, and marked even a superiority, as the word *capitalis* announces principal chief.") This dignity, at first personal, as well as all the others, became, in length of time, attached to particular families, and to the estates of which they were possessed. In the time of the first duke of Aquitaine, there were several capitals; but this title, perhaps by neglect, was replaced by others, so that, towards the fourteenth century, there were no more than two capitals acknowledged, that of Buch and that of France. (See Dangeau, at the word *Capitain*.)—TRANSLATOR.

‡ Froissart, b. i. c. 184. § Costin. G. de Nangis, p. 119.

They endeavored to treat Senlis as they had done Meaux. Having got its gates opened, by giving out that they came from the regent, they raised shouts of "The town is taken—the town is won!" But they found the burgesses under arms, and, with them, other nobles who had come to defend the town. Wagons were rolled down the steep high-street, which threw them into disorder, and boiling water rained upon them from the windows. "Some fled to Meaux to bear the news of their defeat, and got laughed at; the rest, who remained in the high-street, will do no more harm to the people of Senlis."\*

It is wonderful that in the midst of this devastation of the country, Paris should not have perished of famine; and the fact reflects high credit on the ability of the provost of the merchants. But he could not keep this large, omnivorous city supplied without the good-will of the country; and hence the seeming inconsistency of his conduct. He allied himself with the "Jacks," and then, with the king of Navarre, the destroyer of the "Jacks." This prince's cavalry was indispensable to him, to enable him to keep open some of the roads, while the dauphin kept possession of the river. At his instigation, the title of captain of Paris was conferred on Charles, (15th of June;) who, however, was no longer a free agent. He was deserted by many of his gentlemen, who would not assist the mob against the higher orders, and the citizens themselves turned against him, hating him for his carnage of the "Jacks," and suspecting that they had no great friend in him.

Meanwhile, provisions rose in price. The dauphin, with three thousand lances, was at Charenton, and intercepted all supplies by the Seine and the Marne. The burgesses called on the king of Navarre to defend them, to sally forth, to do something. Forth he went; but it was to betray them. The two princes had a long and secret interview; and parted good friends. Venturing to return to Paris, Charles's most determined partisans and Marcel joined in depriving him of his title of captain of the city. He was loud in his complaints: the Navarrese and the citizens quarrelled; and some fell on both sides.

Marcel's position became dangerous. The dauphin had possession of the upper Seine, Charenton, and St. Maur; the king of Navarre occupied the lower Seine and St. Denys. They scoured the country, and all supply was cut off. Paris was at the last gasp. Charles, who knew this, allowed both parties to try to buy him. The dauphiness, and numbers of good people, (*beaucoup de bonnes gens*.) that is to say, of lords and of bishops, mediated, and went to and fro between the dauphin and the king. They offered Charles four hundred thousand florins to give up Paris and Marcel.† The treaty was

\* Qui vero mortui remanserant, genti Silvanectensi amplius non nocebant. Idem, *ibid*.

† Froissart, iii. p. 306, ed. Buchon.

lady signed, and a mass ordered to be said, which the two princes were to partake of the same host; but the king of Navarre excused himself, on pretext of not having fasted.\* The dauphin promised; Marcel gave him money. He sent Charles two loads of silver every week, to pay his troops. He had no use but in him. He visited him at St. Denis, jured him to remember that it was the Parisians who had released him from prison, and, too, had put his enemies out of the way. The king of Navarre gave him fair words, and sorted him "to provide himself with plenty of gold and silver, and send it boldly to St. Denis—he would give a good account of it."† This king of the brigands could not, and, no doubt, would not hinder them from pillaging. The bourgeois saw their money take its detour to the plunderers, but that provisions were in none the more plentifully. The provost was ever going over to St. Denis, ever rotating. Suspicion awoke of the sums paid by Marcel; did he not keep a good record? Satires were already rife on the salaries which the commissioners of the States had liberally allotted themselves.‡ Most of the Navarrese, English, and other mercenaries had followed Charles to St. Denis. Some had stopped at Paris, to get rid of their money. The citizens were ill-minded to them. They took place, and more than sixty were killed. Marcel, who dreaded nothing so much as a rupture with the king of Navarre, saved the rest by throwing them into prison; and, the same evening, sent them back to St. Denis. § The bourgeois never forgave him this. Meanwhile, the Navarrese foraged up to the city gates, so that the citizens were afraid to go out of town. The Parisians began to chide, and told the provost plainly, that they would not suffer those brigands. He was obliged to give way, and allow them to salve forth in the arch of the Navarrese. Having rode about the whole day in the direction of St. Cloud, they were returning exceedingly wearied, this was the 22d of July,) trailing their swords, and with their basnets off, full of complaints having encountered no one, when, on a turn the road, four hundred men sprang up and upon them. They fled as fast as their legs could carry them, but, before reaching the city, seven hundred of them lost their lives. There were slain the next day, when the citizens went to look after the dead bodies. This mishap completed their discontent with Marcel. Was his fault, they said, he had got into the city before them, he had not supported them,

perhaps it was he who had given the enemy warning.

The provost was a lost man. His only resource was to hand over himself, and Paris, and the kingdom, if he could, to the king of Navarre. Charles-le-Mauvais touched the very summit of his ambition.\* The gravest of the contemporary historians, an eye-witness of the whole of this revolution, and, moreover, favorable to Marcel, confesses that he had promised the king of Navarre the keys of Paris, to enable him to seize the city, and put to death all who were opposed to him. Their doors were even marked beforehand.†

It was on the night between the 31st of July and the 1st of August, that Etienne Marcel undertook to betray the city which he had put in a state of defence, the walls which he had built. Up to this time, he appears always to have consulted the aldermen, and even with regard to the murder of the two marshals. But now, he saw the rest were bent on saving themselves by his ruin. The alderman on whom he most relied, who was the most deeply pledged to him, his gossip, Jean Maillart, had picked a quarrel with him that very day. Maillart had come to an understanding with the leaders of the dauphin's party, Pepin des Essarts and Jean de Charny, and all three, with their men, stationed themselves at the bastille St. Denis, which Marcel was about to deliver up. "They all came properly armed, a little before midnight . . . and found the provost of the merchants with the keys of the gate in his hand. Upon this, John Maillart said to him, calling him by his name, 'Stephen, what do you here at this time of night?' The provost replied, 'John, why do you ask it?' 'I am here to take care of, and to guard the city, of which I have the government.' 'By God!' answered John, 'things shall not go on so: you are not here at this hour for any good, which I will now show you,' addressing himself to those near him; 'for see how he has got the keys of the gate in his hand, to betray the city.' The provost said, 'John, you lie.' John replied, 'It is you, traitor, who lie,' and, rushing on him, cried to his people, 'Kill them, kill them, now strike home, for they are all traitors.' There was a very great bustle, and the provost would gladly have escaped, but John struck him such a blow with his axe on the head, that he felled him to the ground, although he was his comrade, and never left him until he had killed him. Six others who were present were also killed: the remainder were carried to prison."‡

According to a more probable account, it was not Maillart, but Jean de Charny who struck the first blow. §

The murderers at once put themselves in

*See note 1 p. 276.*

*France, p. 320 ed. Bachelin.*

*ibidem, p. 322. See also Villani.*

*The conquest of France, p. 100.*

\* The king of Navarre, in a long speech, begged the king of France to let the Parisians have the city, and others, saying they would do as he said, and drag off the swords after them to the end, while there hang them on their shoulders. *ibidem, p. 100.*

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\* *Ad hoc totus virtutes anhelabat. Contin. de Nangis, p. 130.*

† *Agreement with a guile reportet. Id. ibid.*

‡ *Procès-verbal, p. 107.*

§ *See note by Mr. Johnson, ibid.*



motion, giving the alarm and awakening the people. In the morning, all the citizens flocked to the market-place, where Maillart harangued them. He told them how, that night, the city was to have been sacked (*courue*) and destroyed, had not God been pleased to awaken him and his friends, and reveal the treacherous plot to them. The crowd learned with emotion the peril it had been in, without knowing it, and all joined hands in thanks to God.

Such were the first feelings. Let it not, however, be believed that the people were ungrateful to him who had done so much for them. Marcel's party, which counted many able and eloquent men,\* survived its chief; and some months afterwards a conspiracy was entered into to avenge him.† The dauphin ordered all the provost's moveables, which had not been given away or lost in the confusion following his death, to be restored to his widow.‡

This man's career was short and terrible; cruelly intersected with good and evil. In 1356 he saves Paris, and puts it in a state of defence. In concert with Robert le Coq, he dictates to the dauphin the famous ordinance of 1357; and such a reform of the kingdom by the influence of a commune, can only be accomplished by violent means. Marcel is plunged, deeper and deeper, into a multitude of irregular and fatal acts. He takes Charles-le-Mauvais out of prison, in order to oppose him to the dauphin, but finds that he has given the bandits a leader. He lays hand on the dauphin, and slays his counsellors, the king of Navarre's enemies.

Deserted by the States, he kills the States by fashioning them according to his will; by creating deputies; by replacing the deputies of the nobles by Paris burgesses. Paris could not yet lead France after it. Marcel had not the resources of the Reign of Terror; he could neither besiege Lyons, nor guillotine the Gironde. By the necessity of keeping Paris supplied with provisions, he was rendered dependent on the country. Hence his alliance with the "Jacks;" and, on their downfall, with the king of Navarre, to whom, having first given himself to him by a crime, he next endeavored to give the throne: in which attempt he failed, as he deserved.

The classical doctrine of the *Salus populi*—of the right to kill tyrants, had been maintained at the beginning of the century by the king against the pope.§ Half a century has scarcely passed, and Marcel turns it against the crown, and the servants of the crown. Vain and brutal empiricism which knows no other than heroic remedies, and thinks to cure every thing by shedding blood. . . . Were the remedy efficacious, yet wo to him who has recourse to it. The good of the majority, the *safety of*

*the people*, is no excuse. Could you counsel the people, they would exclaim with that divine instinct which is present in the multitude. "Perish the people, rather than humanity and justice!"—I know not whether blood is a fertilizing dew; but, though the tree watered with blood should grow stronger and more beautiful, and spread its branches far and wide, though it should hide the world with them, it will not hide murder. . . .

This bloody stain which sullies the memory of Etienne Marcel, must not make us forget that our old charter was partly his work. His doom met him as the friend of the Navarrese, whose success would have dismembered France—as the representative of Paris in opposition to the kingdom, as the last embodiment of narrow, communal patriotism—as such, he is dead; but, in the ordinance of 1357, he lives and will live for ever.

This ordinance is the first political act of France, as the Jacquerie is the first outburst of the peasantry. Our kings carried out almost all the reforms indicated in the ordinance: the Jacquerie, commenced against the nobles, was continued against the English. By degrees, nationality and a military spirit were awakened. The first manifestation given of this spirit occurs, perhaps, in a circumstance narrated by the continuator of Nangis, as happening in the year 1359. This grave witness of passing events, who notes from day to day all that he sees and hears, forgets his ordinary dryness as he narrates at length one of those encounters in which the peasantry, left to themselves, began to pluck up courage against the English. He dwells on it complacently—"because," he naively remarks, "the thing happened near my own country, and was bravely performed by the peasants, by Jacques Bonhomme."<sup>6</sup>

"There is a tolerably strong place in the little village near Compiègne, which holds of the monastery of Saint-Corneille. The inhabitants, seeing that they would be in danger should the English seize this fortress, with the regent's and the abbot's permission, occupied it, collected arms and provisions, and were joined by others, who sought its shelter, from the neighboring villages. They all pledged themselves to their captain, to defend the post until death. This captain, whom they had chosen with the regent's consent from among themselves, was a tall, fine man,† named Guillaume-aux-Allouettes.‡ He had with him another peasant, of incredible bodily strength, enormously huge and tall, vigorous and full of daring, but, notwithstanding his vast size, having a mean and humble opinion of himself. His name was Le Grand Ferré.§ The captain kept him near

\* Per rusticos, seu Jacques Bon Homme, strenuos expellunt. Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 123, col. 2.

† Petita licentia a domino regente, et etiam ab abbate monasterii. Id. ibid.

‡ Unum magnum elegantem nomine Guillelmum dictum Alaudis. Id. ibid.

§ Et juxta ejus corporis magnitudinem, habebat in se

\* Multum solennes, et eloquentes quam plurimum, et locuti. Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 130.

† Trésor des Chartes, reg. 90, p. 362. Sécouste, l. 403.

‡ Sécouste, l. 304.

§ See, above, p. 360.

his person, *reined in as it were*, to give him head at the fitting time.\* Into this place, then, two hundred laborers, or handicraftsmen,† had thrown themselves. The English, who were encamped at Creil, thought little of them, and soon began to say—'Let us drive out these clowns; it is a strong place, and we ought to occupy it.' They made their approach unperceived, and, finding the gates open, entered boldly. Those within are astonished when they look out of the windows, to see these armed men there. The captain is soon surrounded, and mortally wounded. Then Le Grand Ferre and the rest say, 'Let us go down; let us sell our lives dearly; we can expect no mercy.' So they go down, sally out by several doors, and begin striking at the English as if they were thrashing their wheat on the thrashing-floor.‡ Up went their arms, then down—and each blow was mortal. Le Grand, seeing his master and captain lying mortally wounded, heaved a deep groan, then threw himself between the English and his comrades, whom he equally overtopped by the head and shoulders, handling a heavy axe, and redoubling stroke upon stroke with such effect that the place was soon clear—not a blow fell without riving helm or beating down arm. Hereupon the English take to flight, and many leap into the fosse and are drowned. Le Grand slays their standard-bearer, and tells one of his comrades to bear the English banner to the fosse. On his pointing out that there was still a crowd of enemies between them and the fosse, 'Follow me, then,' exclaimed Le Grand, and he went straight forward, smiting with his axe right and left, until he flung the banner into the water. . . . He killed on this day more than forty men. . . . As for the captain, Guillaume-aux-Alouettes, he died of his wounds, and they buried him with many tears, for he was good and wise. . . . The English were defeated another time by Le Grand, and outside of the walls too.\*\* Several English of noble birth were made prisoners, who would have given good ransoms, had they held them to ransom *as the nobles do*;†† but they were put to death, that they might do no more mischief. This time, Le Grand, heated by this work, (*cette besogne*), drank freely of cold water, and was attacked by a fever. He went off to his own village, gained his cot, and took to his bed, not, however, without keeping by his side his iron axe,‡‡ which an ordinary mor-

tal could hardly lift. The English, hearing that he was ill, one day sent a dozen men to kill him. His wife, seeing them coming, began to cry out, 'Oh! my poor Le Grand, here are the English, what shall we do?' . . . Instantly, forgetting his sickness, he springs up, seizes his axe, and sallies out into the small yard—'Ah! brigands, you think to take me in bed; you have not caught me yet.' . . . Then, placing his back against a wall, he slays five off hand; the rest take to their heels. Le Grand returns to his bed; but he was heated, and again drank cold water. His fever returned more violently than before, and, in a few days, after receiving the sacraments of the church, he departed this life, and was buried in the village churchyard. He was wept by all his comrades, by the whole district; for, had he lived, the English would never have come there.††

It is impossible not to be touched by this simple narrative. These peasants, who only undertake to defend themselves by permission of their superiors, this strong and humble man, this good giant, who yields cheerful obedience, like the St. Christopher of the legend—in all this, we see a fine image of the people. They are evidently simple and brutelike still, impetuous, blind, half-man, half-bull. . . . They neither know how to keep their own doors, nor to keep themselves from their appetites. When they have thrashed the enemy, like corn in a barn, when they have wrought a good day's work with their axe, and got heated with their work, worthy workmen as they are, they quaff cold water, take to their bed, and die. Patience; disciplined by the rude education of the wars, and the rod of the English, the brute will become man. Grasped closer hourly, held as if in a vice, they will slip away, will cease to be themselves, will be transfigured. Jacques will become Jeanne, Jeanne, the virgin—the Pucelle.

The common expression—a good Frenchman, dates from the epoch of the "Jacks" and of Marcel? It will not be long before the Pucelle will exclaim, "My heart bleeds, when I see the blood of a Frenchman."

A saying like this is enough to mark in history the true beginning of France. Henceforward, we are Frenchmen. They are Frenchmen, these peasants. Gosh! not, they are already the French people, they are you, O France. Whether you see them in history glorious or foul, under Marcel's hood, or the jacket of Jacques, you must not fail to own them. For my part, I will trace these humble ones, in the midst of the rencounters of horrons and good strokes of the lance, in which the heedless

humilitatem et reputationis insignem perversionem nomine Magnus Ferrus. Id. ibid.

\* Pecunia habuit quasi sed fructum suum. Id. ibid.

† Viam suam humiliter sustentat. Id. ibid.

‡ Pater Anglorum ita se habebat: . . . sed tunc in horreo, more suo, ubi fruges assent. Id. ibid.

§ Magistrum et capitaneum. Id. ibid.

|| Ut quadrangula vasa penebatur et crederet. Id. ibid.

¶ Id. ibid.

\*\* Exercent de pen. cum. Id. ibid.

†† Non modice sed facit. Id. ibid.

‡‡ Non tamen sine hacie ferrea. Id. ibid.

\* Veniens a cultu, vultu. Contr. acc. adhuc me non habet. Id. ibid.

† Magna de se. Quasi a vultu ad locum. Id. ibid.

‡ Magna de se. Quasi a vultu ad locum. Id. ibid.

|| Magna de se. Quasi a vultu ad locum. Id. ibid.

¶ Magna de se. Quasi a vultu ad locum. Id. ibid.

§ Magna de se. Quasi a vultu ad locum. Id. ibid.

|| Magna de se. Quasi a vultu ad locum. Id. ibid.

¶ Magna de se. Quasi a vultu ad locum. Id. ibid.

§ Magna de se. Quasi a vultu ad locum. Id. ibid.

|| Magna de se. Quasi a vultu ad locum. Id. ibid.

¶ Magna de se. Quasi a vultu ad locum. Id. ibid.

§ Magna de se. Quasi a vultu ad locum. Id. ibid.

|| Magna de se. Quasi a vultu ad locum. Id. ibid.

¶ Magna de se. Quasi a vultu ad locum. Id. ibid.

§ Magna de se. Quasi a vultu ad locum. Id. ibid.

|| Magna de se. Quasi a vultu ad locum. Id. ibid.

¶ Magna de se. Quasi a vultu ad locum. Id. ibid.

§ Magna de se. Quasi a vultu ad locum. Id. ibid.

|| Magna de se. Quasi a vultu ad locum. Id. ibid.

¶ Magna de se. Quasi a vultu ad locum. Id. ibid.

Froissart delights; will follow them in this grand mella, under the spur of the gentleman, under the belly of his horse. Sullied, disfigured as they may be, I will bring them forward into the full light of justice and of history, in order that I may be able to say to this ancient people of the fourteenth century, "You are my father and my mother. You have conceived me in tears. You have sweated sweat and blood to make me a France. Blest be you in your tomb. God keep me from ever denying you!"

When the dauphin re-entered Paris, leaning on the murdered, he was received with the shouts and acclamations usual on such occasions. They who in the morning had taken up arms for Marcel, hid their red hoods, and shouted louder than the rest.\*

With all this clamor, however, few had confidence in the dauphin. His long lanky figure, pale complexion, and lengthened countenance, (*visage longuet*),† had never taken with the people. They looked for neither great good nor great harm at his hands: however, prosecutions were instituted in his name against some of Marcel's party. For his own part, he neither loved nor hated any one. It was not easy to move him. As he made his entry, a burgher boldly stepped forward and exclaimed, "By God, sir, if I had been listened to, you should never have come in here; but you won't get much by it." As the count de Tancarville was about to cut down the *vilain*, the prince held him back, and only answered, "I can't believe you, fair sir."

The situation of Paris was not improved. The dauphin could do nothing for it. The king of Navarre took possession of the Seine above and below. Burgundy sent up no more wood; all supplies were stopped from Rouen. The fruit-trees round about were cut down for firing.‡ The setier of wheat, usually sold for twelve sols, says the chronicler, now fetches more than thirty livres.§—The spring was mild and genial: a new source of grief to the numbers of poor countryfolk shut up in Paris, and who could neither till their fields, nor prune their vines.¶

\* *Illi rubei capiti, qui antea pompose gerebantur, absconditi . . .* Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 120.

† *De courage estoit hault et bien forme, droit et le par les espaulles, et haigne par les flans, groz bras et beauls membres, visage un peu longuet, grant front et large; la chiere ot assez pale, et croy que ce et ce qu'il estoit moult maigre, luy estoit venu par accident de maladie; chault, fierus en nul cas n'estoit greve.* He was of tall stature and well-made, straight and broad shouldered, his arms large, limbs shapely. Free rather English, forehead high and wide; his countenance was very pale, and I believe that this, and his excessive meagerness, had been the result of sickness; hot and passionate he never was on any occasion. Christ. de Pisan, c. v. part. i. c. 17, p. 281.

‡ *Unde arbores per itinera et vineas incidebantur.* The chronicler goes on to state, that "a cord of wood which used to be sold for two *solins*, now fetches a florin." Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 121.

§ "A quart of good wine . . . twenty four soldi." Id. p. 125, conf. p. 129.

¶ "The vines which supply that desired fluid, which makes glad the heart of man . . . were left neglected." Id. p. 124.

To move out was impossible. The English and Navarrese scoured the country. The first had taken up their position at Creil, and commanded the Oise. They seized the forts in every direction, without troubling themselves about truce or treaty. The Picards offered some resistance; but the men of Touraine, Anjou, and of Poitou, bought safe conducts of them, and paid them tribute.\*

On seeing the English thus establish themselves in the heart of the kingdom, the king of Navarre at last becomes more alarmed by it than the dauphin himself, makes peace with him, without stipulating for any advantage, and promises to be a *good Frenchman*.† Nevertheless, the Navarrese went on taxing the boats on the upper Seine. The reconciliation, however, of the dauphin and the king of Navarre made the English reflect. At the same time, Normans, Picards, and Flemings made a joint expedition to deliver, so they said, king Jean.‡ They contented themselves with burning an English town. At any rate, the English received a personal lesson in the miseries of war.

The conditions which they at first sought to impose on France were monstrous, impossible. They demanded not only all that faces them—Calais, Montreuil, Boulogne, the Ponthieu, not only Aquitaine, (Guyenne, Bigorre, Agenois, Quercy, Perigord, Limousin, Poitou, Saintogne, Aunis,) but Touraine, Anjou, and Normandy to boot; that is to say, it was not enough for them to occupy the straits and close the Garonne, but they also wished to close the Loire and the Seine, to block up the slightest glimpse we catch of the ocean, to pluck her eyes out of France.

King Jean had signed all, and promised in addition four millions of gold crowns for his ransom. The dauphin, who could not consent so to despoil himself, caused the treaty to be refused by an assembly of some deputies from the provinces, which he dignified by the title of States-General. Their answer was, "That king Jean must still remain in England, and God would provide a remedy in his own good time."§

The English king took the field; but with the view, this time, of conquering France. He repaired first to Reims, to be crowned there. He was attended on this expedition by the whole nobility of England. Another army, on which he had not reckoned, waited for him at Calais. A swarm of men-at-arms, and of German and Low Country barons, having heard the rumor of the intended conquest, and hoping for a share of the spoil, such as William the Conqueror distributed among his followers, sought

\* *Nullus saluus, nisi ab eis saluum conductum litterarum obtinebat.* Id. p. 122. . . . *Se eis tributarios redderunt.* Id. p. 125.

† *Volo esse bonus Galicus de cetero.* Id. p. 123.

‡ "They only acted with the design of crossing the straits and invading England." Id. p. 125.

§ Froiss. c. 419, p. 404, ed. Buchon.

¶ *Venit ante Remis, ut se ibi, civitate expugnata, faceret coronari in regem Francie.* Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 126.

to assist at this "high day and holy day." They were already, in imagination, "possessors of so much wealth that they would never be poor."<sup>6</sup> They waited for Edward until the 26th of October, and he had great difficulty in getting rid of them. He was obliged to help them to return home, and to lend them money which would never be repaid.†

Edward was followed by six thousand men-at-arms completely armed in mail, his son, his three brothers, his princes and great barons. The armament resembled an English emigration into France. To make war in all manner of comfort, they brought along with them six thousand wagons, ovens, mills, forges, and tools of all kinds. So far did they carry their forethought, as to provide themselves with packs of dogs for the chase, and with leather boats for fishing in during Lent. Indeed, they could expect no supplies from a country which was a desert, and where, for three years, the land had never been sown.‡ The towns, closely shut up, took care of themselves; they knew that they had no mercy to expect from the English.

From the 28th of October to the 30th of November, they made their way through mud and rain from Calais to Reims. They had reckoned on the wines; but the heavy rains had ruined the vintage.‡ They remained seven weeks cooling their heels before Reims, and laying waste the surrounding country; but Reims did not budge. Turning their backs on it they passed Châlons, Bar-le-Duc, and Troyes, and then entered the duchy of Burgundy. The duke compounded with them for two hundred thousand gold crowns§—a piece of luck for the English, who but for it would have derived no advantage from all this mighty expedition.

Edward encamped close to Paris, passed his Easter at Chanteloup, and then advanced to Bourg-la-Reine. "From the Seine to Etampes," says the eye-witness, "not a living being can be found."<sup>6</sup> All have sought shelter in the three faubourgs of Saint-Germain, Saint-Marcel, and Notre-Dame-des-Champs. . . . Monthéry and Longjumeau are on fire . . . all around we see the smoke of burning villages rising to heaven. . . . On Easter day I saw the priests of ten communes officiate at the Carmelites . . . the next day, orders were given to burn down the three faubourgs, and all were

allowed to take away what they could, wood, iron, tiles, &c. There was no lack of hands to do this quickly. Some wept, others laughed. . . . Near Chanteloup, twelve hundred human beings, men, women, and children, had thrown themselves into a church. The captain, fearing that they would surrender, set fire to it. . . . The whole church was burnt to the ground, and not three hundred persons escaped. Those who leaped out of the windows found the English beneath, who butchered them, and derided them for having burned themselves. I learned this lamentable event from a man who had escaped, through our Lord's will, and who thanked God for it."<sup>6</sup>

The English monarch durst not attack Paris,† but drew off towards the Loire, without having been able to force an engagement, or to take any place. He reassured his men by promising to lead them back to Paris in vintage-time. But this long winter campaign had worn them out; and, near Chartres, they were exposed to a terrific storm which completely exhausted all their patience,‡ and during which, Edward is said to have made a vow that he would restore peace to both countries. The pope implored him so to do. The French nobles, unable to draw any revenue from their possessions, besought the regent to come to terms at any price. No doubt, king Jean, too, was importunate with his son. At the conference, opened at Bratigny on the 1st of May, the English at first demanded the whole kingdom; next, all that had been owned by the Plantagenets—Aquitaine, Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine. At last, they gave way as regarded the four last provinces. But Aquitaine was made over to them in full possession, and not as a fief; and so was Calais, with the surrounding country, the counties of Ponthieu and of Guines, and the viscounty of Montreuil. The king was to pay the enormous ransom of three millions of gold crowns, six hundred thousand to be paid in four months, before he left Calais, and four hundred thousand yearly, for the six following years. After having killed and dismembered

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. pp. 195, 197.

† "The English . . . drew nigh. . . . The barons, many of whom were in the city with the king's regret, posted themselves, well armed, outside of the walls, not far from the fortresses and towers. . . . However, there was no engagement." Ibid.

‡ "Most of the provisions and baggage wagons were left on the road, converted into a slough by the rain." Ibid.

"Their route was covered with the dead bodies of men and horses, the victims of want and fatigue; and in the neighbourhood of Chartres, they found themselves exposed in one of the most dreadful storms recorded in history. The violence of the wind and the bulk of the halibones, the incandescent glare of the lightning, and the sight of the thousands perishing around him, awakened in the heart of the king a sense of the horrors (overlooked by his ambition). In a fit of remorse he sprang from his saddle and stretching his arms towards the cathedral of Chartres, vowed to God and the Virgin that he would no longer object to proposals of peace, provided they were compatible with the preservation of his house." Lingard's England, vol. iii. p. 49, ed. in 6s. He quotes Froissart, c. 260, and Raynham, p. 264. Raynham says that 6000 horses perished on that day.—I have saved.

<sup>6</sup> Froissart, c. 259, p. 405, ed. Buchon.

† "They could obtain nothing except some small sums lent them to carry them home again." Froissart, b. i. c. 205.

‡ "These hunts," says Froissart, "were made surprising by well of boiled leather they were large enough to contain three men, to enable them to fish any lake or pond, whatever might be its size. . . . the king had, besides, thirty falcons on horseback, laden with hawks. . . . fifty couples of strong hounds, and as many greyhounds, so that every day he took the pleasure of hunting or fishing either by land or water. Many lords had their hawks and hounds as well as the king." Froissart, b. i. c. 210.

§ Ibid. iv. c. 231 p. 10, ed. Buchon. § Ibid. ibid. p. 11.

¶ "As I was told at Paris, where I was, when describing these incidents." Comptes de de Langis, p. 125.

¶ "A famine horrible unique ad Etampes non remanet vix non nulli." Ibid. p. 125.

France, England continued to press upon her, so that if any life and marrow should be left, she might drain it.

Paris went wild with joy at this lamentable treaty. The English who came with it to procure the dauphin's oath to the terms, were welcomed as angels from heaven, and were presented with what the city esteemed its most precious possession—some thorns from the real crown of thorns preserved in the Sainte-Chapelle. The sage chronicler of the time gives in to the general enthusiasm:—"On the approach," he says, "of the Ascension, of the period at which the Saviour, having restored peace between his Father and mankind, soared to heaven in triumphant joy, he would not allow the people of France to remain afflicted. . . . The conferences began on the Sunday on which the hymn *Cantate* is sung at church. On the Sunday for the hymn *Vocem jucunditatis*, the regent and the English repaired to Notre-Dame, to swear to the treaty. The transports of the people were beyond all words. The bells of this, and of the other churches in Paris, set ringing, murmured in pious harmony, and the clergy sang, in all joy and devotion, *Te Deum laudamus*. . . . All rejoiced, save, perhaps, such as made large gain by the wars, as the armorers, for instance . . . false traitors and brigands feared the gibbet. But let us leave off speaking of them."<sup>\*</sup>

This joy was of short duration. This peace, so much wished for, made all France weep. The ceded provinces would not become English. Whether the government of the English were better or worse, their insupportable pride made them everywhere detested. The counts of Perigord, of Comminges, Armagnac, the sire d'Albret, and many others, maintained with reason that the lord had no right to give away his vassals. Rochelle, the more French that Bordeaux was English, besought the king, in God's name, not to desert her. The Rochellers declared that they would rather be taxed every year in *half of their worldly substance*, and still further—"We may submit to the English with our lips, but with our hearts, never."<sup>†</sup>

They who remained French were but the more wretched for it. France had degenerated into a farm of England's, where one only worked in order to liquidate the enormous amount of the king's ransom. We have still, in the *Tre'sor des Chartes*, the receipts given on this account. It makes one ill to look at these parchments—the sweat, groans, and tears each of these bits of rag has cost, can never be

known. The first (dated Oct. 24, 1360) is the receipt for the *charge for King Jean's keep*, at the rate of ten thousand reals a month.<sup>\*</sup> The noble hospitality, so vaunted by historians, Edward enforced payment for—the jailer, before ransoming, had his *fee* counted out to him. Then comes a fearful receipt for four hundred thousand gold crowns, of the same date. Then, a receipt for two hundred thousand, (December.) Another, for one hundred thousand, (on All Saints' day, 1361;) another, for two hundred thousand, and for fifty-seven thousand gold agnuses, besides, to make up the two hundred thousand promised by Burgundy, (February 21.)—In 1362, are receipts for the several sums of one hundred and ninety-eight thousand; thirty thousand; sixty thousand; and two hundred thousand gold crowns.<sup>†</sup> The payments continue down to the year 1368, though many of the receipts are missing. The ransoms of the nobles amounted, it is probable, to as considerable a sum.

The first payment could not have been made, had not the king hit upon a disgraceful resource. While he was giving provinces, he gave away one of his own children. The Visconti, the wealthy tyrants of Milan, coveted a marriage with a daughter of France, imagining that the alliance would gain them consideration in Italy. The ferocious Galeazzo, who hunted down men in the streets, and had cast priests, alive, into an oven, asked in marriage for his son, who was ten years of age, a daughter of Jean's, who was eleven. Instead of receiving a dowry, he gave one—three hundred thousand florins in free gift, and as much for a county in Champagne. The king of France, says Villani, sold his own flesh and blood.<sup>‡</sup> The little Isabella was exchanged, in Savoy, for florins. The child did not suffer herself to be given up to the Italians with any better grace, than Rochelle did to the English.

By aid of this unfortunate Italian money, the king was enabled to leave Calais—which he did, poor and bare. On the 5th of December, (A. D. 1360,) he was obliged to impose a new aid on his ruined people. The terms in which the ordinance runs are remarkable. The king, in a manner, asks pardon of his people for speaking to them of money. He recalls, tracing back as far as Philippe de Valois, all the ills which *he and his people have suffered; he has abandoned to the chance of battle his own body and his children; he has treated at Breigny, not so much for his own deliverance only, as to avoid the perdition of his kingdom and of his good people*. He asserts that he will do good and loyal justice, that he will suppress all new tolls, that he will coin good and strong gold and silver money, and black money for the

<sup>\*</sup> Contin. G. de Nangis, pp. 127, 128.

<sup>†</sup> Et disoient bien les plus notables de la ville, "Nous pourrions les Anglois des levres, mais les eues ne s'en mouvront ja." Froiss. c. 441, pp. 229, 230, ed. Buchon.—The regrets of the inhabitants of Cahors are not less touching:—"The y answered with weeping and lamentations . . . that it was not they who acknowledged the king of England, but our lord the king of France who left them orphans." Communicated to me by M. Laroche, on the authority of the *Archives de Cahors*, and the *MS. de la Bibl. Royale*.

<sup>\*</sup> Archives, Section Historique, J. 630, 640

<sup>†</sup> *Id. ibid.* J. 641.

<sup>‡</sup> Mat. Villani, xiv. 617. "The French king, who was himself in danger, in order to have the money sooner ready, lightly lent himself to the business." Froiss. iv. c. 440, p. 75, ed. Buchon.

convenience of giving alms to the poor. "We have ordained, and do ordain, that we must take from the said people of the Langue d'Oïl what is needful to us, and which will not agrieve our people so much as would altering the value of our coin, to wit—twelve deniers the pound on merchandise, to be paid by the seller, on aid of a fifth on salt, and of a thirteenth on wine and other drinks. With which aid, for the great compassion we entertain for our people, we will content ourselves; and it shall be levied only until the completion and verification (*entérinement*) of peace."<sup>o</sup>

However mild and paternal the mode of the demand, the people were no longer in a condition to pay: all money had disappeared. It behooved to apply to the usurers, to the Jews, and this time, to grant them a fixed settlement, and guarantee them liberty of residence for twenty years. A prince of the blood was appointed guardian of their privileges—which were excessive, as we shall show elsewhere—and took on himself a special obligation, to see that they were paid their debts. For these privileges they were to pay twenty florins each on re-entering the kingdom, and seven yearly. One Manasses, who farmed all the Jewry, was to have for his trouble the enormous percentage of two florins out of the twenty, and one per annum out of the seven.<sup>†</sup>

The sad and empty years that follow, 1361, 1362, and 1363, present externally only the receipts of the English, and internally, only high prices of provisions, ravages of brigands, dread of a comet, and a great and fearful mortality. This time, the malady attacked adult men and children, more than old men and women, and struck down preferentially the strength and hope of generations. Everywhere were mothers in tears, widows, and women in black.<sup>‡</sup>

Want of nourishment had much to do with this epidemic. Hardly any thing was brought into the towns. There was no going from Paris to Orleans, or to Chartres; the country was infested by Gascons and Bretons.<sup>§</sup>

The nobles who returned from England, and who felt that they must be despised, were not less cruel than the brigands. Jean d'Artois quarrelled with the city of Peronne, which had bravely defended itself, and there followed almost a crusade of the barons against the people. Supported by the king's brother, and by the nobility, Jean d'Artois took English into his pay, laid siege to Peronne, took it, and burnt it.<sup>||</sup> Chauny sur Oise, and other towns, were similarly treated. In Burgundy the no-

bles even acted as guides to the bands which pillaged the country;<sup>\*</sup> and as these brigands universally called themselves English, the king forbade them to be attacked. He prayed Edward to write to his lieutenants on the subject.<sup>†</sup>

These plunderers styled themselves the Tard-Venus, (the Late-Comers;) arriving after the war, they yet wanted their share of the spoil. The principal band began operations in Champagne and in Lorraine, then passed into Burgundy. Their leader was a Gascon, who, like the archpriest, was for leading them to see the pope at Avignon,<sup>‡</sup> taking Forez and the Lyonnais in his way. Jacques de Bourbon, who happened to be in the South at the time, was interested in protecting Forez, a territory belonging to his nephews and his sister.<sup>§</sup> This prince, who was generally beloved,<sup>||</sup> soon collected a number of the barons. He was accompanied by the famous archpriest, who had given up the command of the free companies; and had he followed this man's counsels, he would have destroyed them. Coming into presence at Brignais, near Lyons, he fell into a gross snare; believing the enemy weaker than was the case, he attacked them on a hill on which they were posted, and was slain, together with his son, nephew, and numbers of his followers, (April 2d, 1362.)<sup>¶</sup> His death, however, was a glorious one. The first title of the Capets to the love of their country is the death of Robert-le-Fort at Brissart; that of the Bourbons, the death of Jacques at Brignais—both slain in defending the kingdom against brigands.

The free companies, having no longer any thing to fear, scoured the two banks of the Rhone. One of their leaders styled himself—The friend of God, the enemy of all the world.<sup>\*\*</sup> The pope, trembling in Avignon, preached a crusade against them. But the crusaders preferred joining the companies.<sup>††</sup> Happily for Avignon, the marquis of Montferrat, a member of the Tuscan league against the Visconti, took part of them into his pay, and led them into

\* "Some knights and squires of the country were of intelligence with them, and acted as their guides." Froissart, iv. c. 62, p. 123, ed. Buchon.

† "But there were others who would not obey it, saying that they had made war in the name of the king of Navarre." Froissart, b. i. c. 214.

‡ "These free companies resolved that they would advance with their forces, about the middle of Lent, towards Avignon, and visit the pope and cardinals." *Ibid.*

§ "This was very unpleasant news to the lord Jean, who had taken the management of the countie of the countie of Forez for his nephews, as well as to all the other chiefs." *Ibid.* c. 215.

|| *Ibid.* c. 214.

¶ Froissart, iv. c. 62, pp. 141-142, ed. Buchon.—M. Ailhaud's note on this passage has unfortunately not come down to Jacques de Bourbon's death.—As regards the date, see M. Duclos's remarks. Froissart, iv. c. 123, ed. Buchon.

\*\* *Ibid.* c. 62, p. 123, ed. Buchon.

†† "He the pope retained all soldiers, and others, who were desirous of saving their souls, and of gaining the eternal pardon. But he would not give them any pay, which caused many of them to depart. . . . and some joined those wicked companies, which were daily increasing." Froissart, b. i. c. 215.

<sup>o</sup> Ord. iii. p. 633.

<sup>†</sup> *Ibid.* p. 657.

<sup>‡</sup> Comte G. de Nangis, p. 129.

<sup>§</sup> The brigands had surprised a fort near Corbeil. A number of men at arms undertook to retake it, and did still more harm to the country, which suffered more from its defenders than its enemies. The dogs aided the wolves to devour the flock. The fable is told by the continuator of Nangis, p. 131.

<sup>||</sup> Comte G. de Nangis, p. 132.

Italy, where they carried the plague. To decide them to depart, the pope gave them 30,000 florins, and absolution.\*

The mortality which depopulated the kingdom, at least gave Jean a fair inheritance. The young duke of Burgundy dying, as well as his sister, the first house of Burgundy became extinct, leaving both Burgundies, Artois, the counties of Auvergne and of Boulogne, without a head. The nearest heir was the king of Navarre, who asked to be allowed to take possession of Burgundy, or, at least, of Champagne, which he had so long claimed. He got neither. It was impossible to suffer these provinces to pass to a foreign prince, and he so odious. Jean proclaimed their perpetual annexation to his own domain,† and set out to take possession, "journeying by small stages, and at great expense, stopping at every town and city in the duchy of Burgundy."‡

Here he learned, without travelling any the quicker, the death of Jacques de Bourbon. About the end of the year, he went down to Avignon, where he spent six months in the midst of festivals, and where he hoped to make a fresh conquest without the trouble of war. Joanna of Naples—she who had suffered her first husband to be murdered—was a widow a second time. Jean aspired to be her third bridegroom. He was himself a widower, and only forty-three years of age. Taken prisoner, but after a splendid resistance,§ this soldier king was an object of interest to Christendom, as Francis the First was after Pavia. The pope had no mind to make a king of France master of Naples and of Provence; and he gave this queen of thirty-six years of age to quite a youthful husband, not a son of France, but Jayme of Aragon, son of the dethroned king of Majorca.

To console Jean, the pope encouraged him in a project which seemed insensate at the first glance, but which would in reality have recruited his fortunes. The king of Cyprus had come to Avignon, to entreat succor and propose a crusade. Jean took the cross, and numbers of the great barons with him.|| The king of Cyprus went to Germany to exhort to the crusade; Jean undertook a similar mission to England. One of his sons, who had been a

hostage there, had returned to France in contempt of treaties. Jean's return to London wore the most honorable appearance. He seemed to have come to repair his son's fault. Some asserted that the miseries of France had driven him thither in disgust: others, that he was attracted by the charms of some mistress.\* However, the kings of Scotland and of Denmark were to meet him there. As king of France, he was the natural president in every assembly of kings. Humiliated by the new system of warfare which the English had introduced, the king of France would have resumed, through the medium of the crusade, under the old banner of the Middle Age, the first rank in Christendom. He would have borne off the free companies along with him, and delivered France from them.† Even the English and the Gascons, notwithstanding the indisposition of the king of England to the enterprise, who alleged his age as a reason for not assuming the cross,‡ said aloud to the king of Cyprus—"That it was in truth an expedition in which all good and honorable men should act together, and that if it pleased God to open a way, he should not go on it alone."§ Jean's death put an end to these hopes. After a winter in London of festivals and feasting,|| he fell ill, and died regretted, it is said, by the English, whom he himself loved, and to whom he had become attached, simple as he was, and without gall, during his long captivity. Edward buried him magnificently in St. Paul's. According to eye-witnesses, there were consumed at his funeral four thousand torches, each twelve feet high, and four thousand tapers, weighing ten pounds each.¶

France, mutilated and ruined as she was, still stood, by the avowal of her enemies, at the head of Christendom. It is this poor France's fate, to see from time to time envious Europe rise against her, and conspire her ruin. Each time they think they have slain her, and imagine that there is no longer a France: they draw lots for her spoils, and joyfully rend asunder her bleeding members. She clings to life; and flourishes again. She survived in 1361, ill-defended, and betrayed by her nobility: she survived in 1709, when aged with the age of her king; and again did she survive in 1815, when attacked by the whole world. . . . Thus

\* "King John and his whole kingdom were much rejoiced when they found themselves delivered from these people; but many of them returned back into Burgundy." *Id. ibid.*

† The king of Navarre was descended from an eldest sister, but in remoter degree, à un degré intérieur. John maintained, that according to the written law, descent goes no further in a right line than brothers' sons, but that the nearest of blood inherits. *Secousse, Preuves de l'Hist. de Charles le Mauvais, t. ii. p. 201.*

‡ *Froiss. iv. c. 471, p. 14<sup>e</sup>, ed. Buchon.*

§ See the prose Chronicle of Duguesclin, edited by M. Francisque Michel, p. 105.

|| "After the sermon, which was very humble and devout, the king of France, through his great devotion, put on the cross, and requested the pope, with great sweetness, to confirm it to him." *Froissart, b. i. c. 217.*

\* *Causa joel, (for sport's sake,) says the severe historians of the time. Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 123.*

† " . . . To draw out of his kingdom all those men-at-arms, called free companions, who pillaged and robbed his subjects without any shadow of right, and to save their souls." *Froiss. b. i. c. 217.*

‡ "Yes," answered the king of England: "I will ever oppose such a work, unless some things should happen to me or to my kingdom which I do not at this moment foresee." The king of Cyprus could never obtain any thing more from king Edward, in respect to this crusade: but as long as he remained, he was politely and honorably treated with a variety of grand suppers." *Id. ibid. c. 218.*

§ *Id. ibid.* || *Id. ibid. c. 219.*

¶ *Quatuor millia torcia . . . quodlibet torcium de duodecim pedibus in altitudine, &c. Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 123.*





the Sire Bertrand Duguesclin,\* whose prowess he had witnessed at the siege of Melun,† and who had fought on the side of France since 1357.

The life of this famous leader of companies, who delivered France both from the companies and the English, has been sung, that is, spoiled and obscured, in a kind of chivalrous *épopée*, which was probably composed to reanimate the military spirit of the barons.‡ Our histories of

John Rousset, &c. Benbro could not find a sufficient number of English in his garrison: there were but twenty, the remainder were Germans and Bretons. Among them were, Sir Robert Knolles, Croquart, Herve de Lexualen, John Plesanton, Richard and Hugh le Gaillard, Jannequin Taillart, Ressefort, Richard de la Lande, Thomein Billefort, Hugh Calverley, Robinet Melipars, Yfai or Isannal, John Russel, Dagorne, and a soldier, named Hulbitee, of a very large size, and of great strength, &c.

Benbro first entered the field of battle and drew up his troop. Beaumanoir did the same. Each made a short harangue to his men, exhorting them to support their own honor and that of their nation. Benbro added, there was an old prophecy of Merlin, which promised victory to the English. As they were on the point of engaging, Benbro made a sign to Beaumanoir he wished to speak to him, and represented he had engaged in this matter rather imprudently: for such combats ought first to have had the permission of their respective princes. Beaumanoir replied he had been somewhat late in discovering this; and the nobility of Brittany would not return, without having proved by battle which had the fairest mistresses. The signal was given for the attack. Their arms were not similar: for each was to choose such as he liked. Billefort fought with a mallet 25 pounds weight, and others with what arms they chose. The advantage at first was for the English: as the Bretons had lost five of their men. Beaumanoir exhorted them not to mind this, as they stopped to take breath; when each party having had some refreshments, the combat was renewed. Benbro was killed. On seeing this, Croquart cried out, "Companions, don't let us think of the prophecies of Merlin, but depend on our courage and arms: keep yourselves close together, be firm, and fight as I do." Beaumanoir, being wounded, was quitting the field to quench his thirst when Geoffrey du Bois cried out, "Beaumanoir, drink thy blood, and thy thirst will go off." This made him ashamed, and return to the battle. The Bretons at last gained the day, by one of their party breaking on horseback the ranks of the English: the greater part of whom were killed. Knolles, Calverley, and Croquart, were made prisoners, and carried to the castle of Josselin. Tintenne, on the side of the Bretons, and Croquart, on the English, obtained the prize of valor. Such was the issue of this famous combat of thirty, so glorious to the Bretons, but which decided nothing as to the possession of the duchy of Brittany. —*Johnes's Froissart*, b. i. c. 148, edition in two vols. 8vo., —*TRANSFATOR*.

\* "At this time there armed himself, and kept always under arms, Francois, a knight of Brittany, who was called Messire Bertrand Duguesclin." *Froiss.* iv. c. 4-1, p. 179, ed. Buchon.—Duguesclin is named in deeds, severally, Glesquin, Glesquin, Glayaquin, Glesquin, Gleyquin, Claikin, &c. This would make him out the true Breton race. He himself inclined to believe that he was descended from a Moorish king, Hakim, who had withdrawn into Brittany, and being driven out of the country by Charlemaigne, left behind him in the tower of Glay a son whom Charles had baptized. After the Christian war, the constable wished to cross into Africa and conquer Buzan. See the manuscript in the Royal Library. Bibliothèque du Roi, entitled, *Conquête de la Bret. Armorique, faite par le preux Charlemaigne sur une pays nomme Aquin, qu'il avoit usurpé*, &c. No. 35, 36, c. 1. P. Lelong.

† *Froiss.* iiii. and *Vie de Duguesclin*, published by Menard c. 6, p. 67, and c. 10, p. 83.

‡ "C'est que le mosteraine just Chevaliers,  
Et pour l'amour du prince qui de Dieu soit sauve,  
Ain qu'on n'eust pas les bons fais oubliés  
D'un vaillant constable qui tant fut redoubté:  
En cest il les beaux vers noblement ordenez."

He who put him in rhyme was Chavher; and for the king's love whom God save, in order that the good deeds might not be forgotten of the so valiant and redoubted constable, he has composed a nobly ordered poem. *MS. de la Bibl. Royale*, No. 7724.

Duguesclin are little more than translations of this *épopée* into prose; nor is it easy to disguise what is serious and truly historical from the poetical figment. Wherever the poem and the romances are consistent with the well-known character of the Bretons, we willingly trust to them, as we may do whenever they candidly confess their hero's disadvantages. They confess, in the first place, that he was ugly,—of moderate height, brown complexion, flat nose, green eyes, broad-shouldered, with long arms and small hands.\* They say that from childhood he was a wicked imp, "rough, full of tricks and hardy pranks," fond of getting his comrades together, forming them into troops, beating and hurting them. His father was obliged to confine him for a time. However, a man had early predicted that the child would turn out a renowned knight; and he was still further encouraged by the predictions of a certain damsel, hight Tiphaine, whom the Bretons looked upon as a witch, and whom he afterwards married. Nevertheless, this intractable battler was, as Bretons are wont to be, a boon companion, free of his money, now rich, now ruined, giving at times all he had to ransom his men; but, on the other hand, greedy of plunder, rude, and merciless in war. Like the other captains of his time, he preferred stratagem to all other means of conquest, and always avoided pledging his word and honor. Before battle, he was the tactician, the man of resources and subtle device. He could foresee and provide. But, once in the fight, his Breton head hurried him away, he plunged into the mêlée, and that so far that he could not always draw back again. He was twice taken, and had to pay ransom.

The king's first business was to throw open the Seine; and Mantes and Meulan being in the king of Navarre's hands, Boucicaut and Duguesclin seized on them by an egregious piece of treachery.† These towns had to pay for all the mischief which the Parisians had suffered from the Navarrese; and the citizens enjoyed the pleasure of seeing twenty-eight of their inhabitants hung at Paris.‡

The Navarrese, strengthened by a body of English and Gascons under the capital de Buch.

M. Macé, Professor of History, has given an interesting notice of this important manuscript in the *Annuaire de la Seine*, 1835.

\* "Mais l'enfant dont je dis et dont je vois parlant,  
Je crois qu'il n'est si laid de Resme a Dinant,  
Car il estoit et noir, malotru et masquant. (†)  
Le pere et la mere si le heoient tant . . ."

† But the child of whom I spoke, and am speaking, I think there was none so ugly from Rennes to Dinant. He was flat nosed and black, miserable and . . . ? His father and mother hated him so much . . . *MS. de la Bibl. Royale*, No. 7224.

See also the chronicle in prose, reprinted by M. Francisque Michel.

‡ "In order the better to blind the inhabitants, Sir Bertrand and his forces came full gallop into the town, crying, 'St. Yves Guesclin's death to the Navarrese.' They entered pillaged the houses of whatever they found, and made prisoners of whom they pleased: they also murdered several." *Froissart*, b. i. c. 220.

§ Contin. G. de Nangis, p. 132, col. 2.

sought revenge, by endeavoring to hinder Charles V. from proceeding to Reims; but Duguesclin advanced to meet them with a large troop of French, of Bretons, and of Gascons as well.\* The capital fell back towards Evreux. He halted at Cocherel, on a gentle eminence; but Duguesclin manœuvred so as to deprive him of the advantage of the ground, by sounding a retreat and feigning to fly. The capital could not hinder his English followers from rushing down; they were too haughty to attend to a Gascon general, although a great baron, and of the house of Foix. He was obliged to succumb to his soldiers, and follow them to the plain. Here Duguesclin wheeled round: and thirty of his Gascons, as was planned beforehand, rushed on the capital and hurried him away prisoner from the midst of his troops.† The other Navarrese leaders were slain; the battle gained.‡

Gained the 16th of May, it was known on the eighteenth at Reims, the evening before the coronation—a fine new year's gift (*etrenne*) to the new monarch. Charles V. bestowed on Duguesclin a reward such as king had never given—a princely establishment, even the county of Longueville, the heritage of the king of Navarre's brother.§ At the same time, he ordered the sire de Saquenille, one of the chief counsellors of the said king, to be beheaded. He treated no better the French who were found in the free companies.¶ It began to be remembered that robbery was a crime.

The next year brought the war of Brittany to an end. Charles of Blois would have consented to a division of the province, but his wife would not.¶ The French king lent Charles, Duguesclin and a thousand lances. The prince of Wales sent to Montfort the brave Chandos, two hundred lances, and as many archers; and many English knights joined the party.\*\*

\* "By the head of St. Antony, Gascon against Gascon will make mischief enough." Froissart, i. c. 221.—Lord Bunsen translates, "By Saint Antony's cap, Gascon against Gascon."

† "I therefore think that if we order thirty of our boldest and most expert cavaliers to do nothing but to follow and attack the capital . . . they may seize him and carry him off between them in some place of safety, where they will remain until the end of the battle." Froissart, i. c. 222.

‡ "When the French had drawn up their forces their chiefs . . . long debated what war cry they should use and whose banner or pennon they should fix on as a rallying point. They for a long time determined to cry, 'Notre Dame Ausonne' and to make the cry of Ausonne their commander for that day. But the earl would not by any means accept of it. This is the first pitched battle I was ever at . . . we have here many very able and enterprising knights such as my lord Bertrand [Duguesclin] my uncle the archbishop." &c. It was therefore resolved they should cry, 'Notre Dame Guesclin.'" Id. ibid.

§ The letters of gift bear date May 27, 1364. Duchatelet, Hist. de Duguesclin, p. 267. In 1365 the king paid part of Duguesclin's ransom, and took back the county. Id. ibid. p. 268.

¶ "Quarter was given to all the foreign soldiers . . . but all brigands French by birth who had thrust themselves there were put to death." Froissart, i. c. 228. p. 230 ed. Bunsen.

\*\* Jean, Hist. de Bretagne, t. ii. l. iv. p. 122.

•• For John Chandos "asked several knights and squire

Montfort and the English were on an eminence, just as the prince of Wales was at Poitiers. Charles of Blois did not disturb himself about the matter. This devout prince, who believed in miracles, and who performed them, had refused at the siege of Quimper to retreat before the tide. "If it be God's will," he said, "the tide will harm us not." He stopped no more before the hill of Auray, than he had done before the tide at Quimper.

Charles of Blois was the strongest. Many Bretons, even of *Bretagne bretonnante*, had joined him; doubtless, out of hate to the English.\* Duguesclin had drawn up his force in admirable order. Each man-at-arms carried his spear right before him, cut down to the length of five feet; a battle-axe, sharp, strong, and well-steeled, with a short handle, was at his side, or hung from his neck . . . "they advanced thus handsomely, a foot's pace . . . it was a very fine sight . . . for the French were in such close order, that one could scarcely throw a tennis-ball among them, without its falling on a helmet or a lance."† Sir John Chandos gazed long and intently on the order of their march, "and having well considered the dispositions of the French in his own mind, thought so highly of them, he could not remain silent, but said, 'As God is my help, it appears to me that all the flower and honor of chivalry is there, most wisely and expertly drawn up.'"‡

Chandos had secured a body of reserve, to support each body as might be needed; and it was not without difficulty that he prevailed on one of his knights to remain behind in command of it. He was obliged to have recourse to prayers, and even to tears,§ since the feudal prejudice esteemed the front rank the only honorable post. Duguesclin could not have carried the point with any of his knights.

The two aspirants fought at the head of their troops: the battle was a duel, without quarter. The Bretons were wearied of the war, and desired to bring it to a conclusion by the death of one or the other.¶ Chandos's reserve gave him the advantage over Duguesclin, who was borne to the ground and taken. All fell back on Charles of Blois. His banner was seized, thrust into the dust, and himself slain. The

of Aquitaine to accompany him, but few went except the English." Froissart, i. c. 225.

\* "The viscount de Rohan the lord de Leon de Kar goat, Kerprony de Lohac . . . and many others whom I cannot name." Id. ibid.

† Id. c. 226.

‡ Id. ibid.

§ "This conduct nearly brought tears into the eyes of Sir John. He again addressed him gently saying, 'Sir Hugh it is absolutely necessary that either you or I take this command now consider which can be best spared.'" Id. ibid.

¶ "It appears to me that orders had been given to the English army, that if they should gain the battle, and the lord Exeter were taken, they made great no ransom should be taken for him but that they should kill him. In a sum, of course the French and Bretons had given the orders respecting the lord John de Montfort, for on this day each party wished by battle to put an end to the war." Id. c. 227.

noblest barons of Brittany persisted in the hopeless struggle, and fell with him.\*

When the English hurried joyfully to show Montfort his enemy, of whom they had ridded him, his French blood awoke within him—it might be the force of kindred—but tears gushed from his eyes.† Under the cuirass of the fallen Charles, it was found that he wore sackcloth. His piety and fine qualities were recalled to mind. He had only recommenced the war out of deference to his wife, as heiress of Brittany. But this saint‡ was a man as well. He made verses, and composed *lays* in the interval of battles. He had been given to love; and a natural son of his was slain by his side, seeking to avenge his death.§

In a few days, the strongest places in the country surrendered to Montfort. Charles of Blois' children were prisoners in England. The king of France, who had carried no passion into the war, came to terms with the conqueror, and persuaded Charles's widow to be contented with the county of Ponthièvre, the viscounty of Limoges, and a revenue of ten thousand livres.|| The king did wisely. The main point was to hinder Brittany from doing homage to the Englishman. It was a safe bet, that sooner or later, the province would grow weary of England's *protégé*.

To have brought to an end the war of Brittany, and that with the king of Navarre, was something: but it required time for France to recover. The bare enumeration of the ordinances of Charles V., is enough to unveil the deplorable wounds occasioned by the war. The majority are to verify the diminution of *hearths*, (*de feux*;) and to recognise the impossibility of the depopulated communes any longer paying taxes.¶ Others are protections issued by the king to towns, abbeys, hospitals, and chapters. So powerless was the public protection, that a special one was needful. Towns, corporations, and universities, require their privileges to be secured them. Many cities are declared to be inseparable from the crown. The Italian merchants at Nîmes, the Castilians and Portuguese at Harfleur and at Caen, obtain specific privileges. Altogether we find no general law promulgated; all is special and individual. We are conscious how far the kingdom is still off from unity, how weak and suffering it still is.

The great curse of the kingdom was the robberies of the free companies. Dismissed by

the English, and driven from the isle of France, from Normandy, Brittany, and from Aquitaine, the companies fell back on the centre, and scoured Berry and the Limousin, &c. The brigands felt quite at home there. It was their barracks, was their insolent observation.\* They were of all nations, but mostly English and Gascons, with a sprinkling of Bretons. The people called them all English, nor has any thing more contributed to exasperate France against England. Offers were made to the free companies to tempt them to the crusade. The emperors had secured them a passage through Hungary, and offered to defray their expenses in their route through Germany. But the majority had no desire for so distant an expedition;† and few of those who made up their minds to go, in the hope of plundering Germany by the way, arrived there. Led by the archpriest as far as Alsace, they found themselves opposed by a serried and hostile population, who fell upon them on all sides, and the greater number perished. Some made their way into Italy.

But they chiefly emigrated in the direction of Spain and Castile, seeking employment in the wars between Don Henriquez de Trastamare and his brother, Don Pedro the Cruel; a surname deserved by all the Spanish kings of the period. In Navarre there reigned Charles-le-Mauvais, (Charles the Wicked,) the murderer and poisoner; in Portugal, Don Pedro the Justicer, he who did such cruel justice on the death of Inez di Castro; in Aragon, Don Pedro the Ceremonious, who, without even the formality of a trial, hung up by the feet a legate charged with the office of excommunicating him. In like manner Don Pedro the Cruel had burnt alive a monk, who had foretold that his brother would put him to death. To learn what Spain was, after having less to fear from the Moors she yielded to their influence, and became Moresco, Jewish, and any thing rather than Christian, turn to the chronicle of Ayala. The unsparing wars carried on against the unbelievers had imparted to the Spaniard a tinge of ferocity, which assumed a darker shade when he was subjected to the severe fiscal yoke of the Jews.‡

This Pedro the Cruel was a sort of furious madman, in whom the two jarring elements of Spain contended for mastery, and made a monster of him. He piqued himself on his high sense of chivalry, as did every Castilian; and, at the same time, intrusted the whole administration of his kingdom to Jews, in whom alone,

\* Id. *ibid.*

† Id. c. 228.

‡ "And he was venerated as Saint Charles." Id. *ibid.*—Urban V., a good Frenchman, ordered, it is true, an inquiry to be held, previously to canonizing Charles of Blois, but he died before it was concluded; and his successor, Gregory II., did not act upon the return made in favor of his canonization, for fear of offending the duke of Brittany. Hist. de Bretagne, p. 326, cited in a note by M. Ducier in Buchon's edition of Froissart.

§ "Un sien fils bâtard, qui s'appelloit messire Jean de Blois." Froissart, iv. c. 510, p. 234, ed. Buchon. He proved himself, says Froissart, a brave man at arms.

|| Froissart, c. 515, pp. 275-280, ed. Buchon.

¶ Ord. iv. 617, 651.

\* Froissart, iv. c. 517, p. 283, ed. Buchon.

† Id. *ibid.* pp. 284, 285.

‡ The court had to give satisfaction to the people more than once. In 1329, the Jew, Joseph, was forced, in order to appease the general discontent, to render an account of his administration of the Exchequer; and a law was passed, excluding all but Christians from employment in the finance department. In 1360, Don Pedro put to death Samuel Levi, whom Don Juan Alphonso had recommended to him as treasurer ten years before. He had amassed an enormous fortune. Ayala, c. cxi.

and the Moors, he placed any confidence.\* He was said to be the son of a Jewess. But for this partiality to the Jews, the good-will of the communes would have been entirely his, on account of his cruelty towards the nobles.

However, this man of blood loved. His mistress was Donna Maria de Padilla, described by a contemporary as being "*petite, handsome, and witty*."† Out of complaisance to her, he imprisoned his wife Blanche, sister-in-law to Charles V., and at last poisoned her. He had already murdered heaven knows how many of his subjects. His brother, Don Henriquez de Transtamare, who had every thing to fear, fled to the king of France to solicit him to avenge his sister-in-law.

The king readily gave him the free companies which were ravaging France. They were offered a passage through his territories by the king of Aragon, and received authority from the pope to invade Castile. Among other acts of violence, Don Pedro had laid hands on the goods of the Church.‡

Nominally, the young duke of Bourbon was the leader of this expedition: its real leader was to be Duguesclin,§ still a prisoner, and whom the English would not ransom for less than 100,000 francs:¶ so the king, the pope, and Don Henriquez, raised the sum between them.

Duguesclin took command of these adventurers, and led them into Spain, but by way of Avignon, in order to make further demands on the pope's coffers; and drew from him 100,000 francs in gold, besides a general absolution for his men. His army increased by the way.¶

\* In 1356, desiring to attack the king of Aragon "he sent to Mahomed, king of Grenada for the aid of a few soldiers." *Id. c. 21.*

† "*E. formosa, e pequena de corpo, et de buen entendimiento*." *Id. c. vi.*

‡ "*Whose loud and great complaints came daily to our holy father, the pope*." *Id. c. 21.* p. 256. cf. Buchon.

§ There is a Languedocian ballad extant on this Spanish expedition. *Chanson dits le bertat dits sur la guerra d'Espaigne*. *faits par le generosus Guesclin assés et des nobles mouins de la France*. 1267. Don Monier, i. p. 10 and Froiss. ix. p. 286. cf. Buchon.

¶ Charles V. lent him this sum, on condition of his taking the free companies out of the kingdom. "To all whom these present letters may concern I, Bertran du Guesclin knight count of Languedoc chamberlain of the king of France, my much divided and sovereign lord, give greeting.—We wish to know that in consideration of a certain sum of money, que parun certain somme de deniers, which the said king, my sovereign lord, some time since, gave us as a loan, as well to put out of his kingdom the companies which were in and about Breffing, Normandy, and Gascony and elsewhere in the low mark, as to be paid to pay part of our ransom to the noble messire Jean de Campes, the count of St. Sever and constable of Aquitaine, whose prisoners we are, We have promised and given to the said king, my sovereign lord, by our faith and oath to put and to take out of his kingdom the said companies as quickly as we may be able, without fraud or subterfuge, and likewise without permitting them or suffering them to dwell or stay in any part of the said kingdom, except having as they journey, and without making any claim on our own part, so on that of the said companies from the said king, my sovereign lord, or his subjects, or good cities, for money or any other whatever." *Id.* August 22d 1385. *Froiss. l. 491.*

¶ At the leaders of these companies were there, the lords Bertrand Broquet, Jean de la Motte, the lord of Artois, the lord of Camille, &c." *Froiss. l. i. c. 228.*

for although the English king had prohibited his subjects from taking any part in the war, a crowd of English and Gascon adventurers, reckless of the prohibition, flocked to the Frenchman's standard, to the high displeasure of Edward.\*

These men, whose first step had been holding the pope to ransom, nevertheless pretended to consider this Spanish war a crusade. When arrived in Aragon, they sent to request the king of Castile to give a passage and provisions "to God's pilgrims, who had undertaken through devotion an expedition into the kingdom of Grenada, to revenge the sufferings of our Lord and Saviour, to destroy the infidels, and exalt the cross. Don Pietro only laughed at their request, and sent for answer that he would never attend to such a beggarly crew."†

Their march, indeed, was like a pilgrimage. There was no enemy to fight. Don Pedro was abandoned, and could find no other asylum than among his friends, the Moors of Andalusia. From thence he repaired to Portugal, thence to Galicia, and finally to Bordeaux, where he met with a favorable reception.‡ The English, driven furious by rage and spite, undertook to lead back Don Pedro in triumph, and restore the executioner of Spain. They were filled with that diabolical pride which has so often turned their head, sensible as they seem to be; that pride, which impelled them to burn the Maid of Orleans, and which, in Pitt's time, would have led them to burn France.

The prince of Wales was so infatuated with the notion of his irresistible power, that he was not content with undertaking to re-establish Don Pedro in Castile, but promised the despoiled king of Majorca to restore him to his lost crown of Aragon. The Gascon lords, who had little desire to go so far for English interests only, ventured to tell him that restoring Don Pedro was more difficult than expelling him. "My lord," they said, "you have often heard the old proverb of 'All covet, all lose.' . . . We wish to know from whom we are to have our pay, as it is not customary for men-at-arms to leave their habitations to carry on a war in a foreign country, without receiving wages."§ Don Pedro gave them every promise they required—he had left treasures concealed in spots known to himself alone, he would give them six hundred thousand florins.¶ To the prince of Wales he was to give up Bayona, that is to say, the gate of the Pyrenees, which would turn out to Spain a Calais.¶

All the English adventurers in the army of

\* Many knights who were attached to the prince and several others were of the party." *Id. ibid.* *Id. l. 491.*

† *Id. c. 222 p. 315* *Id. ed. Buchon.* *Id. c. 223 p. 322* *Id. M. Buchon's note.*

‡ As the poet of Passagium claims to be, "The English will see on it a better delight, if we are not on our guard."

§ This note was written in 1385, at the time of the Chabot struggle, when the British legion was acting in Spain. *Id.* TRANSLATION.

Don Henriquez were recalled into Guyenne. They left, well paid by him, in order to return and defeat him, and gain as much in Don Pedro's service\*—such were the faith and honor of that day. In like manner, the king of Navarre treated at one and the same time with both parties, taking money from the one to open, from the other to shut, the mountain-passes. So great was his apprehension of compromising himself in the interest of either, that, just as he was about to open the campaign with the English, he contrived to get himself taken prisoner.†

The prince of Wales had more men-at-arms than he wanted,‡ more than he could feed. When he had advanced as far as the Ebro, into a country ruined by wind, rain, and snow, provisions failed, and a small loaf fetched a florin.§ Don Henriquez was counselled to avoid an engagement, seize the passes, and starve out his enemy; but his Spanish pride forbade. He saw himself at the head of three thousand men completely clad in mail, six thousand light cavalry, (according to Froissart,|| twenty thousand men-at-arms,) ten thousand crossbow men, and sixty thousand militiamen, (*comuneros*,) with lances, darts, and slings. After all, this army was little more than an undisciplined mass. The English bowmen were worth more than the Castilian slingers; the English lances carried further than the swords and daggers of which the French and Aragonese were so fond.¶ The battle was ordered by that brave and cool John Chandos, who had already won for the English the battles of Poitiers and Auray.\*\* Notwithstanding the efforts of Don

Henriquez, who rallied his men three times, the Spaniards fled. The free companions remained unsupported, offering useless resistance.\* The whole army was either cut to pieces or taken; and Chandos, for the second time, made Duguesclin prisoner.

This was a proud day for the prince of Wales. It was just twenty years since he had fought at Crecy, and ten since he had gained the battle of Poitiers. "He gave judgment concerning arms, and all things thereunto belonging, in the plain of Burgos, he there kept the field and the wager of battle, so that we may truly say that all Spain for a day belonged to him."†

The French king, much dejected at this news, durst not give Henry of Transtamare his support. On a letter from the princess of Wales, he hastened to forbid the fugitive prince to attack Guyenne, and even threw into prison the young count of Auxerre, who was taking up arms for Don Henriquez.‡

The conquerors remained in Spain, waiting for Don Pedro to pay them out of his buried treasures. They grew exceedingly weary of their stay: the sombre hospitality of the Spaniards did not repay them for so long a sojourn. The heavy heats came on; they threw themselves on the fruits, and were carried off by dysentery in crowds. The prince of Wales was not one of the slightest sufferers. After having lost four-fifths, it is said, of their number, they determined on recrossing the mountains, out of humor, sickly, and ill-paid.§

The prince of Wales, who had passed his word for Don Pedro, being unable to meet their demands, they plundered Aquitaine. At last, he told them to seek their living elsewhere. Elsewhere, was France.|| Thither they betook themselves; and, as they plundered by the way, they failed not to give out that the prince of

\* . . . "they immediately took leave of king Henry in the most courteous manner they could, without discovering either their own or the prince's intentions. King Henry, who was liberal, courteous, and honorable, made them very handsome presents, thanking them most gratefully for their services. . . . they left Spain, and returned as speedily as possible." Froiss. b. i. c. 233.

† "Some in the army thought it might have been done designedly. . . . as he was uncertain what would be the issue of the business between king Henry and Don Pedro." Id. *ibid.*

‡ "The prince might have had foreign men at arms, such as Flemings, Germans, and Brabanters, if he had chosen it; but he sent away numbers, choosing to depend more on his own subjects and vassals than on strangers." Id. c. 235.

§ Id. c. 240.

¶ Id. *ibid.*

¶ Id. *ibid.*

\*\* The following is so characteristic of the age, that I cannot refrain from giving it:—"Sir John Chandos advanced in front of the battalions with his banner uncased in his hand. He presented it to the prince, saying, 'My lord, here is my banner: I present it to you, that I may display it in whatever manner shall be most agreeable to you; for, thanks to God, I have now sufficient lands to enable me so to do, and maintain the rank which it ought to hold.' The prince Don Pedro being present, took the banner in his hands, which was blazoned with a sharp stake gules on a field argent, after having cut off the tail, to make it square, he displayed it, and, returning it to him by the handle, said: 'Sir John, I return you your banner. God give you strength and honor to preserve it.'"

† Upon this, Sir John left the prince, went back to his men with his banner in his hand, and said to them: "Gentlemen, behold my banner and yours: you will therefore guard it as it becomes you." His companions, taking the banner, replied with much cheerfulness, that "if it pleased God and St. George, they would defend it well, and set worthily of it, to the utmost of their abilities." The banner was put into the hands of a worthy English squire, called William Allestry,

who bore it with honor that day, and loyally acquitted himself in the service." Froiss. b. i. c. 241.

The editor of the edition of Johnes's Froissart, to which the above reference is given, remarks, "This ceremony gave Chandos the rank of knight banneret, which it is supposed that he, who had seen so many stricken fields, had not received before. This order of knighthood was the most honorable, being conferred only on the field of battle. A. the treatises on heraldry say that it must be conferred after the battle, although in this case we see an instance of its being obtained before the fight; the strict rule being probably waived in consideration of the knight's former deeds. . . . The last knight banneret created in England was Sir John Smith, who was advanced to the dignity after the battle of Edgehill, for rescuing the royal standard: he was slain in battle at Alresford, in Hampshire."—THOMAS LATOR.

\* Froiss. c. 354, pp. 408, 409, ed. Buchon.—The poor *comuneros*, hotly pursued, threw themselves into the Ebro, "into muddy, black, hideous water." *Ibid.* p. 411.

† Froiss. b. i. c. 242.

‡ Id. *ibid.* c. 243.

§ Knighton, col. 2629; and Froissart, b. i. c. 90.

|| "the air and heat of Spain had been very hurtful to their health; even the prince himself was unwell, and in low spirits."—Walsingham says the rumor was, that the prince had had poison given him. Wals. p. 117.

¶ "The prince had them spoken to, and entreated that they would change their quarters, and seek elsewhere for a maintenance. . . . they entered France, which they called their home." Froiss. b. i. c. 264.

Wales, their debtor, had authorized them to take payment on this fashion.\*

Through pride, the prince committed another fault. He set Duguesclin at liberty, which was giving the free companies a leader. The wise Chandos, "who was his master," had said that he never should be ransomed.† "Now it happened that one day, when the prince was in great good humor, he called Sir Bertrand Duguesclin, and asked him how he was. 'My lord,' replied Sir Bertrand, 'I never was better: I cannot otherwise but be well, for I am, though in prison, the most honored knight in the world.' 'How so?' rejoined the prince. 'They say in France,' answered Sir Bertrand, 'as well as in other countries, that you are so much afraid of me, and have such a dread of my gaining my liberty, that you dare not set me free; and this is my reason for thinking myself so much valued and honored.'" The Englishman was piqued. "'What?' Sir Bertrand," he answered; "do you imagine that we keep you a prisoner for fear of your prowess? By St. George, it is not so; pay a hundred thousand francs, and you are free." Duguesclin took him at his word.‡

Ayala says that the prince, in order to show how little he cared for Duguesclin, told him to fix his own ransom. Duguesclin's haughty reply was, "Not less than a hundred thousand francs"—above a million of our money. The prince was amazed. "Where will you get them, Bertrand?" On this, according to the chronicle, Bertrand made the following fine reply, which has nothing improbable about it.—"My lord the king of Castile will pay one-half, the king of France the other; and if that be not enough, there is not a French woman who can spin, but will ply her distaff for my ransom."§

He did not presume beyond his value. War was imminent. While Charles V. was giving an honorable reception at Paris to a son of the English king's, who was about to marry at Milan, the free companies dismissed by the English were laying waste Champagne, and scouring the country up to the neighborhood of the capital.¶ It was too bad to pay and to be plundered.

The prince of Wales had returned from Spain, laboring under dropsy, and his army was little better. The Gascons, who had engaged in this English undertaking on the faith

of Don Pedro's buried treasures, returned poor, in sorry plight, and in bad humor. Besides, they bore the prince more than one old grudge. He had forced the count of Foix to grant a passage to the free companies, had asked the lord of Albret for a thousand lances, and had left eight hundred on his hands.\* The Southerners disliked the English, not only on account of their exactions, but because they were English; that is to say, tiresome, and disagreeable to live with. These lively, witty, and talkative races, writhed under their proud taciturnity, and constant complacent rumination on the battle of Poitiers.†

The prince of Wales despised the Gascons. He chose, with English tact, this moment of ill-humor to lay on their lands a hearth-tax (*fouage*) of ten sols the hearth.‡ Instead of paying them, he asked them for money—a hearth-rate from the poverty-struck population of the Landes, from poor mountain goatherds—a hearth-rate from those brave petty nobles, who were never rich, save in younger brothers and bastards. The prince had summoned the States to meet at Niort, in the hope of converting the Gascons by the good example of the Poitevins and Limousins; but they were insensible to it. He lost his labor in transferring the States to Angoulême, Poitiers, Bergerac—they had no more fancy to pay at Bergerac than at Niort.

And not only would they not pay, but they applied to the king of France—telling him, with the vivacity of their country, that they wanted justice; that his court was the justest in the world; and that if he would not entertain their appeal, they would seek out another lord.§ The king, who was not prepared for war, endeavored to restrain their impetuosity. He did not march in their defence, he did not dismiss them; but he kept them at Paris, feasted them, supported them.¶ Large fortunes were to be made out of this good king. The Englishman did not pay, even after service done; but he paid in advance. He gave, even to petty knights, not money only, but establishments, princely fortunes. He was a father to the Bretons and Gascons. He bore them no ill-will. The more you had drubbed his sol-

\* Being mightily vexed, he exclaimed, "My lord, the prince of Wales laughs at me." In his rage he called for a secretary, and said to him, "Write—my dear lord, have the goodness to understand I cannot separate myself from the rest of any of them be dismissed, I am convinced they will all go their way. May God keep you in his holy protection." *France* b. i. c. 235.

† And the men of Flanders, Saint-ange, Quercy, Limousin, and Rouergue, from their nature, cannot love the English, who in their turn being proud and presumptuous cannot love them, nor have they ever loved them, and still love them more now than ever, but hold them in great detestation and scorn." *Id.* *ibid.* c. 20.

‡ And not of a frame as Froissart states. See Letters of the prince of Wales, Jan. 24th 1363. *Mss. de la Bibl. Royale*. I am indebted for this note to M. Lacroix.

§ *France* b. i. c. 240.

¶ *Id.* *ibid.* And we will recompense you with our daughter, when the prince of Wales, who purchases, is ever commended." *France* iv. c. 365, p. 664, ed. Buchan.

\* "Some of those who had been made prisoners by the French garrison said that the prince of Wales encouraged them, and said: 'Id. *ibid.*'

† Froissart continues—"Sir Bertrand was very anxious for his liberty, and now having heard upon what terms he could obtain it, taking the prince at his word, replied: 'My lord, though God's will, I will never pay a less sum.' The prince, when he heard this, began to repent of what he had done." *Id.* *ibid.*

§ "N'a Chastillon en France, qu'un anche il fies  
Qu'il ne gageast sa vie, et ses finances a fies  
Qu'il ne se ne voit, avant bien de voir les gres." *Mss. de la Bibl. Royale*, No. 7234, folio 68.  
; *France* c. 365, 366, pp. 657-660, ed. Buchan.

diers, the better he treated you. He welcomed with open arms the Vendean, Clisson; one of those to whom the defeat of the French at Auray was most owing. To the capital de Buch he offered the duchy of Nemours. He bestowed on the lord of Albret the hand of a daughter of France.\* It greatly flattered the Gascons to see a countryman of theirs become a prince, and brother-in-law of the kings of France and Castile.

On the 25th of January, 1369, the prince of Wales received at Bordeaux a doctor of law and a knight, who bore him a summons from the king of France—a polite invitation to come to Paris, and to answer before the peers, touching certain griefs which, “through weak advice and wrong information, the prelates, barons, knights, and commons of the marches of Gascony on the frontiers of our kingdom, have suffered at your hands, to our utter amazement.”† The invalid, having looked at their credentials, haughtily replied in the words of William the Conqueror, “We shall willingly attend on the appointed day at Paris, since the king of France sends for us; but it will be helmet on head, and followed by sixty thousand men . . . . It shall cost a hundred thousand lives.” The prince was in such ill-humor, that, after allowing the messengers to depart, he had them pursued, arrested, and thrown into prison on a juggling pretext. “for fear they should go relate their gibes and prattle to the duke of Anjou, who loves us little, and say how they have summoned us personally in our own palace.”‡

The king of France, on the contrary, feigned to believe that this Gascon business did not affect the king of England, and sent him a present, at this very conjuncture, of fifty pipes of good wine; which, however, the Englishman would not accept. He had but recently discharged one of the payments on account of king Jean's ransom.

Charles could endure and wait; his affairs went on not the less prosperously. In the North, he gained over the men of the low countries. He tampered with Ponthieu and Abbeville. In the South, he had long before made the pope appoint creatures of his own to the bishoprics of all the English provinces. Beyond the Pyrenees, he dispatched Duguesclin and some of the free companies to help the Castilians to free themselves from the king whom the English had imposed upon them. In return, Don Henriquez promised to equip against the English a fleet twice as large as that of the French king.

Many of the communes sided with Don Pedro, for no other reason than his cruelty to the nobles. The Moors and Jews, in particular, were with him; bad auxiliaries, who were unable to defend him, and who gave his party an

evil reputation. He had withdrawn into the least Christian part of Spain, Andalusia, whither Don Henriquez and Duguesclin rapidly following him with a small body of trusty men, did not leave him time to recognise the number of the assailants. The Jews, who, contrary to all their habits, had taken up arms, at once laid them down; and the Moorish arrows could not repel heavy-armed cavalry. Duguesclin ordered no quarter to be given to the unbelievers.\* Don Pedro had but time to throw himself into the castle of Montiel. It is said that Duguesclin promised to allow him to escape, and betrayed him; that the two brothers, suddenly meeting in Don Henriquez' tent, flew at each other; that Don Pedro threw Henriquez down, and that Duguesclin seizing Don Pedro by the leg, and drawing him undermost, his brother ended him with a blow of his dagger.† The romance of this story does not lessen its probability.

The battle of Montiel was fought on the 14th of March. By the end of April, Charles V. broke out, surprised Ponthieu, and challenged the English monarch. The challenge was borne to Westminster by a kitchen lackey;‡ a choice of messenger, which, in a less serious matter, would have seemed a practical epigram. These conquering English, overcome in Spain by the fruits, in France by the wines, were worn out and aged by their excesses. Lionel, a son of Edward the Third's, died at Milan of indigestion. His countrymen averred that he was poisoned.

There were but too good reasons for breaking the peace. The English themselves had broken it, by letting loose the free companies on France. However, Charles V. neither spoke of this, nor of the reclamations of the Gascons at the treaty of Bretigni, and of their violated privileges. He preferred seeking some technical flaw in the treaty itself. The States-General, deferentially consulted by him, decided that his right was valid, (May the 9th, 1369) he got the court of peers to pronounce in his favor the confiscation of Aquitaine; and boldly stated in his proclamation that the suzerainty and right of appeal had been reserved to him by the treaty of Bretigni.

He might lie boldly: all the world was with

\* *Id. ibid.* c. 245.

† Instead of Duguesclin, as stated by Ayala. Froissart ascribes this act to the viscount de Rocaberti.

‡ The passage is as follows:—“As soon as king Henry had entered the chamber where Don Pedro was, he said, ‘Where is this son of a Jewish whore, who calls himself king of Castile?’ Don Pedro, who was as bold as well as a crow, stepped forward, and said: ‘Why, thou art the son of a whore, and I am the son of Alphonso.’ On saying this, he caught hold of king Henry in his arms, began to wrestle with him, and, being the strongest, threw him down under him upon a mattress with a silk covering; placing his hand on a poniard, he would infallibly have killed him, if the viscount de Rocaberti had not been present, who, seeing Don Pedro by the legs, turned him over, by which means king Henry being uppermost, immediately drew a long poniard which he wore in his sash, and plunged it into his body.” *Froiss. b. i. c. 245.*—TRANSLATOR.

‡ *Id. ibid.*

§ *Bécausse, Préf. aux Ord. vi. p. 1.*

\* *Froiss. ibid.* c. 564, p. 440, ed. Buchon.

† *Froiss. b. i. c. 247.*

‡ *Id. ibid.* c. 248.

him. The free companies declared themselves French. The bishops of Aquitaine, long gained over by the archbishop of Toulouse, put him in possession of their cities; and sixty towns, burghs, or castles, expelled the English—even Cahors and Limoges, whose bishops were apparently thoroughly English.\* Charles V. decried these miracles: invalid as he was, he was ever walking in some devout procession, barefooted.† The popular preachers advocated his cause from their pulpits. The king of England, too, made the bishop of London preach: but not with the same success.‡

All the cities which gave themselves up to Charles V. obtained confirmation and increase of their privileges. The progress of his conquest may be traced from charter to charter: in February, 1370, their charters are confirmed to Rhodés, Figearc, and Montauban; that of Mulhaud in Rouergue bears date May; in July follow those of Cahors and Sarlat. §

It is difficult to believe that so cool-headed and wise a prince ever seriously entertained the idea of invading England. He did his best to have it believed that such was his intention, no doubt to draw the English to the North, and so hinder them from crushing the movement in the South. In fact, they landed an army at Calais under the duke of Lancaster. The large overgrown army of the French, five times more numerous than that of the English, had express orders not to engage. It remained immovable, and then withdrew amidst the hootings of the English,\* who, nevertheless, lost both their time and money. The towns of the North were well affected, and they retook several strongholds in the South, but with a loss that far more than counterbalanced their gains, the irreparable loss of the captain to whom they owed the victories of Poitiers, of Auray, and of Najarra, the wise and able John Chandos \*\*

This brave man had foreseen all. Directly that the prince of Wales persisted, in opposition to his advice, in imposing the fatal hearth-tax, Chandos withdrew into Normandy. Then, on the rising of the South, he returned to repair the mischief, to save the thoughtless who would not listen to him; but he had little hopes from the wars. The historian of the time represents him as very sad and melancholy, (*melancholique*.) as if he had foreseen his approaching death, and the loss of the English provinces. After his death, the English monarch followed his advice, and revoked the tax. It was too late.\*

As it usually happens when misfortune befalls one, the English committed blunder after blunder, mistake after mistake. It was their policy to secure at any cost the king of Navarre, and employ him against France. According to all appearances, the bargain depended on the viscounty of Lunoëz, which the Navarrese coveted; but the prince of Wales would not break into his kingdom of Aquitaine, feeling the necessity of retaining this gate of France.† Refusing, he lost every thing. The French monarch won back the king of Navarre by giving up to him Montpeller, in fulfilment of an old promise.‡ Shortly afterwards, he had the address to win over the new king of Scotland, the first of the house of Stuart.§ Castile, Navarre, Flanders, Scotland—he detached all from England. He isolated his enemy.

The pride of England was so deeply engaged in this war, that Edward still found means, despite his numerous losses, to send two armies into France. While one of his sons, the duke of Lancaster, went to the relief of the prince of Wales, who was blockaded in Bordeaux, (the end of July, 1370,) another army, under the leading of an old captain, Robert Knolles, entered Picardy, (the same month.) Neither encountered any resistance. Duguesclin, Clisson, &c., recommended the avoiding of a pitched battle, and to confine all operations to skirmishing and the defence of fortified places, leaving the open country to chance. The soldiers of free companies knew no other criterion than success, and the bravest among them preferred to triumph by stratagem rather than by open means—as to the honor of the kingdom, they knew not what it meant. So the duke of Bourbon had to sit still and see his mother, the mother of the queen of France,

\* From Vol. 26 p. 26 of Bulletin

the king of France, moved by devotion and humanity, ordered frequent processions of the wick, a custom which he himself, as well as the queen, attended with the utmost care and benediction. The king ordered that the subjects of his realm to do the same, the advice of the prelates and churchmen in this time of affliction. *Travels*, p. 162.

11. In truth, it was not proper that both kings, as they were determined on war, should have been so near each other to the objects of the war. It is probable that they might not extend and have not been so near each other, had they known the purpose they were to execute. It is not to be denied that

6. On the way to the 2011 ERI 30th Annual Meeting  
from 10/10/10 to 10/11/10

- In c. 1492 p. 110 ed. Buchan

• Is it this page that I'm not looking at?

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\* For use on 314 p. 16" x 24" sheets.

Revue de l'histoire de la France p. 131, and  
Revue de l'histoire de la France p. 131.

SECRET

6 KENNEDY, VI p 694.



borne prisoner by the English along the very front of his lines, insultingly paraded in the hopes of bringing on an engagement. He proposed a single combat, but declined battle.\*

A more outrageous insult was offered at Noyon. Seyton, the Scot, leaped over the barriers of the town, hammered away an hour with the French, and returned safe and sound.† The English army penetrated to Champagne, to Reims, to Paris, destroying and burning all on its passage, and seeking in its wantonness to find some ravage cruel enough, some goad keen enough, to arouse the enemy's sense of honor. For one day and two nights, the king patiently beheld from his hotel St. Paul the flames of burning villages on every side of Paris. A numerous and brilliant chivalry—the Tancarvilles, Coucys, and Clissons were in the city, but he held them back. Indeed Clisson, whose courage was well known, encouraged this cruel prudence:—"Sire, why should you employ your men against these madmen! Let them go about their business. They cannot take your inheritance from you, nor drive you out of it by smoke."‡

As the army was drawing off, an English knight rode up to the barrier St. Jacques, which was open and thronged with knights, in order to fulfil a vow that he would strike the barrier of Paris with his lance. Our knights applauded him, and allowed him to depart.§ This insult to the walls of the city, to the honor of the *pomerium*, so sacred to the ancients, did not touch their feudal minds; and the Englishman was slowly retiring, when a brave butcher steps out on the road, and, with a heavy long-handled axe, strikes him between the shoulders, then repeats the blow, but on his head, and unhorses him.¶ Three others came up, and the four hammer on the Englishman "as on an anvil." The knights posted at the barriers recovered his body, and had him buried in holy ground.

The prince of Wales encountered no more opposition to laying siege to Limoges, than knollies had to insulting Paris. Duguesclin himself had recommended disbanding the army of the South, and had retained only two hundred lances for scouring the country. The

prince was the more embittered against its inhabitants from the fact, that their bishop, who had instigated them to their defection, had been his creature and gossip; and he had sworn by his father's soul that he would make the city dearly rue its treason. In their alarm, the citizens wished to surrender; but they were prevented by the French captains. However, the prince sprang a mine under the walls, and entered through the breach. He was too old for horseback, and was conveyed in a car. His orders were to slay all,—men, women, and children; and he feasted his eyes with the sight of this butchery. "There was not that day in the city of Limoges any heart so hardened, or that thought on their God, who did not deeply bewail the unfortunate events passing before them."\*\* The prince of Wales remembered not his Maker. This sick, cadaverous man, who was so near to his final end, this dying man could not satiate himself with the sight of death. Women and children threw themselves on their knees before him, exclaiming, "Mercy, mercy, sweet sir!" He was deaf. He spared only the bishop, that is, the only guilty person, and three French knights whose desperate resistance won them his favorable regard.†

This massacre, which rendered the name of Englishman hateful throughout France, taught the cities the necessity of stern defence. It was the leave-taking of the enemy. He treated the country as if it belonged to another, as if he felt that he should not return. Shortly afterwards, becoming worse, the prince was persuaded by his physicians to try the effect of his native fogs, and embarked for London. No doubt, his brother, the duke of Lancaster, began to be odious in his sight. Hopeless of succeeding himself, he at least wished to secure the throne to his son.

To the joy of the whole kingdom, the king named Duguesclin constable.§ Raised to this, the highest office in the kingdom, the petty Breton knight ate at the king's table; a distinction calculated to awaken some surprise, when we see in Christine de Pisan,|| that the ceremonial of the French court was, that the king should be waited upon at table by his brothers.

The new constable was the only man who comprehended the kind of war that was to be waged with the English. Pitched battles were out of the question: Crecy and Poitiers awaked men's minds. Strange—the French who, under Duguesclin, drove the English out of many

\* " . . . Since you are not willing to accept the offer they have made you, three days hence, between nine and twelve, in the morning, you and lord de Beaurion, will see your only mother placed on horseback, and carried away . . . you will hear this from me to your masters, that if they will draw out five men, we will draw out the same number, and let the victory be where it may." *Trouv. hist. et litt.* c. 111. "But they did not budge or stir." c. 121, p. 116, col. 1, bottom.

† " . . . Then, I am come to see you; for as you do not yet consent to come out to meet your barriers, I conclude that you will not." *Trouv. hist. et litt.* c. 253.

‡ *Id. ibid.* c. 259.

§ " . . . Go away, get away, thou hast well acquitted thyself." *Id. ibid.* c. 261.

¶ " . . . He met a butcher on the pavement in the suburbs, a very strong man, who had noticed him as he passed by . . . As the knight was returning alone, and in a careless manner, the valiant butcher came on one side of him." &c. *Id. ibid.*

\* " . . . upwards of three thousand men, women, and children were put to death that day. God have mercy on their souls! for they were veritable martyrs." *Id. ibid.* c. 220.

† *Id. ibid.*; and Walsingham, p. 185.

‡ *Id. ibid.* c. 201.

§ " . . . was the most valiant, the best informed, the most virtuous and fortunate in conducting affairs." &c. *Id. ibid.* c. 201.

|| For some account of this authoress, see book viii. c. 1 of this history.



it is impossible to specify the arrangements agreed upon. However, on the 15th of August, the French repaired to Moissac, drew up in order of battle, waited, and no one came. On this, they compelled the Gascons to abide by their word. The only places left to the English in France, were Calais, Bayonne, and Bordeaux, (A. D. 1374.)\*

This effort, which had ended in nothing,—this blow struck in air, did them much mischief. The exhaustion that followed was so great, that Edward accepted the so oft-rejected mediation of the pope. He began to fear his people's growl of discontent. The savage bull-dog, so long lured on by the temptation of a prey which was further off every day, turned as if about to fly at its master. There was great difficulty in making the English stomach the war: England had been tired of it with Crécy. When the chancellor asked the commons, in order to touch their honor—"What! would you have constant peace?" their naïve reply was, "Yes, we would."† They are then led to believe that all would be over with the taking of Calais. Next, came the triumph of Poitiers, which turned their head: they imagined that the ransom of the king of France would relieve them for ever from the burden of taxes. Next, they were kept amused with Spain, and Don Pedro's famous hidden treasures. The Spanish money not making its appearance, they were made to believe that they should have Spain herself.

In 1376, they made up their books, and found that they had nothing—nor money, nor Spain, nor France. Their discontent was extreme. They threw the whole blame on the king, and on the duke of Lancaster, whose influence was then paramount. His elder brother, the prince of Wales, ill though he was, favored the opposition. The parliament of 1376, called the *good parliament*, was not to be cajoled by high-sounding words; but inquired what had been done with all the money, the subsidies, the French and Scotch ransoms, and, attacking Edward in the most brutal manner, pitilessly tore off the veil from the royal weaknesses, and pursued him into the details of his domestic life, and even into his bedroom.

The aged monarch was governed by a young married woman, Alice Perrers, lady of the bed-chamber to the queen—beautiful, bold, and impudent.‡ The poor queen, who saw all, had made her dying request to the king, "that he would be pleased to be by her side at Westminster," hoping to have him to herself in death at least.

Alice had the queen's jewels. The favorite took or stole what was not given. She sold offices, and even verdicts; and would go to the

King's Bench to recommend the causes she favored. The clerical judges, the doctors of canon law, were exposed, while sitting, to the whispers of the fair Alice, who would come in person to pervert their judgments.\* The parliament called on the king to remove this woman and other evil counsellors.

The prince of Wales died, leaving an infant son; and, what between the infancy of this nephew and the years of his father, the duke of Lancaster found himself really king. The counsellors were recalled. Parliament was forced to vote a heavy sum. The duke, who needed much greater means still to pursue his conquest of Spain, proposed to lay hands on the goods of the clergy. Already had he launched against the priests the famous preacher, Wickliffe, whom he supported, together with all the great barons, against the bishop of London. But the Londoners, excited by an insolent speech of Lancaster's concerning their bishop, rose up, and were near tearing the duke in pieces.†

In the midst of this tumult, the aged Edward was dying at Eltham, left to the mercy of his Alice. She deceived him to the last, remaining by his bedside, flattering him with the hopes of speedy recovery, and preventing him from thinking of ghostly concerns. No sooner did speech fail him, than she tore the rings from his fingers,‡ and left him there.

Only a year had intervened between the death of son and father. Their names, to which such events as the foregoing are attached, are, perhaps, still the dearest of English remembrances. Although the prince was mainly indebted to John Chandos for his victories at Poitiers and Najarra; although his pride first led the Gascons to insurrection and armed Castile against England, few are better deserving of their country's gratitude. We even, to whom he did so much evil,—we cannot look without respect on the surcoat of the great enemy of France, in Canterbury cathedral. Its sorry, worm-eaten tatters shine out conspicuously from among the rich scutcheons that deck the walls. Five hundred years has it survived the noble heart it covered.

When the French king heard of Edward's death, he observed that his had been a glorious reign, and that such a prince deserved to have his name remembered among heroes. He called together a number of prelates and of barons, and had his obsequies performed in the Sainte-Chapelle.§ In England, the mournful ceremony was disturbed. Four days after Edward's death the Castilian fleet, filled with French troops, ran down the whole coast, burning the

\* *Id. ibid.* Froiss. c. 65, p. 75, ed. Buchon.

† Holland's Europe in the Middle Ages.

‡ *Miles parliamentales graviter conquesti sunt de quadam Alicia Peres appellata femina procacissima.* Wals. p. 189.

\* *Illa nunc juxta justitiarum regis residenda, nunc in foro ecclesiastico juxta doctores se collocanda . . . per defensione causarum suadere ac etiam contra postulari minime verebatur.* *Id. ibid.*

† *Id. p. 192.*

‡ *Invenienda pellex detraxit annulos à suis digitis et recessit.* *Ibid.*

§ Froiss. b. i. c. 337.

ports—Wight, Rye, Yarmouth, Dartmouth, Plymouth, and Winchelsea.\* While Edward and the prince of Wales were alive, England had never known such a disaster.

On all sides, the king of France carried on a war of negotiations. For five years he had prevented a son of Edward's marrying the heiress of Flanders, by standing in the way of his obtaining the papal dispensation; which he readily procured for his brother, the duke of Burgundy, who stood in the same degree of consanguinity to the young countess. Her father was averse to this marriage, and so were the cities of Flanders; but her grandmother, countess of Artois and of Franche-Comté, sent word to her son, the count of Flanders, that she would disinherit him if he did not give his daughter to the French prince: and the marriage took place to the despair of the English king, who saw this immense inheritance on the eve of falling in to the house of France. Mutilated on the west, France shaped out for herself her vast girdle of the east and north.

This check, and those which the English further experienced near Bordeaux, determined them to do what they should have done at once—ally themselves with the king of Navarre. They proposed giving him Bayonne and the adjoining country: he would have been their lieutenant in Aquitaine. The Navarrese, more cunning than able, sent his son to Paris, the better to deceive the king, while he treated with the English. It happened to him, as to Louis XI. at Peronne—he fell through over-cunning into the trap. The king kept his son, resumed possession of Montpellier, and seized his country of Evreux. His lieutenant Dutertre, and his counsellor, Du Rue, who were said to have come with intent to poison the king, were arrested. Charles-le-Mauvais had already been accused of poisoning the queen of France, the queen of Navarre, and others besides.† There was nothing improbable in the charge. Driven wild by a long succession of misfortunes, this petty prince might have endeavored to get back by crime and stratagem what force had taken from him. He had reason to hate his countrymen, as much as he did the enemy. His wife wronged him with the brave Gasco-English captain, the capital de Buch.‡ All Du Rue confessed was, that Charles-le-Mauvais thought he might poison the king through the agency of a young physician of Cyprus, who would easily make his way with Charles V., "because he spoke Latin well, and was a good dialectician." Dutertre and Du Rue were executed. From this process, the French monarch derived the advantage of degrading and dishonoring the king of Navarre, fixing the stigma of poisoner

upon him, and thus for ever barring his claims to the throne of France.

Charles-le-Mauvais lost every place in the North, except Cherbourg. On the South, he was threatened by the Castilians. He would even have lost Navarre, had not the English come to his assistance. Here the Gascons joined the English; who then endeavored to take St. Malo, with no better success than the attempt of the French to take Cherbourg. All this great warlike movement again ended in nothing. The French king could neither be forced to fight nor to surrender: he remained with nine points of the law in his favor—possession.\*

Charles's abilities, and the weakness of other states, had elevated France, at least in the opinion of the world. All Christendom once more looked up to her. The pope, Castile, Scotland, regarded her king as their protector; brother of the future count of Flanders, the ally of the Visconti, he saw the kings of Aragon and Hungary court his alliance. He received distant embassies from the king of Cyprus, and the sultan of Bagdad, who addressed him as the first prince among the Franks.† Even the emperor paid him a kind of homage, by visiting him at Paris; and, after having alienated the rights of the empire in Germany and Italy, he conferred on the dauphin the title to the kingdom of Arles.‡

The sudden restoration of the kingdom of France was a miracle, which all desired to see. From all parts, men came to admire this prince who had endured so much, and who had conquered by dint of declining battle—patient as Job, wise as Solomon. The fourteenth century had its eyes couched as to chivalry and heroic follies, to see and revere in Charles V. the hero of patience and of craft.

Naturally economical, this king of a ruined people astonished strangers by the number of his buildings. He reared around Paris the pleasure-houses—so they were styled—of Melun, Beaulieu, and St. Germain: but every house of that period was a fortress. He gave the town a new bridge—Pont-Neuf—walls, gates, and a good bastille. His trust was chiefly in walls.‡

\* "The French king so divided a reverse, that he would on no account hazard his people in battle, except they were as five to one." Froissart vii 112, ed. Buchon.

† "Comme un excellent prince des chrestiens." He offered to make him governor of his provinces, and master of his house. Froissart de France, vi. p. 61.

‡ Ibid. p. 97.

§ "King Charles was very sagacious and subtle, as his conduct showed: for though he never quitted his closet or his study, he reconquered all that his predecessors had lost in the field, helmet on head and sword in hand." Froissart, b. ii. c. 20.

¶ "Showing how king Charles was a good artist and learned in the sciences, and the fine buildings that he constructed—he founded St. Antony's church, Paris. He repaired and enlarged St. Paul's church, and founded many other churches and chapels repairing the old ones and increasing the revenues. He enlarged his hotel St. Paul, he rebuilt the castle of the Louvre at Paris, built the bastille St. Antony, as we now see it, and covered some strong and beautiful buildings over many of the gates of Paris; also the

\* Ibid. c. 200.

† Froissart, Hist. de Charles le Mauvais, l. i. second part, p. 172.

‡ Froissart, Hist. de Comte d'Evreux, p. 12.—See the original documents, Archives de Reims, J. 612.

Near his bastille he had raised, added to, and furnished, with the luxury of a king and the curious care of an invalid, the vast hôtel St. Paul.\* The magnificence of this palace, and the splendid hospitality which foreign princes and noblemen met with there, threw a deceptive veil over the state of the kingdom. The sire de la Rivière, the amiable and subtle counsellor of Charles, the finished gentleman of his day, did its honors,† and showed them over his master's noble residence, with its galleries, libraries, and sideboards laden with gold plate. They called him *the rich king*.‡

"He rose in the morning between six and seven. He gave audience, even to the meanest, who might boldly apply to him. Afterwards, when he had dressed his hair, and attired himself . . . his breviary was brought him; about eight o'clock, he went to mass; on leaving his chapel, all, of all ranks, might present him their petitions. After this, at the hour appointed, he attended the council, after which . . . about ten o'clock he sat down to table. . . . Like David, he was pleased to listen to gentle music after his meals.

"When he rose from table, at collation, strangers of all sorts had access to him. There were brought him news of all manner of countries, or reports of his wars . . . for the space of two hours; afterwards, he went to rest an hour. After his sleep, he whiled away a time with his most confidential intimates, looking at jewels or other costly things. Then he went to vespers. After this . . . in summer he walked in his gardens, where merchants would bring him velvets, cloth of gold, &c. In winter, he often employed himself in hearing read divers fine histories from Holy Scripture, or incidents from romances, or passages of morality from philosophers, or other points of knowledge, until supper-time, to which he sat down early, after which he trifled away an hour, and then withdrew. In order to prevent vain and empty words and thoughts, he had (at the queen's dinner) a learned man at the end of the table, who was ever recounting some virtuous act or other of the good of former days."§

The philosophers with whom the king loved to discourse, were his astrologers.|| His official

astrologer, an Italian, Thomas, of Pisano, who had been expressly invited from Bologna, received a salary of a hundred livres a month. These folk, whatever their means of foreknowledge, were never much out, being subtle and sagacious in the extreme. When Charles V. placed the constable's sword in Duguesclin's hand, he presented him at the same time with an astrologer.\*

The little that we know of Charles, of his words, and of his judgments, indicates, as does the whole tenor of his reign, a cold, quiet wisdom, and, perhaps, some indifference as to the good or evil of the means employed.† "Taking into consideration," says his female historian, "human weakness, he never allowed husbands to *immure* their wives for infidelity, although repeatedly entreated to this end."‡ Three times he caught his barber in the act of picking his pocket, without anger, and without punishing him.§

Charles V. is, perhaps, the first king of this eminently volatile people, who could lay out plans of success in the remote perspective: the first who comprehended the slow, distant, but henceforward real influence of books on political affairs. The prior, Honoré Bonnor, wrote by his order the first essay on the law of peace and war: it bore the fantastic title of the *Treasure of Battles*. His advocate-general, Raoul de Presles, translated the Bible into the vulgar tongue, all these years before Luther and Calvin. His ancient preceptor, Nicholas Oresme, translated that other bible of the day, Aristotle. Oresme, Raoul de Presles, and Philippe de Maizières, labored, perhaps jointly, at those large books, the *Songe du Verger*, the *Songe du Vieux Pelerin*, a kind of encyclopedic romances, in which all the questions of the day were handled, and which paved the way for the abasement of the spiritual power, and the confiscation of the property of the Church. So, in the sixteenth century, Pithou, Passerat, and some others composed the *Ménippée* together.

Expenditure increased; the people were ruined; the Church alone had means of payment

they durst not found castles, build churches, begin war, enter battle, put on a new dress, make a present of a jewel, undertake a journey, or quit their palace, without its sanction. Id. p. 206.

\* Id. p. 209.

† He did not condemn dissimulation unreservedly—"To dissimulate, said some one, is a sort of treason. (Of a surety observed the king, it is circumstance which makes a thing good or evil; for dissimulation may be so employed as to be virtuous at one time, vicious at another: for instance, to oppose the fury of the wicked by dissimulating, in the hour of need, is a mark of sense; but to dissimulate and hold back until you have an opportunity of doing any one a mischief may be called vice." Id. vi. 63.

‡ . . . "with great difficulty he was persuaded to allow the husband to keep her shut up in her room, if she were exceedingly irregular." Id. v. p. 307.

§ He only dismissed him when he had made the attempt the fourth time. Ibid. p. 207. Yet he himself had just at heart, and would see it executed. A good woman having complained to him of a man-at-arms who had violated her daughter, he caused the guilty individual to be hung up as a tree before her eyes. Ibid. p. 200.

new and fine walls, and large and lofty towers round Paris. He ordered the building of the Pont Neuf. He built Beaulieu, the house of Beauty; the noble mansion, Plaisance; repaired the hôtel St. Guyn; added largely to the castle of St. Germain en Laye, to Creil, Montargis, the castle of Melun, and many other notable edifices." Christ. de Pisan. vi. 23.

\* See Appendix x.

† Pour maintenir sa court en honneur, le roy avoit avec luy barons de son sang et autres chevaliers durs et apais en toutes honneurs . . . ainsi mesure Burel de la Rivière, beau chevalier, et qui certes très gracieusement, largement et poliment s'avoit acoustumé, en ce que le roy vouloit festoyer et honorer." Christ. de Pisan. vi. 63.

‡ St. Meulan de Concy called him. Observ. sur Christ. de Pisan. vi. fol. 164.

§ Id. p. 227. 242, 246.

The great secular princes, according to a contemporary of Charles V., would not enter on any new undertaking unless authorized by it (astrology) and by its holy election;

This was the whole thought of the fourteenth century. In England, the duke of Lancaster, to hurry matters to a crisis, availed himself of Wickliffe and the Lollards, and was near throwing the whole kingdom into confusion. In France, Charles V. prepared for the change with skilful procrastination. Yet things pressed. The apparent restoration of France could not deceive the king. He was living on expedients only. He had been obliged to pay the judges with the very fines they had themselves imposed, to sell impunity to usurers, to throw himself into the hands of the Jews. In conformity with the monstrous privileges which king Jean had sold them for his ransom-money, they were exempt from taxes and from all jurisdiction, save that of a prince of the blood, named guardian of their privileges.\* No royal letters had force against them.† They promised to exact an interest of only four deniers a week on the livre. But, at the same time, their oath was to be taken against those of all their debtors.‡

The prince, their *protector*, was to assist them in the recovery of their debts; that is to say, the king turned bailiff to the Jews, for the sake of going halves with them. Money, extorted by such means, drained the people much more than it profited the king.§

If the priest could not be despoiled, there was no other resource than passing through the Jew's hands; for Jew and priest alone had money. Industry had not yet produced wealth, or commerce circulated it. Wealth consisted in hoards—the buried hoard of the Jew, noiselessly fed by usury; the hoard of the priest, only too plainly seen in the churches and the goods of the Church.

The temptation was strong, but the difficulty was great likewise. The priests had been his most zealous allies against the English. They had put him in possession of the greater part of Aquitaine, as they had formerly made Clovis its master.

There were two constant grounds of quarrel between the spiritual and the temporal powers—money and judicial authority. The last was an important element in the money question, for justice took care to pay herself ||

The first complaints against the clergy begin with the barons, and not with the kings,

\* Ibid. in pp. 351, and 471. Compare ix. p. 322. Feb. 4, 1364.

† Ibid. i. p. 467. art. 26.

‡ They were not to lend on suspicious pledges, but they had secured an outlet for themselves. After a part of the privileges of the Jews is as follows: "For fear of the pope being deposited in their houses, which should otherwise be said to be stolen, we must that they are not to be deceived for any thing found there, except it be in another the keys of which they carry about them." Ibid. p. 470.

§ Although Charles V. endeavored to introduce some order into the public accounts, he did not succeed in the matter. The use of Roman numerals retained was not to our advantage by the Church itself; for, the reckoning was so high, to continue the same, it was necessary.

|| The efforts of the clergy in 1329 express a desire that justice, especially in France, brought in the clearest revenue to the Church.

(A. D. 1205.)\* As founders and patrons of churches, the barons were much more directly interested in the question. In St. Louis's reign, they form a confederacy against the clergy, fix a certain sum for each to contribute, in order to carry on the contest, and appoint representatives to help with the strong hand such of their body as should be struck by ecclesiastical sentence.† In the famous pragmatic act of St. Louis, (A. D. 1270.) an act down to this time little understood, the king requires the election of bishops to be free, that is, to be left to royal and feudal influence.‡

Philippe-le-Bel had the barons on his side in his struggle with the pope; and they formed a new confederation, which alarmed the bishops, and put the Gallican church into the king's hands. The church his, he managed, through it, to extend his influence over the papacy as well. Yet, at the beginning and at the end of his reign, Philippe-le-Bel ventured on two boldly impartial blows—the *malôte*, which struck the barons and priests as well as burghesses, and the suppression of the Temple, of the chivalry of the Church.

The crown, triumphant under Philippe-de-Valois, forced the pope to give it all it required, out of the revenues of the Gallican Church, and even aspired at levying the tenths for the crusade over all Christendom. By way of indemnification for the tenths, *regales*, &c., the churches sought to increase the profits of their own by encroaching on the lay jurisdictions, baronial or royal. This, the king seemed to wish to repress. On the 22d of December, 1329, a solemn pleading, conducted by Pierre Cugnieres, advocate, on the part of the king and the barons,§ and by Pierre du Roger, archbishop of Sens, on that of the clergy, took place before him in the castle of Vincennes. The latter spoke on the text, "Fear God, honor the king," and he resolved this precept into the four following: "Serve God devoutly, give to him largely; honor his servants duly; render him his own wholly."||

I am inclined to think that the whole of this proceeding was got up by the king, simply by way of satisfaction to the barons, since he

\* *Libertes de l'Eglise Gallicane*. l. iii. p. 4.

† Ibid. i. p. 29.

‡ He inveighs against the excesses of the court of Rome, the hindrances arising from separate jurisdictions, and the violation of the franchises of the kingdom, without specifying what those franchises are. Ibid. i. p. 26.

§ Among other things, Pierre Cugnieres, assisted that a vessel, full of such things, should be presented to his lord and not by the Church, with the exception of the justice that the Church might require, that vessel should not be extinguished, and that it is committed by his vessel, that the royal justice should not compel another's vessel, by threat of excommunication, to send before him. That the Church should not know any such jurisdiction, except from the royal justice. He further insisted that lands acquired by the priest should be subject to the same and should revert to his family instead of remaining an mortuary, that priests who traded, or who lost money on ventures, should pay the same, that if a peasant had two children, he should not give more than half his land to each son, and gift to a priest, &c.

|| *Buccon*, iv. 7.

closed it by saying, that far from abridging the Church's privileges, he would rather add to them.\* All that followed, was his issuing an ordinance, establishing his right of *regale* to the fruits of vacant benefices, (A. D. 1334.) Of the two pleaders, he who acted on behalf of the Church became pope; the advocate for the king and barons was, says a grave historian, universally hissed; and his name became proverbial for a bad wrangler.† Nor did he escape with this. There was in the cathedral of Notre-Dame a grotesque image of a damned person, just as we see elsewhere a representation of Dagobert pulled about by devils; and this foul-faced, flat-nosed image was called *M. Pierre du Coignet*; and all belonging to the cathedral—sub-deacons, sacristans, beadles, choristers young and old—used to stick their tapers under the poor devil's nose, or, to put them out, would dash them in his face.‡ For four hundred years he had to endure this vestry vengeance.

The churches were between hammer and anvil; between the king and the pope. When a bishopric had paid the *regales* to the king for a year or more, the newly elected bishop had to pay to the pope the *annats*, or his first year's revenue.§

But what the barons, as patrons of churches, and the canons or monks who voted in the chapters, most complained of, was the *reserves*. By a word, the pope could stop an election; he would declare that he had reserved to himself the nomination to such or such a bishopric or abbey. These *reserves*, by which a French or Italian pastor was often given to an English, German, or Spanish Church, were most odious. Nevertheless, they had often the advantage of withdrawing the great sees from the stupid feudal influences which would have placed in them worthless characters, younger brothers, or cousins of the barons; and the popes would sometimes draw out from the depths of a convent or the dust of universities, some learned and able clerk, to make him bishop, archbishop, or even primate of all Gaul, or of the Empire.

Generally speaking, the popes of Avignon did not entertain this lofty policy. Poor servants of the king of France, they left the papacy to chance, and only saw in the *reserves* a means of selling places, and carrying on simony by wholesale. John XXII. had the effrontery to declare, that for the first year of his pontificate he reserved to himself all the vacant bene-

fices in Christendom, out of hatred to simony.\* This son of a cobbler of Cahors left behind him a fortune of twenty-five millions of ducats. His contemporaries believed that he had discovered the philosopher's stone.†

Benedict XII. was so alarmed by the state in which he found the Church, and by the intrigues and corruption with which he was beset, that he preferred leaving the benefices vacant; he reserved the nominations to himself, and named no one.‡ On his death, the torrent resumed its course; and it is averred, that more than a hundred thousand clerks came to Avignon to purchase benefices, on the election of the prodigal and worldly Clement VI.§

To enter into all this, read Petrarch's dolorous lamentations on the state of the Church, his invectives against the western Babylon. He is at once Juvenal and Jeremiah. Avignon is to him as another labyrinth, but without its Ariadne or its liberating clue. He finds in it the cruelty of Minos, and infamy of the Minotaur.|| He paints with disgust the aged amours of the princes of the Church, those heavy-headed minions. . . . Scandalous stories circulated by thousands; and the absurd tale of pope Joan became probable.¶

Some distrust might be entertained of Petrarch's erudite indignation. Judgments, calculated to have more weight with the people at large, were passed by St. Bridget, and by the two Saints Catherine. St. Bridget put into Jesus' own mouth this address to the pope of Avignon:—"Murderer of souls, worse than Pilate and Judas! Judas sold me alone; but thou sellest me and the souls of my elect too."\*\*

Clement the Sixth's successors were less sullied than he, but more ambitious. They made the Church a conqueror, and Italy a desert. Clement had purchased Avignon from queen Joanna, by giving her absolution for the murder of her husband. By the aid of the free companies, his successors regained all the patrimony of St. Peter. The exasperation of the Italians was wrought up to fury by this alliance

\* Baluze, Pap. Aven. i. p. 722. *Omnia beneficia ecclesiastica que fuerunt*—and under whatever appellation they might go, and wherever they might fall vacant."

† See, above, p. 433.

‡ "Since he did not find any that came up to his ideas of fitness." *Prima Vita Bened. XII.* ap. Baluz. i. p. 264.

§ In Clemente clementina. . . . Tertia Vit. Clem. VI. lib. p. 294.

|| Petrarch. Ep. 10, de Tertia Babylone, et Quinto Labyrintho.

¶ The antipope, Nicholas V., had married Jeanne de Corbiere, whom he divorced in order to turn Minotaur. When he became pope, Jane, or Joan, pretended that the divorce was null. This gave rise to a thousand stories at Avignon, and hence the fable of—*Pope Joan*. The tale has been referred to the year 849, and Marianus Festus and Sigbert de Gemblours been quoted in proof; but not a word of the kind is found in the old manuscripts of these authors. It was only at a later period that the goss, which had been written in the margin, crept into the text. Baluz. iv. 240.

\*\* Tu peior Lucifero . . . tu injustior Pilato . . . immittor Juda, qui me solum vendidit; tu autem non solum me vendis, sed et animas electorum meorum. S. Brigide Revelationes, b. i. c. 41.

\* Sequi jura ecclesiarum aut potius quam immunitas esse velle. Id. ibid. 222.

† Abusque in proverbium, ut quem scilicet et argutulum et doctorem in Valentini, M. Petrum de Ceneris, vel corrupte, M. Pierre du Coignet vocantur. Id. ibid. Thus it seems, *Pierre du Coignet* (Peter in the corner) was a corruption of his true name, Pierre Cugnières.

‡ *Libertes de l'Église Gallicane. Traites, Lettres de Brunet*, p. 4. "Sanctitatem eius, sinum et deformem . . . quod scholasticis praeferentes, stylis suis scriptoris pugnare contendere et confundere solabant." Baluz. iv. 322.

§ The archbishops of Mentz and Cologne paid the pope, each, twenty four thousand ducats for the *pallium*.

of the pope's with English and Breton brigands. The war became atrocious with outrages and barbarities. To the legates who bore them the bull of excommunication, the Visconti gave the choice of being drowned, or of eating it. At Milan, the priests were flung into heated ovens. At Florence, the populace wanted to bury them alive. The popes felt that Italy would be lost, if they did not quit Avignon.

No doubt, they were the less inclined to stay there, since they had been held to ransom by the free companies. The degradation of France left them at liberty to choose their place of residence. Urban V., the best of these popes, endeavored to establish himself at Rome, but could not. Gregory accomplished it; and died there.

On his death, the French had an assured majority in the conclave. However, this conclave was held at Rome. The cardinals heard furious cries rise around them of, "*Romano lo volemo o almeno Italiano.*" (We will have a Roman, or, at least, an Italian for pope.) Of the sixteen cardinals who composed the conclave, only four were Italians; one was a Spaniard; the eleven others were French.\* The latter were divided among themselves. Two of the last popes, being from Limousin, had made several of their countrymen cardinals. These Limousins, finding the other Frenchmen desirous of barring them from the papacy, joined with the Italians to name an Italian, pope—thinking, at the same time, the individual fixed upon, the Calabrian Bartolomeo Prignano, a devoted adherent of France.

The result, just as at Clement the Fifth's election, proved the reverse of what had been anticipated; only, at this time, to the prejudice of French interests. Urban VI., a man of sixty years of age, and, till his election, considered a very moderate man, from that moment seems to have lost his head. He was anxious, he said, to reform the Church; but he began with the cardinals, and sought, among other things, to bring them down to but one dish at their table. They fled; declared the election a compulsory one; and chose another pope—a great baron, Robert of Geneva, son of the count of Geneva, who had displayed great audacity and ferocity in the wars of the Church. They named him Clement VII., no doubt after Clement VI., one of the most prodigal and worldly popes that ever dishonored the Church. In concert with queen Joanna of Naples, against whom Urban had declared himself, Clement and his cardinals took into their pay a company of Bretons, who were prowling in Italy. But these Bretons were defeated by Barbiano, a brave condottiero, who collected against the foreign companies the first Italian free company.† Clement fled to

France, to Avignon. So here are two popes, one at Avignon, the other at Rome, braving and excommunicating each other.

It was not to be expected that France, and the states under her influence, (Scotland, Navarre, and Castile,) would tamely suffer their hold on the popedom to be wrested from them. Charles V. recognised Clement. He thought, no doubt, that even if all Europe were on Urban's side, a French pope, a sort of patriarch whose motions he could govern, would be the best for him; and bitterly was he upbraided with this selfish policy. All the misfortunes that followed, Charles VI.'s insanity, and the triumphs of the English, were considered as many proofs of heavenly vengeance.\*

It is stated that the French cardinals at first entertained the idea of making Charles V. himself pope. He would have refused, as being halt of one arm, and unable to celebrate mass.† A king of France, pope, would have had the whole world against him.

The king had some trouble to persuade the university to decide in Clement's favor. The faculties of law and of medicine readily declared for the king's pope; but that of *arts*, composed of the four nations, was divided in opinion. The French and Norman nations were for Clement VII.; the Picard and the English claimed to be neutral. As the university, being unable to come to a unanimous vote, required time,‡ the king took all upon himself. He wrote from Beauté-sur-Marne that he was clearly informed and satisfied that "Pope Clement VII. is the true pastor of the Church Universal . . . refusal or delay would be offensive to us."§

On this occasion, Charles V. acted with a vigor which was unusual with him; as if he had been ashamed and angry at not having anticipated all.

He was anxious to gain Flanders over to his pope's side, and England through Flanders. He sent word to the count of Flanders that Urban abused the English, and had said that after their conduct to the holy see, he considered them heretics.¶ Nevertheless, Flanders and England both recognised the pope of Rome, out of hatred to him of Avignon. Italy was

\* "Oh, what a scourge! what dolorous mischief, which still endures," &c. *Christ de Pistoia*, vi. 116.—The following canticle was sung at the time—

Flange, royal republi-  
cain, of excommunication,  
foundator.  
Nun pars ejus est iniqua,  
Et altera confusionem,  
Reputatur &c.

*Recl. du Rec.* vol. 7000. *Coll. des Mss.* v. 101.

† "Mourn, people of this realm, you are visited with damnation, for you are schismatical! (the majority of you is not drawn as we hold, the other, as schismatic &c.)"

‡ *Leuchant* (*Conte de Pistoia*, p. 104) — Yet he yearly showed with his own hands the true cross to the people, in the Sainte-Chapelle, in imitation of St. Louis. (*Christ de Pistoia*, p. 116.)

§ *Recl. du Rec.* v. 301.  
¶ *Id. ibid.* p. 301.

\* *Recl. du Rec.* v. 370.

† *Recl. du Rec.* v. 370. t. vii. p. 154.  
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§ *Id. ibid.* p. 301.



already Urban's. Germany, Hungary, and Aragon espoused his cause. The two popular saints, St. Catherine of Sienna, and St. Catherine of Sweden, recognised him, as well as the infant Pedro of Aragon, who was also looked upon as a saint. The opinion of the most celebrated jurisconsult of the day, a thing unheard-of before, was required on the pope's election. Baldus declared Urban's election to be good and valid, speciously putting it that if the election had been compulsory, the cardinals had recovered their self-possession after the popular clamor had subsided, and were perfectly uncontrolled when they enthroned Urban.\*

An event, which it was impossible to foresee, had placed almost all Christendom in antagonism to France. Fortune had mocked wisdom. Queen Joanna of Naples, cousin and ally of the king, was soon afterwards deposed by Urban, dethroned by her adopted son, Charles of Durazzo, and strangled in punishment of a crime which had occurred thirty-five years before.

All Europe was in commotion. The movement was universal; but the causes widely different. The English Lollards seemed to endanger the Church, the throne, and property itself. At Florence, the Ciompi were making their revolution a democratic one. France seemed about to slip out of Charles's hands. Three provinces, the most eccentric but the most vital, perhaps, revolted.

Languedoc was the first to break out. Charles V., preoccupied by the North, and ever turning his anxious looks towards England, had made one of his brothers a kind of king of Languedoc, intrusting the province to the duke of Anjou. Through his agency, he seemed on the point of attaining Aragon and Naples, while through that of his other brother, the duke of Burgundy, Flanders seemed to be within his grasp. But France, drained and ruined, was incapable of undertaking distant conquests. Taxation, so heavy at that time upon the whole kingdom, grew in Languedoc into atrocious tyranny. The rich municipalities of the South, which could prosper only by commerce and freedom, were subjected to as unrelenting *tallage* as a fief in the North. The feudal prince could not understand any thing of their privileges. He wanted, and quickly, money to enable him to invade Spain and Italy, in order to renew the famous conquests of Charles of Anjou.

Nîmes rose up, (a. d. 1378;) but finding herself alone, submitted.† The duke of Anjou heaped on heavier taxes: in March, 1379, a monstrous tax of five francs, ten gros, on each hearth; in October, a new tax of twelve gold francs yearly—a franc a month.‡ The raising of the last was an impossibility. So devasta-

ted had the province been, that in the course of thirty years the population had fallen from a hundred thousand families, to thirty thousand. The consuls of Montpellier refused to levy this last tax; and the people rose up and massacred the duke's officers. They did the same at Clermont-Lodève. But the other cities remained quiet. In their dismay, the inhabitants of Montpellier received the duke on their knees, waiting for him to pronounce their fate. His sentence was frightful: two hundred citizens were to be burnt alive; two hundred, hung; two hundred, decapitated; and eighteen hundred branded as infamous, and their property confiscated. The rest were visited with ruinous fines.\*

The duke of Anjou was with difficulty prevailed upon to mitigate the sentence. Charles V. felt the necessity of removing him from Languedoc, and sent commissioners to reform all abuses. Still, in the instructions which he gives them, we do not find a trace of manly or of kingly sentiment. He is thinking only of his treasury, and of his demesne rights: "As we have in the said country many arable lands, vines, forests, mills, and other heritages, which used to bring in great revenue and profit to us, which lands have been left desert, because the population has been so reduced by mortality, wars, and other causes, that there are none who can or will till them, or undertake the ancient charges and dues, we order our counselors to set them at a new rate." They were likewise to revoke all crown grants, and inquire into the conduct of the *seneschals*, *capitains*, *viguiers*, &c.

Through the same narrow policy, only too apparent in these instructions, the king committed a great fault, the greatest of his reign. He drove Brittany to take up arms against him. His best soldiers were Bretons: he had loaded them with gifts, and thought that through them he had their country at command. But these mercenaries were not Brittany. Besides, they themselves were not satisfied with the king. He had ordered his men-at-arms to pay henceforward, not to sieze; and had created a *marshalsea* to repress their robberies, and provosts who scoured the country, judged, and hung.

He liked not Clisson. Although he appointed him constable on Duguesclin's death, he would have preferred the lord of Coucy.†

A cousin of Duguesclin's, a Breton, Sevestre Budes, who had acquired much reputation in the Italian wars, was arrested, on some suspicion, by the French pope, Clement VII., and delivered over by him to the bailiff of Macon, who executed him, to the great grief of Duguesclin.§ The relatives of the Breton, bearing their complaints and protestations of his innocence to the throne, the king coldly observed, "If he died innocent, so much the less

\* *Ibid.* p. 464.

† *Hist. du Languedoc*, b. xxi. c. 91, p. 265.

‡ *Ibid.* c. 95, p. 268.

\* *Ibid.* c. 96, p. 269.

† *Ord.* vi. pp. 465 and 467.

‡ *Froissart*, b. ii. c. 42.

§ *Ibid.* c. 38.

grievous for you; so much the better for his soul and your honor."<sup>a</sup>

The Bretons were French when England was in question, but Bretons beyond all. On their duke's seeking to hand them over to the English, they expelled him. When the king sought to annex them to the crown, they drove out the king.

Montfort had undertaken to throw open the castle of Brest to the English, on the 5th of April, 1378. On the 20th of June, the king summoned him to appear in parliament, and then had sentence go against him by default.† The process was strange. While in Flanders, he was cited to Rennes and to Nantes, but was given no safe-conduct. Many peers refused to sit in judgment. The king himself spoke against his vassal, and moved for confiscation. Should Montfort be disseized of the duchy, it was to revert to the house of Blois, in conformity with the treaty of Guérande, which the king had guaranteed.

To tell ancient Brittany that henceforward she was to sink into a province of France, to become an appanage to the crown, was bold, and was likewise ungrateful, after all the Bretons had done to expel the English. The cold and selfish prince evidently did not know the people with whom he had to do. He could not know them. There is an ignorance for which there is no cure—that of the heart.

The Bretons, both nobles and peasants, were already ill-affected. The constable Duguesclin, in his Breton wars, had not spared his countrymen. He had levied a hearth-tax of twenty sous upon them, and had prohibited enfranchisement, and restored the servitude of mortmain, which had been abolished by the duke.‡ The first act of the royal government was the imposition of the gabelle. Brittany rose in arms.

Burgesses as well as nobles took up arms. The citizens of Rennes associated themselves with the barons in express terms, and swore to live and die in the common cause. The duke, returning from England, was welcomed with transport by the very men who had expelled him. No one cared to think whether he were Blois or Montfort—he was duke of Brittany. On his landing near St. Malo, the barons and all the people hastened down to the shore to meet them, many rushed into the water, and fell on their knees there. Jane of Blois herself, the widow of Charles of Blois, of him whom he had slain, came to Dinan to offer him her congratulations.§

The best captains whom the king had to send against Brittany, were themselves Bretons. Chisson appeared before Nantes, but he could not refrain from telling the townsmen, that they

would do well not to let any one stronger than themselves into the town. Duguesclin and Chisson went to join the army which the duke of Anjou was assembling. But, at the first approach of a Breton force, this army melted away;¶ and the duke was reduced to solicit a truce.

One after the other, the king saw his Bretons pass over to the enemy. Those who were unwilling to quit him, except with his license, readily obtained it; but they were arrested on the frontier for execution as traitors. Duguesclin himself, a prey to the king's suspicions, returned him the sword of constable, saying, that he was leaving for Spain, that he was constable of Castile as well. Charles, aware that his assistance was indispensable, sent the dukes of Anjou and of Bourbon to appease him. But the old captain was too wise to run his head against maddened Brittany. It was more to his interest to remain at variance with the king, and gain time. Apparently, he refused to take back the constable's sword. It was in the capacity of a friend of the duke of Bourbon's, and as a personal favor, that he went to besiege in the castle of Randon, near Puy-en-Velay, a free company that was laying waste the country. Here he fell sick and died.‡ It is told that the captain of the castle, who had promised to surrender in fifteen days if he were not relieved, kept his word, and brought and laid the keys on the death-bed.‡ The tale is not improbable. Duguesclin had been the pride of the free companies, the father of the soldiers; he made their fortunes, and ruined himself to pay their ransoms.

The states of Brittany entered into negotia-

<sup>a</sup> Chronique en Vers de 1341 à 1391, par maître Guill. de St. André, licencié en droit, académique de Ind., notaire Apostolique et Imperial, ambassadeur, conseiller et secrétaire du duc Jean IV. —

"Les Français estoient bretonnés,  
Et leurs airs tout effimés.  
Avoient beaucoup de pederies,  
Et de nouvelles bruleries.  
Ils estoient fringans et mignards,  
Chantoient comme des serpens,  
En robes d'herbettes puchées,  
Et avoient portées barbes fourchées.  
Les vœux ressembloient aux jupes,  
Et tous prenoient terrible peur,  
Pour faire peur aux Bretons."

Chronicle in verse from the year 1341 to the year 1391, by master Guillaume de St. André, licentiate at law, graduate of Ind. Apostolic and Imperial notary, ambassador, councillor, and secretary to duke John IV. The French were all lecherous and full of effeminate airs, great ornaments they attended on and new snail-shells. Brightly were they and flowered, and sang like your serpents. They danced in habits strewn with rushes, wore peaked breeches. A crowd could not tell the old from the young, and all took a terrible name to strike the Bretons with dread.

"A douce France adieu je te laisse briefement,  
Or seigneur Dieu de grâce soit son commandement,  
Que si bon constable sera par enchantement  
De toi nous saurons nous en honneur plainement."  
Poème de Duguesclin, MS. de la Bib. Royale,  
No. 7224. 102 verso.

Ah! sweet beloved France, adieu shall I leave you. Now may God of his glory be pleased to grant that so good a constable may next be yours that your honor may stand unlessed before the world.  
; See M. Lacabanne's excellent Life of Charles V. in the Dict. de la Conversation.

<sup>b</sup> Christ de France t. vi. p. 38.  
<sup>c</sup> L'ordonnance Hist. de Bret. t. iii. c. 97. p. 414.  
<sup>d</sup> Hist. Hist. de Bretagne.  
<sup>e</sup> Chronique, Hist. des Franc. t. ii. p. 365. Lohmeier, l. iii. c. 100, p. 205.

tions with the French king; the duke with the English. As Charles V. refused to listen to any arrangement, the Bretons admitted aid from England. The earl of Buckingham, a brother of Richard II., was sent with an army to Brittany, but by the route of Picardy, Champagne, the Beauce, the Blaisois, and Maine; that is, with orders to march it across the whole kingdom. He met with no obstacle. Charles V. persisted in refusing the duke of Burgundy permission to encounter him.

Duguesclin died on the 13th of July, (A. D. 1380.) The king died on the 16th of September; on which day he had abolished every tax not authorized by the States. This was returning to the point whence he had begun his reign.

On his death-bed, he advised the winning back of the Bretons at any cost.\* He had previously given orders that Duguesclin should be buried at St. Denys, next to his own tomb. His faithful counsellor, the sire de la Rivière, was interred at his feet.

This prince died young, (he was but forty-four years of age,) and without having brought anything to a conclusion. A minority followed. Schism, the Breton war, the scarcely appeased revolt of Languedoc, the Flemish revolution† at its height—here were embarrassments enough for a young king, aged twelve. Although Charles V. had declared by ordinance, A. D. 1374, that kings were to arrive at their majority at fourteen, his son was fated to remain long a minor, even all his life.

Charles V. left two things—strongly-fortified towns and money. After all that he had had to give to the English and the free companies, he had found means to amass seventeen millions. This treasure he had concealed at Vincennes, (Melun?) within the thickness of a wall. But his son did not profit by it.

The king thought himself sure of the burghesses. He had confirmed and increased the privileges of all the towns which had abandoned the English party.‡ He had taken the right of asylum for criminals from his brother's hôtels, and submitted these hôtels to the jurisdiction of the provost. In compliance with the remonstrances of the parliament of Paris, he empowered it to carry its decrees into effect without delay, notwithstanding *all royal letters to the contrary*.§ He allowed the citizens of Paris to hold fiefs by the same title as the nobles, and to wear the same ornaments as the

knights. Thus he created in the centre of the kingdom a plebeian nobility, which was to degrade the other by its imitation of it. And, by degrees, all the lands of the Isle of France passed into the hands of burghesses; that is, became intimately dependent upon the monarch.

These distant advantages did not counterbalance present ills. The people were exhausted. The taxes were all the heavier, inasmuch as from the very beginning of his reign, the king had wisely imposed on himself as a rule not to tamper with the coinage. I know not but what this form of taxation was regretted. At an epoch in which there was little commerce, and the feudal rents were generally paid in kind, the alteration of the coin affected but a small number, and only those who could afford to lose: for instance, the usurers, Jews, Cahorcins, Lombards, bankers, and money-brokers of Rome or Avignon. Taxes, on the contrary, passed them over, to fall directly on the poor.

The Church property alone could help people and king; but it required time for the necessary boldness to lay hands upon it. To take their possessions from pious foundations, to make null and void the last wishes of founders whose families survived, to despoil the monasteries which were the patrimony of younger sons and of maidens of noble birth,\* was what no one could have attempted with impunity in the fourteenth century.

A proof of the great power the clergy still possessed, is the ease with which they effected the expulsion of the English from the cities of the South. The French king, whom the priests had just so well seconded, had to look twice before he embroiled himself with them.

The schism placed the pope of Avignon wholly at the king's command, and gave him, it is true, the uncontrolled disposal of benefices throughout the Gallican Church; but it placed France in a perilous position, isolating her, as it were, in the midst of Europe, and putting her out of the pale of Christian law.

Undoubtedly, it was much for the crown to have within two centuries concentrated in its hands the two powers of the middle age—the Church and feudalism. Henceforward, ecclesiastical dignities were assured to the king's servants, and fiefs either annexed to the crown, or became the appanage of princes of the blood. The great feudal houses, those living types of provincialities, became gradually extinct.† The differences of the middle age subsided into unity. But, as yet, this unity was weak.

If Charles V. could not effect much himself, he at least bequeathed to France the type of the king of modern times, whom before she

\* Froissart, vii. 366, ed. Buchon.

† The history of this revolution belongs, properly speaking, to Charles VI.'s reign. It will be handled in the succeeding book.

‡ The repudiation with which the 100 towns were recovered may be traced, as I have noted at p. 463 by the dates of the charters. As regards the history of the communes, I would direct particular attention to the fifth volume of M. Guizot's *Histoire de la Civilisation*, &c. No one has analyzed the complicated *origines* of the Third Estate (Tiers Etat) with greater judgment and precision. I shall return to the consideration of this great subject.

Ordonn. v. 323.

\* As late as 17-4, the noblesse of Burgundy solicited the foundation of a chapter of Demouelles. *Archives du Roy. aum. K., papiers relatifs à la suppression du couvent de Marcigny.*

† See the details in Sismondi, *Hist. des Fr. t. xi. pp. 305, 306.*



rested, the monarchy, was itself founded upon an equivocation. From feudal suzerainty it had become, under the influence of the legists, Roman, imperial monarchy. The Establishments of *France and of Orleans* had become the Establishments of *all France*. The monarch had unnerved feudalism, taken its arms out of its hands, and then, on the return of war, had desired to restore them. Feudalism, full of pride and weakness, still survived; resembling a gigantic armor which, hanging empty against the wall, yet threatens and brandishes the lance. As soon as touched, it falls to the ground—at Crécy and at Poitiers.

It was imperative, then, to have recourse to mercenaries, to hired soldiers; that is, to make war with money. But where get it! As yet, laying hands on the Church was not dreamed of, and productive industry was yet unborn. With all his political wisdom, Charles V. was here at a loss. At the last moment, every thing failed him at once. The English who marched through France in 1380, encountered no more resistance than they had met with in 1370: the king, having lost the Bretons, was still weaker than before.

Wisdom failing, folly was tried. Under the youthful Charles VI., France launched out into an extravagant imitation of the ancient chivalry, whose true character and even whose forms had lapsed from men's minds.\* This spurious imitation of the antique chose for its hero the famous leader of free companies who had delivered France from them, the able Duguesclin. The *épouée* founded on his deeds and action†

\* So completely, that when, in Charles VI.'s time, the two sons of the duke of Anjou were solemnly admitted knights, all the spectators were asking what the various ceremonies meant.—See the following book.

† This poem presents a whimsical compound of two very opposite sets of ideas. Duguesclin is painted as a knight of the thirteenth century, but is made to be as ill-affected to the priests, as one was in the fourteenth. He will take nothing from the people; he only holds to ransom pope and churchmen. One would fancy one was reading the *Henriade*:—

... Le prévost d'Avignon  
Vint droit à Villeneuve, où la chevalerie  
De Bertrand et des siens estoit adonc logie.  
Il a dit à Bertrand que point ne le detrie:  
Sire, l'avoit est prest, je vous acerteffe,  
Et la solution scellee et fournie,  
Comme Jhesu donna le fils sainte Marie  
A Marie-Magdalaine qui fut Jhesu amie.  
Et Bertrand li a dit: Beau sire, je vous prie,  
Dont vint yeilz avoies, ne me le celez mie?  
En pris li Aposteles en sa thesorerie?  
Nand, Sire, dit il, mais la dette est paie  
Du commun d'Avignon, a chascun sa partie.  
Dit Bertrand Du Guesclin: Prevost, je vous aïe,  
Ja n'en arois deniers en jour de notre vie,  
Se ce n'est de l'avoit venant de la clergie.  
Et volons que tout eil qui la taillie ont paiee,  
Aient tout lor argent, sans prendre une maille.  
Sire, dit li prevost, Dieux vous dont bonne vie!  
La pour gent arez fortment escleree. (*rejoie.*)  
Amis, ce dit Bertrand, au jape ne direz,  
Que ces grans tresors soit oviers et defermez,  
Cruz qui l'ont paie, il lor soit retorez,  
Et dattes que jamais n'en soit nul reculez.  
Car, se le savoie, ja ne vous en doubtez,

is a plain proof that the real character of the constable of Charles V. was utterly misunderstood.

The most successful part of this imitation of chivalry lay in the richness of the arms and surcoats worn, and in the splendor of the tournaments. Charles V. had left a ruined people: yet from this ruin was asked more than wealth had ever been able to pay. Once in the vortex of impossibilities, to ask costs nothing.

All Europe is similarly situated: the same vertigo prevails everywhere. Fortune devolves the government of most of the kingdoms on minors. Monarchy, the new divinity, prattles, or dotes. Three-quarters of the age of Charles-le-Sage, the first age of policy, have not passed away before its senses fail, and it turns mad. A generation of madmen have become kings. To the glorious Edward III. succeeds the giddy Richard II.; to the prudent Emperor Charles IV., the drunken Wencealaus; to the wise Charles V., Charles VI., a raging bedlamite. Urban VI., Don Pedro of Castile, and John Visconti, all betrayed symptoms of mental derangement.

The petty negative wisdom which thought it had neutralized the great movement of the world, had already exhausted its resources. It thought it had done all; and all began again. The threads which the prudent fancied were in their hands to work with, grew more and more entangled. The contradictions of the world increased: reason, divine and human, seemed to have abdicated. "God," to use Luther's saying, "was wearied of the game, and sang the cards under the table."

A tragic moment is that in which one feels one's senses failing—the moment in which reason, glimmering with its last light, sees itself about to be extinguished.

"Oh, let me not be mad, not mad, sweet heaven!"

Exclaims King Lear,—

"Keep me from madness; I would not go mad."

Et je fusse outre mer passés et bien aloés,  
Je serois aincóis par deca retournés.  
*Poème de Duguesclin, MS. de la Bibl. Royale,  
No. 7234, folio 69.*

(... The provost of Avignon came straight to Villeneuve, where were Bertrand and his knights. He tells Bertrand there is no delay. "My lord, the money, I give you notice, is ready, and the acquittance sealed and duly drawn, even as Jesus, the son, gave St. Mary to Mary Magdalen, who was dear to Jesus (1)." And Bertrand said to him: "Fair sir, I pray you, whence does this money come? Cannot not the truth from me. Does it come out of the pope's treasury?" "By no means, my lord," he answers, "but the debt is paid by the commons of Avignon, each pays his quota." Says Bertrand Duguesclin, "Provost, I swear I will never have a penny of it to the last day of my life, except it comes out of the clergy. And it is my pleasure, that all who have paid this tax have back their money, every farthing of it." "My lord," says the provost, "God send you length of days: the poor people will be hands themselves with joy." "Friends," says Bertrand, "tell the pope from me to open and unlock his great treasure. They who have paid him shall have their money returned, and say that none must ever be kept back. For, if I hear of it, be assured though I were far beyond sea, I would return at once.")



## PREFATORY NOTE.

ization, not relying, as the Monarchical one had done, on the authority of tests and written titles, would have nothing to do with parchments so specified. Its only test was the *Contrat Social*; as the Koran was his who burnt the Alexandrian library.

"If the Revolution did little to advance knowledge by the critical examination of ancient monuments, it was of immense benefit by concentrating all such treasures. It blew aside the dust of centuries, and emptied the contents of monasteries, castles, and other receptacles on one common floor. The Louvre was thus literally filled with papers, the very windows being blocked up by the rolls, so that the keeper of the records had to hire many rooms of the Academy. To carry on researches among those crowded repositories, candles were required at noonday. The Revolution let in light, once and for ever, into this 'excessive dark.'"

"The Du Puy and the Marcas of this second epoch (as regards learning only) were two deputies of the Convention, MM. Camus and Daunou. The first, a true Gaul, like his predecessor Du Puy, served the republic with the same zeal that Du Puy had done the monarchy. His successor, M. Daunou, was, properly speaking, the founder of the Archives; and, at this date, the Archives of France had become those of the world. His is the honor of classifying the prodigious mass. It was a glorious time for the Archives. While M. Daunou was opening, for the first time, the mysterious repositories of Verri, M. Daunou was receiving the spoils of the Vatican. On the other hand, the archives of Germany, Spain, and Belgium were arriving from the north and the south at the Palace of the Soubises. Two of our colleagues had gone to fetch those of Holland.

"Now, the Archives of France are no longer those of Europe. The traces of the inscriptions over the doors of our halls, as *Babel, Babel*, &c., remain to remind us of our losses. However, we still have about a hundred and fifty thousand documents, *scattered*. Although the provinces refuse to entrust us with their archives, as do several of the offices of our ministers, they will be forced to get rid some day of the accumulating mass. The day will be ours, for we are death. All gravitates to us, and every revolution turns to our profit. We need only wait *patiens, quia ultimus*—in patience we shall win.

"Soon, then, for conquering and conquered come to us. We have the monarchy, safe and sound, from its alpha to its omega, preserved at Châlons by the side of the testament of Louis XVI. We have the republic in our iron chest, the keys of the Bastille, the minute of the declaration of the rights of man, the vows of the deputies, and the great republican resolutions—the stamped the assignats. Even the papacy has left us something. The pope has returned his archives. In the way of reprisal, we keep the library which he was to send to the congregation of the emperor. And, together with the bloody playthings of Provence, we have the *monnaie*, the standard of measure, which is referred to every year; the temperature of the archives is inviolable.

"And, finally, when I first entered these catacombs of manuscripts, these wonderful repositories of national monuments, I was awestruck; I have exclaimed, like the German on entering the monastery of St. Vannes: 'This is my rest for ever! here will I dwell, for I have desired it!'

"However, I was not slow to discern in the midst of the apparent silence of these galleries, a movement and a murmur which were not those of death. These papers and parchments, so long deserted, desired no better than to be restored to the light of day; yet are they not papers and parchments, but the lives of men, of provinces, and of nations. First the families, and the fiefs, blazoned in their dust, protested against their being forgotten. The provinces rose up, alleging that centralization had been deceived in supposing them annihilated. The ordonnances of our kings asserted that they had not been repealed by the multitude of modern laws. Had we listened to them all, as the grave-digger observed of a host of battle, not one ought to have been dead. All rose, and spoke, and surrounded the author with an army speaking a hundred tongues, which were rough, but raised by the voice of the Republic and of the Empire.

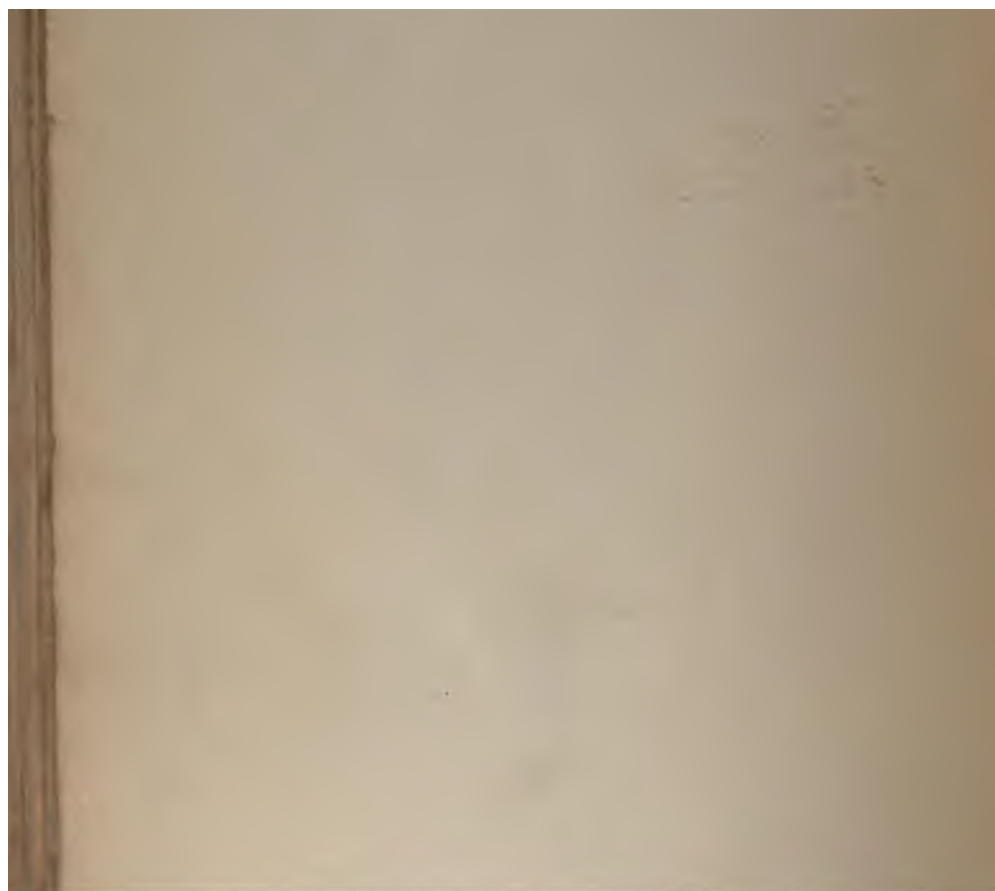
"Softly, my dear friends, let us proceed in order, if I please. All of you have your claim on history. The individual is good, that is, as individual; the general, as general. Feudalism is in the right, the monarchy more so, and, more, the Empire. I am yours, Godfrey—yours, Richelieu—yours, Bonaparte! The province shall revive; the ancient differences of France will be characterized by strongly defined geographical distinctions; it shall revive, but on the condition of allowing these differences gradually to wear out, and a homogeneous whole, or country, to succeed. Revive, monarchy; revive, France! Let but one great effort at classification serve as a clue through this chaos. To systematize on this wise, although imperfectly, will serve. Though the head be badly set upon the shoulders and the leg fit badly to the thigh, to revive is yet something.

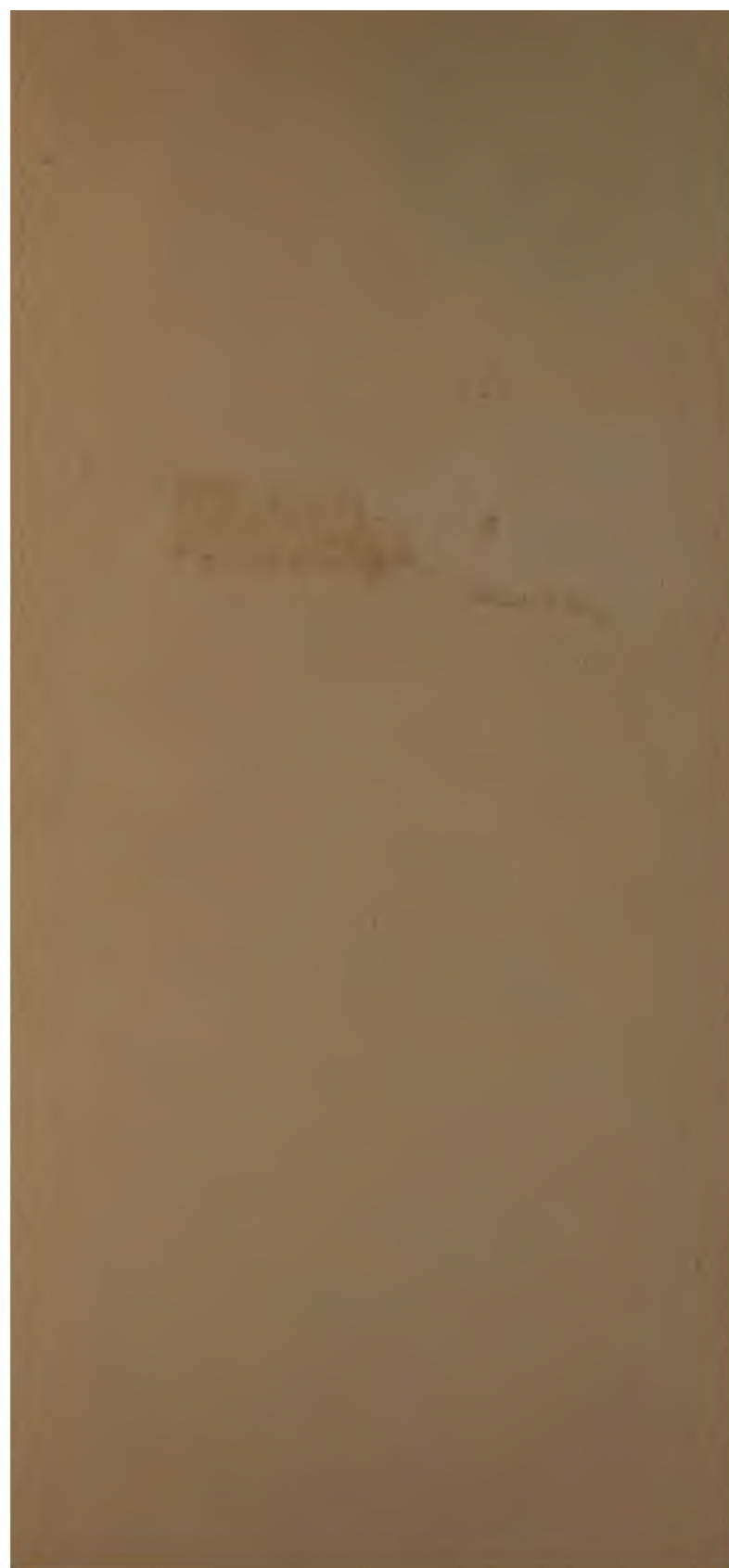
"And, as I breathed on their dust, I saw them rise. They raised from the sepulchre, one the hand, the other the head, as in the Last Judgment of Michel-Ange, from the Dance of Death. This galvanic dance, which they performed around me, I have essayed to reproduce in this work. Some, perhaps, will find it neither slightly nor true. In particular, they will be offended with the harshness of the provincial contrasts that I have represented. My reply to these critics is, that it may very well be, that they do not recognise their ancestors; since, of all people, we French are chief possessors of the gift desired by the ancient—the gift of forgetting. The songs of Roland and of Renaud &c. have indisputably been popular; the fabliaux succeeded them; and all this was already so remote in the sixteenth century, that Joachim Du Bellay expressly says—'In our old literature, there is but the Romance of the Rose.' In Du Bellay's time, France was Rabelais; at a later period, Voltaire. Rabelais is now a sealed book to the general; Voltaire is already less read; and so we go on changing and forgetting ourselves.

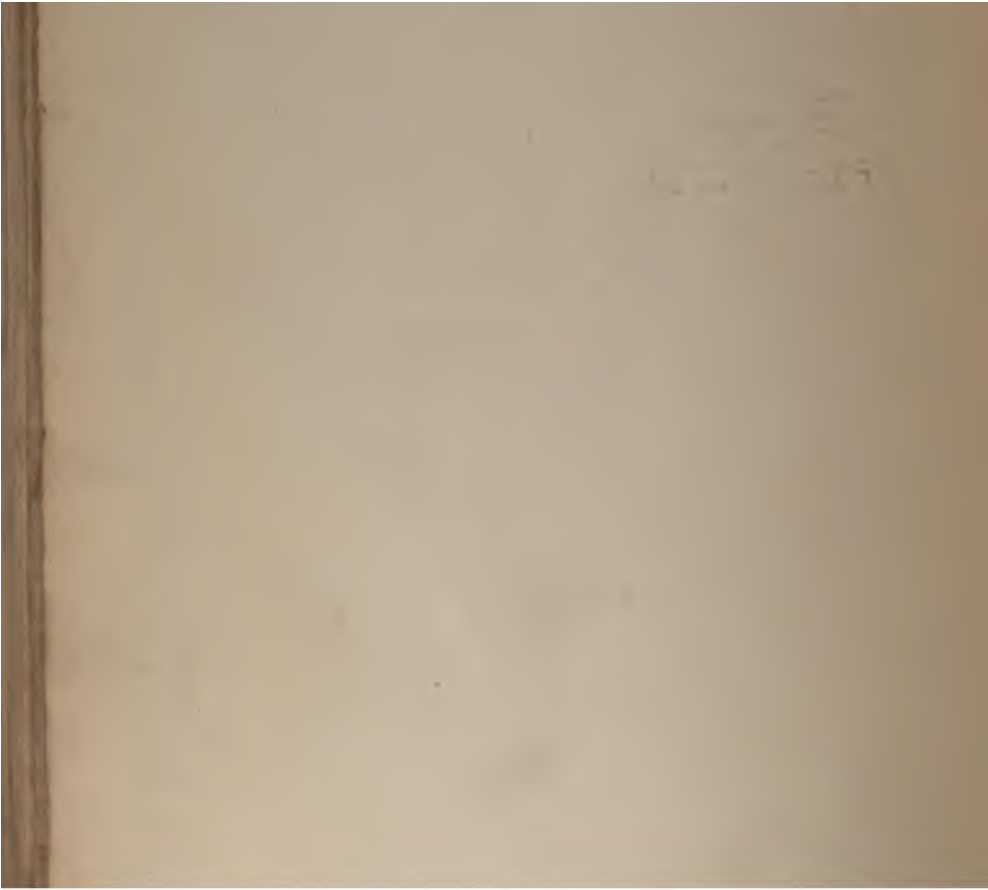
"The France of the present day, in its oneness and unity, may very well forget that old, heterogeneous France which I have described. The Gascon may not choose to recognise Gascony, nor the Provençal, Provence, to which I answered, that there is no longer a Provence or a Gascon, but a France. This France I now present with the differences of its ancient and original divarication into provinces. The latter volumes of my history will show her in her unity."



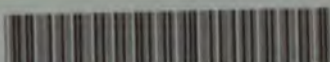










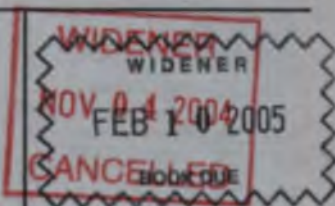


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